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THE COMPLETE WORKS

OF

JOHN RUSKIN, ESQ.



BY JOHN RUSKIN, ESQ.

WITH A PREFACE BY THE REV. J. H. RUSKIN, ESQ.

LONDON: PUBLISHED BY J. H. RUSKIN, ESQ.

THE
POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN DRYDEN;

CONTAINING

ORIGINAL POEMS, TALKS, AND TRANSLATIONS;

WITH NOTES

BY

THE REV. JOSEPH WARTON, D.D. ; THE REV. JOHN WARTON, M.A. ;

AND OTHERS.

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TO

THE HON. MR. JUSTICE TALFOURD, D.C.L.,

THIS EDITION OF

THE POETICAL WORKS OF DRYDEN

IS INSCRIBED

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THE LIFE OF DRYDEN,

BY DR. JOHNSON.

OF the great poet whose life I am about to delineate, the curiosity which his reputation must excite will require a display more ample than can now be given. His contemporaries, however they revered his genius, left his life unwritten; and nothing therefore can be known beyond what casual mention and uncertain tradition have supplied.

JOHN DRYDEN was born August 9, 1631,* at Aldwinkle near Oundle, the son of Erasmus Dryden of Titchmarsh; who was the third son of Sir Erasmus Dryden, baronet, of Canons Ashby. All these places are in Northamptonshire; but the original stock of the family was in the county of Huntingdon.†

He is reported by his last biographer, Derrick, to have inherited from his father an estate of two hundred a year, and to have been bred, as was said, an Anabaptist. For either of these particulars no authority is given. Such a fortune ought to have secured him from that poverty which seems always to have oppressed him; or, if he had wasted it, to have made him ashamed of publishing his necessities. But though he had many enemies, who undoubtedly examined his life with a scrutiny sufficiently malicious, I do not remember that he is ever charged with waste of his patrimony. He was indeed sometimes reproached for his first religion. I am therefore inclined to believe that Derrick's intelligence was partly true, and partly erroneous.‡

From Westminster school, where he was instructed as one of the King's Scholars by Dr. Busby, whom he long after continued to reverence, he was in 1650 elected to one of the Westminster scholarships at Cambridge.§

Of his school performances has appeared only a poem on the death of Lord Hastings, composed with great ambition of such conceits as, notwithstanding the reformation begun by Waller and Denham, the example of Cowley still kept in reputation. Lord Hastings died of the small pox; and his poet has made of the pustules, first rosebuds, and then gems; at last he exalts them into stars; and says,—

"No comet need foretel his change drew on,
Whose corpse might seem a constellation."

At the university he does not appear to have been eager of poetical distinction, or to have lavished his early wit either on fictitious subjects or public occasions. He probably

* Mr. Malone has lately proved that there is no satisfactory evidence for this date. The inscription on Dryden's monument says only *natus* 1632. See Malone's *Life of Dryden*, prefixed to his "Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works," p. 5, note.—C.
† Of Cumberland. *Ibid.* p. 10.—C.

‡ Mr. Derrick's *Life of Dryden* was prefixed to a very beautiful and correct edition of Dryden's *Miscellanies*, published by the Tonsons in 1760, 4 vols. 8vo. Derrick's part, however, was poorly executed, and the edition never became popular.—C.

§ He went off to Trinity College, and was admitted to a Bachelor's Degree in Jan. 1653-4, and in 1657 was made M.A.—C

considered, that he, who proposed to be an author, ought first to be a student. He obtained, whatever was the reason, no fellowship in the College. Why he was excluded cannot now be known, and it is vain to guess; had he thought himself injured, he knew how to complain. In the Life of Plutarch he mentions his education in the College with gratitude; but, in a prologue at Oxford, he has these lines:

"Oxford to him a dearer name shall be
Than his own mother-university;
Thebes did his rude, unknowing youth engage;
He chooses Athens in his riper age."

It was not till the death of Cromwell, in 1658, that he became a public candidate for fame, by publishing *Heroic Stanzas on the late Lord Protector*; which, compared with the verses of Sprat and Waller on the same occasion, were sufficient to raise great expectations of the rising poet.

When the king was restored, Dryden, like the other panegyrists of usurpation, changed his opinion, or his profession, and published *ASTREA REDUX; a Poem on the happy Restoration and Return of his most sacred Majesty King Charles the Second*.

The reproach of inconstancy was, on this occasion, shared with such numbers, that it produced neither hatred nor disgrace; if he changed, he changed with the nation. It was, however, not totally forgotten when his reputation raised him enemies.

The same year he praised the new king in a second poem on his restoration. In the *ASTREA* was the line,

"An horrid stillness first invades the ear,
And in that silence we a tempest fear—"

for which he was persecuted with perpetual ridicule, perhaps with more than was deserved. *Silence* is indeed mere privation; and, so considered, cannot *invade*; but privation likewise certainly is *darkness*, and probably *cold*; yet poetry has never been refused the right of ascribing effects or agency to them as to positive powers. No man scruples to say that *darkness* hinders him from his work; or that *cold* has killed the plants. Death is also privation; yet who has made any difficulty of assigning to Death a dart and the power of striking?

In settling the order of his works there is some difficulty; for, even when they are important enough to be formally offered to a patron, he does not commonly date his dedication; the time of writing and publishing is not always the same; nor can the first editions be easily found, if even from them could be obtained the necessary information.*

The time at which his first play was exhibited is not certainly known, because it was not printed till it was, some years afterwards, altered and revived; but since the plays are said to be printed in the order in which they were written, from the dates of some, those of others may be inferred; and thus it may be collected, that in 1663, in the thirty-second year of his life, he commenced a writer for the stage; compelled undoubtedly by necessity, for he appears never to have loved that exercise of his genius, or to have much pleased himself with his own dramas.

Of the stage, when he had once invaded it, he kept possession for many years; not indeed without the competition of rivals who sometimes prevailed, or the censure of critics, which was often poignant, and often just; but with such a degree of reputation as made him at least secure of being heard, whatever might be the final determination of the public.

His first piece was a comedy called the *Wild Gallant*. He began with no happy auguries for his performance was so much disapproved, that he was compelled to recal it, and change it from its imperfect state to the form in which it now appears, and which is yet sufficiently defective to vindicate the critics.

* The order of his plays has been accurately ascertained by Mr. Malone.—C.

I wish that there were no necessity of following the progress of his theatrical fame, or tracing the meanders of his mind through the whole series of his dramatic performances ; it will be fit, however, to enumerate them, and to take especial notice of those that are distinguished by any peculiarity, intrinsic or concomitant ; for the composition and fate of eight-and-twenty dramas include too much of a poetical life to be omitted.

In 1664 he published the *Rival Ladies*, which he dedicated to the Earl of Orrery, a man of high reputation, both as a writer and as a statesman. In this play he made his essay of dramatic rhyme, which he defends, in his dedication, with sufficient certainty of a favourable hearing ; for Orrery was himself a writer of rhyming tragedies.

He then joined with Sir Robert Howard in the *Indian Queen*, a tragedy in rhyme. The parts which either of them wrote are not distinguished.

The *Indian Emperor* was published in 1667. It is a tragedy in rhyme, intended for a sequel to *Howard's Indian Queen*. Of this connection notice was given to the audience by printed bills, distributed at the door ; an expedient supposed to be ridiculed in the *Rehearsal*, where Bayes tells how many reams he has printed, to insinuate into the audience some conception of his plot.

In this play is the description of Night, which Rymer has made famous by preferring it to those of all other poets.

The practice of making tragedies in rhyme was introduced soon after the Restoration, as it seems by the Earl of Orrery, in compliance with the opinion of Charles the Second, who had formed his taste by the French theatre ; and Dryden, who wrote, and made no difficulty of declaring that he wrote only to please, and who perhaps knew that by his dexterity of versification he was more likely to excel others in rhyme than without it, very readily adopted his master's preference. He therefore made rhyming tragedies, till, by the prevalence of manifest propriety, he seems to have grown ashamed of making them any longer.

To this play is prefixed a very vehement defence of dramatic rhyme, in confutation of the preface to the *Duke of Lerma*, in which Sir Robert Howard had censured it.

In 1667 he published *Annus Mirabilis*, the *Year of Wonders*, which may be esteemed one of his most elaborate works.

It is addressed to Sir Robert Howard by a letter, which is not properly a dedication ; and, writing to a poet, he has interspersed many critical observations, of which some are common, and some perhaps ventured without much consideration. He began, even now, to exercise the domination of conscious genius, by recommending his own performance : " I am satisfied that as the Prince and General [Rupert and Monk] are incomparably the best subjects I ever had, so what I have written on them is much better than what I have performed on any other. As I have endeavoured to adorn my poem with noble thoughts, so much more to express those thoughts with elocution."

It is written in quatrains, or heroic stanzas of four lines ; a measure which he had learned from the *Gondibert* of Davenant, and which he then thought the most majestic that the English language affords. Of this stanza he mentions the incumbrances, increased as they were by the exactness which the age required. It was, throughout his life, very much his custom to recommend his works by representation of the difficulties that he had encountered, without appearing to have sufficiently considered, that where there is no difficulty there is no praise.

There seems to be, in the conduct of Sir Robert Howard and Dryden towards each other, something that is not now easily to be explained. Dryden, in his dedication to the Earl of Orrery, had defended dramatic rhyme ; and Howard, in the preface to a collection of plays, had censured his opinion. Dryden vindicated himself in his *Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry* : Howard, in his preface to the *Duke of Lerma*, animadverted on the Vindication ; and Dryden, in a preface to the *Indian Emperor*, replied to the Animadversions with great asperity, and almost with contumely. The dedication to this play is dated the year in which the *Annus Mirabilis* was published. Here appears a strange inconsistency ; but Langbaine affords some help, by relating that the answer to Howard was not published in the first edition of the

play, but was added when it was afterwards reprinted; and as the *Duke of Lerma* did not appear till 1668, the same year in which the dialogue was published, there was time enough for enmity to grow up between authors, who, writing both for the theatre, were naturally rivals.

He was now so much distinguished, that in 1668* he succeeded Sir William Davenant as poet laureat. The salary of the laureat had been raised in favour of Jonson, by Charles the First, from an hundred marks to one hundred pounds a year, and a tierce of wine; a revenue in those days not inadequate to the conveniences of life.

The same year, he published his essay on Dramatic Poetry, an elegant and instructive dialogue, in which we are told, by Prior, that the principal character is meant to represent the Duke of Dorset. This work seems to have given Addison a model for his Dialogues upon Medals.

Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen (1668), is a tragi-comedy. In the preface he discusses a curious question, whether a poet can judge well of his own productions? and determines very justly, that, of the plan and disposition, and all that can be reduced to principles of science, the author may depend upon his own opinion; but that, in those parts where fancy predominates, self-love may easily deceive. He might have observed, that what is good only because it pleases, cannot be pronounced good till it has been found to please.

Sir Martin Marr-all (1668) is a comedy, published without preface or dedication, and at first without the name of the author. Langbaine charges it, like most of the rest, with plagiarism; and observes, that the song is translated from Voiture, allowing however that both the sense and measure are exactly observed.

The Tempest (1670) is an alteration of Shakspeare's play, made by Dryden in conjunction with Davenant; "whom," says he, "I found of so quick a fancy, that nothing was proposed to him in which he could not suddenly produce a thought extremely pleasant and surprising; and those first thoughts of his, contrary to the Latin proverb, were not always the least happy; and as his fancy was quick, so likewise were the products of it remote and new. He borrowed not of any other; and his imaginations were such as could not easily enter into any other man."

The effect produced by the conjunction of these two powerful minds was, that to Shakspeare's monster, Caliban, is added a sister monster, Sycorax; and a woman, who, in the original play, had never seen a man, is in this brought acquainted with a man that had never seen a woman.

About this time, in 1673, Dryden seems to have had his quiet much disturbed by the success of the *Empress of Morocco*, a tragedy written in rhyme by *Elkanah Settle*; which was so much applauded, as to make him think his supremacy of reputation in some danger. Settle had not only been prosperous on the stage, but, in the confidence of success, had published his play, with sculptures and a preface of defiance. Here was one offence added to another; and, for the last blast of inflammation, it was acted at Whitehall by the court-ladies.

Dryden could not now repress those emotions, which he called indignation, and others jealousy; but wrote upon the play and the dedication such criticism as malignant impatience could pour out in haste.

Of Settle he gives this character: "He's an animal of a most deplored understanding, without reading and conversation. His being is in a twilight of sense, and some glimmering of thought which he can never fashion into wit or English. His style is boisterous and rough-hewn, his rhyme incorrigibly lewd, and his numbers perpetually harsh and ill-sounding. The little talent which he has, is fancy. He sometimes labours with a thought; but, with the pudder he makes to bring it into the world, 'tis commonly still-born; so that, for want

* He did not obtain the Laurel till August 18, 1670, but, Mr. Malone informs us, the patent had a retrospect, and the salary commenced from the Midsummer after D'Avenant's death.—C.

of learning and elocution, he will never be able to express anything either naturally or justly."

This is not very decent; yet this is one of the pages in which criticism prevails over brutal fury.

He proceeds: "He has a heavy hand at fools, and a great felicity in writing nonsense for them. Fools they will be in spite of him. His King, his two Empresses, his Villain, and his Sub-villain, nay his Hero, have all a certain natural cast of the father—their father was born and bred in them, and something of the Elkanah will be visible."

This is Dryden's general declamation; I will not withhold from the reader a particular remark. Having gone through the first act, he says, "To conclude this act with the most rumbling piece of nonsense spoken yet:—

"To flattering lightning our feign'd smiles conform,
Whuch, back'd with thunder, do but gild a storm."

"Conform a smile to lightning, make a smile imitate lightning, and flattering lightning: lightning sure is a threatening thing. And this lightning must *gild a storm*. Now, if I must conform my smiles to lightning, then my smiles must gild a storm too: to *gild with smiles*, is a new invention of gilding. And gild a storm by being *backed with thunder*. Thunder is part of the storm; so one part of the storm must help to *gild* another part, and help by *backing*; as if a man would gild a thing the better for being backed, or having a load upon his back. So that here is *gilding by conforming, smiling, lightning, backing, and thundering*. The whole is as if I should say thus: I will make my counterfeit smiles look like a flattering stone-horse, which, being backed with a trooper, does but gild the battle. I am mistaken if nonsense is not here pretty thick sown. Sure the poet writ these two lines a-board some smack in a storm, and, being sea-sick, spewed up a good lump of clotted nonsense at once."

Here is perhaps a sufficient specimen; but as the pamphlet, though Dryden's, has never been thought worthy of republication, and is not easily to be found, it may gratify curiosity to quote it more largely:—

"—— Whene'er she bleeds,
He no severer a damnation needs,
That dares pronounce the sentence of her death,
Than the infection that attends that breath."

"*That attends that breath*.—The poet is at *breath* again; *breath* can never 'scape him; and here he brings in a *breath* that must be *infectious* with *pronouncing* a sentence; and this sentence is not to be pronounced till the condemned party *bleeds*; that is, she must be executed first, and sentenced after; and the *pronouncing* of this sentence will be infectious; that is, others will catch the disease of that sentence, and this infecting of others will torment a man's self. The whole is thus; *when she bleeds, thou needest no greater hell or torment to thyself, than infecting of others by pronouncing a sentence upon her*. What hodge podge does he make here! Never was Dutch grout such clogging, thick, indigestible stuff. But this is but a taste to stay the stomach; we shall have a more plentiful mess presently.

"Now to dish up the poet's broth, that I promised:—

"For when we're dead, and our freed souls enlarged,
Of nature's grosser burden we're discharged.
Then, gentle as a happy lover's sigh,
Like wand'ring meteors through the air we'll fly,
And in our airy walk, as subtle guests,
We'll steal into our cruel fathers' breasts,
There read their souls, and track each passion's sphere,
See how Revenge moves there, Ambition here;
And in their orbs view the dark characters
Of sieges, ruins, murders, blood, and wars.
We'll blot out all those hideous draughts, and write
Pure and white forms; then with a radiant light

Their breasts encircle, till their passions be
Gentle as nature in its infancy;
Till, soften'd by our charms, their furies cease,
And their revenge resolves into a peace.
Thus by our death their quarrel ends,
Whom living we made foes, dead we'll make friends.

"If this be not a very liberal mess, I will refer myself to the stomach of any moderate guest. And a rare mess it is, far excelling any Westminster white-broth. It is a kind of giblett porridge, made of the giblets of a couple of young geese, stogged full of *meteors, orbs, spheres, track, hideous draughts, dark characters, white forms, and radiant lights*, designed not only to please appetite, and indulge luxury, but it is also physical, being an approved medicine to purge choler; for it is propounded, by Morena, as a receipt to cure their fathers of their choleric humours; and, were it written in characters as barbarous as the words, might very well pass for a doctor's bill. To conclude: it is porridge, 'tis a receipt, 'tis a pig with a pudding in the belly, 'tis I know not what: for, certainly, never any one that pretended to write sense had the impudence before to put such stuff as this into the mouths of those that were to speak it before an audience, whom he did not take to be all fools; and after that to print it too, and expose it to the examination of the world. But let us see what we can make of this stuff:—

"For when we're dead, and our freed souls enlarged—"

Here he tells us what it is to be *dead*; it is to have *our freed souls set free*. Now, if to have a soul set free, is to be dead; then to have a *freed soul set free*, is to have a dead man die.

"Then, gently as a happy lover's sigh——"

They two like one *sigh*, and that one *sigh* like two wandering meteors,

"—— Shall fly through the air——"

That is, they shall mount above like falling stars, or else they shall skip like two jacks with lanthorns, or Will with a whip, and Madge with a candle.

"And in their airy walk steal into their cruel fathers' breasts, like subtle guests.—So that their fathers' breasts must be in an *airy walk*, an airy walk of a flier. And there they will read their souls, and track the spheres of their passions. That is, these walking fliers, Jack with a lanthorn, &c., will put on his spectacles, and fall a reading souls, and put on his pumps and fall a tracking of spheres: so that he will read and run, walk and fly, at the same time! Oh! nimble Jack! Then he will see, how revenge here, how ambition there.—The birds will hop about. And then view the dark characters of sieges, ruins, murders, blood, and wars, in their orbs: Track the characters to their forms! Oh! rare sport for Jack! Never was place so full of game as these breasts! You cannot stir, but flush a sphere, start a character, or unkennel an orb!"

Settle's is said to have been the first play embellished with sculptures; those ornaments seem to have given poor Dryden great disturbance. He tries however to ease his pain by venting his malice in a parody.

"The poet has not only been so imprudent to expose all this stuff, but so arrogant to defend it with an epistle; like a saucy booth-keeper, that, when he had put a cheat upon the people, would wrangle and fight with any that would not like it, or would offer to discover it; for which arrogance our poet receives this correction; and, to jerk him a little the sharper, I will not transpose his verse, but by the help of his own words transnonsense sense, that by my stuff, people may judge the better what is his:—

"Great Boy, thy tragedy and sculptures done,
From press and plates, in fleets do homeward run;
And, in ridiculous and humble pride,
Their course in ballad-singers' baskets guide,

Whose greasy twigs do all new beauties take,
 From the gay shows thy dainty sculptures make.
 Thy lines a mess of rhyming nonsense yield,
 A senseless tale, with flattering fustian fill'd.
 No grain of sense does in one line appear,
 Thy words big bulks of hoisterous bombast bear.
 With noise they move, and from players' mouths rebound,
 When their tongues dance to thy words' empty sound.
 By thee inspired the rumbling verses roll,
 As if that rhyme and bombast lent a soul;
 And with that soul they seem taught duty too;
 To huffing words does humble nonsense bow,
 As if it would thy worthless worth enhance,
 To th' lowest rank of fops thy praise advance,
 To whom, by instinct, all thy stuff is dear:
 Their loud claps echo to the theatre.
 From breaths of fools thy commendation spreads,
 Fame sings thy praise with mouths of logger-heads.
 With noise and laughing each thy fustian greets
 'Tis clapp'd by choirs of empty-headed cits,
 Who have their tribute sent, and homage given,
 As men in whispers send loud noise to Heaven.

"Thus I have daubed him with his own puddle: and now we are come from aboard his dancing, masking, rebounding, breathing fleet: and, as if we had landed at Gotham, we meet nothing but fools and nonsense."

Such was the criticism to which the genius of Dryden could be reduced, between rage and terror; rage with little provocation, and terror with little danger. To see the highest mind thus levelled with the meanest, may produce some solace to the consciousness of weakness, and some mortification to the pride of wisdom. But let it be remembered, that minds are not levelled in their powers but when they are first levelled in their desires. Dryden and Settle had both placed their happiness in the claps of multitudes.

An Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer, a comedy (1671), is dedicated to the illustrious Duke of Newcastle, whom he courts by adding to his praises those of his lady, not only as a lover, but a partner of his studies. It is unpleasing to think how many names, once celebrated, are since forgotten. Of Newcastle's works nothing is now known but his Treatise on Horsemanship.

The Preface seems very elaborately written, and contains many just remarks on the Fathers of the English drama. Shakspeare's plots, he says, are in the hundred novels of *Cinthio*; those of Beaumont and Fletcher in Spanish stories; Jonson only made them for himself. His criticisms upon tragedy, comedy, and farce, are judicious and profound. He endeavours to defend the immorality of some of his comedies by the example of former writers; which is only to say, that he was not the first nor perhaps the greatest offender. Against those that accused him of plagiarism he alleges a favourable expression of the king: "He only desired, that they who accuse me of thefts, would steal him plays like mine;" and then relates how much labour he spends in fitting for the English stage what he borrows from others.

Tyrannic Love, or the Virgin Martyr (1672), was another tragedy in rhyme, conspicuous for many passages of strength and elegance, and many of empty noise and ridiculous turbulence. The rants of Maximin have been always the sport of criticism; and were at length, if his own confession may be trusted, the shame of the writer.

Of this play he has taken care to let the reader know, that it was contrived and written in seven weeks. Want of time was often his excuse, or perhaps shortness of time was his private boast in the form of an apology.

It was written before *The Conquest of Granada*, but published after it. The design is to recommend piety. "I considered that pleasure was not the only end of Poesy; and that even the instructions of morality were not so wholly the business of a poet, as that the precepts and examples of piety were to be omitted; for to leave that employment altogether to the clergy, were to forget that religion was first taught in verse, which the

laziness or dulness of succeeding priesthood turned afterwards into prose." Thus foolishly could Dryden write, rather than not show his malice to the parsons.*

The two parts of *The Conquest of Granada* (1672) are written with a seeming determination to glut the public with dramatic wonders, to exhibit in its highest elevation a theatrical meteor of incredible love and impossible valour, and to leave no room for a wilder flight to the extravagance of posterity. All the rays of romantic heat, whether amorous or warlike, glow in Almanzor by a kind of concentration. He is above all laws; he is exempt from all restraints; he ranges the world at will, and governs wherever he appears. He fights without inquiring the cause, and loves in spite of the obligations of justice, of rejection by his mistress, and of prohibition from the dead. Yet the scenes are, for the most part, delightful; they exhibit a kind of illustrious depravity, and majestic madness, such as, if it is sometimes despised, is often revered, and in which the ridiculous is mingled with the astonishing.

In the Epilogue to the second part of *The Conquest of Granada*, Dryden indulges his favourite pleasure of discrediting his predecessors; and this Epilogue he has defended by a long postscript. He had promised a second dialogue, in which he should more fully treat of the virtues and faults of the English poets, who have written in the dramatic, epic, or lyric way. This promise was never formally performed; but, with respect to the dramatic writers, he has given us in his prefaces, and in this postscript, something equivalent; but his purpose being to exalt himself by the comparison, he shows faults distinctly, and only praises excellence in general terms.

A play thus written, in professed defiance of probability, naturally drew upon itself the vultures of the theatre. One of the critics that attacked it was Martin Clifford, to whom Sprat addressed the *Life of Cowley*, with such veneration of his critical powers as might naturally excite great expectations of instructions from his remarks. But let honest credulity beware of receiving characters from contemporary writers. Clifford's remarks, by the favour of Dr. Percy, were at last obtained; and, that no man may ever want them more, I will extract enough to satisfy all reasonable desire.

In the first Letter his observation is only general; "You do live," says he, "in as much ignorance and darkness as you did in the womb; your writings are like a Jack-of-all-trade's shop; they have a variety, but nothing of value; and if thou art not the dullest plant-animal that ever the earth produced, all that I have conversed with are strangely mistaken in thee."

In the second he tells him that Almanzor is not more copied from Achilles than from Ancient Pistol. "But I am," says he, "strangely mistaken if I have not seen this very *Almanzor* of yours in some disguise about this town, and passing under another name. Pr'ythee tell me true, was not this Huffcap once the *Indian Emperor*? and at another time did he not call himself *Maximin*? Was not *Lyndaraxa* once called *Almeria*? I mean under *Montezuma* the Indian Emperor. I protest and vow they are either the same, or so alike, that I cannot, for my heart, distinguish one from the other. You are therefore a strange unconscionable thief; thou art not content to steal from others, but dost rob thy poor wretched self too."

Now was Settle's time to take his revenge. He wrote a vindication of his own lines; and, if he is forced to yield any thing, makes his reprisals upon his enemy. To say that

* So fond was he of opportunity to gratify his spleen against the clergy, that he scrupled not to convert Chaucer's images, in the *Knight's Tale*, of "The smiler with the knif under the cloke," and of "Conteste with bloody knif," into these satires on the Church. See Warton's *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. p. 358.

"Next stood Hypocrisy, with holy leer,
Soft-smiling, and demurely looking down,
But hid the dagger underneath the gown.
Contest with sharpened knives in cloisters drawn,
And all with blood bespread the holy lawn."—T

his answer is equal to the censure, is no high commendation. To expose Dryden's method of analysing his expressions, he tries the same experiment upon the same description of the ships in the *Indian Emperor*, of which however he does not deny the excellence; but intends to show, that by studied misconstruction every thing may be equally represented as ridiculous. After so much of Dryden's elegant animadversions, justice requires that something of Settle's should be exhibited. The following observations are therefore extracted from a quarto pamphlet of ninety-five pages:—

“‘Fate after him below with pain did move,
And victory could scarce keep pace above.’

“These two lines, if he can show me any sense or thought in, or anything but bombast and noise, he shall make me believe every word in his observations on *Morocco* sense.”

In *The Empress of Morocco* were these lines:—

“I’ll travel then to some remoter sphere,
Till I find out new worlds, and crown you there.”

On which Dryden made this remark:—

“I believe our learned author takes a sphere for a country; the sphere of Morocco; as if Morocco were the globe of earth and water; but a globe is no sphere neither, by his leave,” &c. “So *sphere* must not be sense, unless it relates to a circular motion about a globe, in which sense the astronomers use it. I would desire him to expound those lines in *Granada*:—

“‘I’ll to the turrets of the palace go,
And add new fire to those that fight below.
Thence, Hero-like, with torches by my side,
(Far be the omen though) my love I’ll guide.
No, like his better fortune I’ll appear,
With open arms, loose veil, and flowing hair,
Just flying forward from my rowling sphere.’

“I wonder, if he be so strict, how he dares make so bold with *sphere* himself, and be so critical in other men’s writings. Fortune is fancied standing on a globe, not on a *sphere*, as he told us in the first act.

“Because *Elkanah’s Similes* are the most unlike things to what they are compared in the world, I’ll venture to start a simile in his *Annus Mirabilis*: he gives this poetical description of the ship called the *London*:—

“‘The goodly London in her gallant trim,
(The Phoenix daughter of the vanquish’d old,)
Like a rich bride does to the ocean swim,
And on her shadow rides in floating gold.

“‘Her flag aloft spread ruffling in the wind,
And sanguine streamers seem the flood to fire:
The weaver, charm’d with what his loom design’d,
Goes on to sea, and knows not to retire.

“‘With roomy decks, her guns of mighty strength,
Whose low-laid mouths each mounting billow laves:
Deep in her draught, and warlike in her length,
She seems a sea-wasp flying on the waves.’

“What a wonderful pother is here, to make all these poetical beautifications of a ship; that is, a *phoenix* in the first stanza, and but a *wasp* in the last; nay, to make his humble comparison of a *wasp* more ridiculous, he does not say it flies upon the waves as nimbly as a wasp, or the like, but it seemed a *wasp*. But our author at the writing of this was not in his altitudes, to compare ships to floating palaces: a comparison to the purpose, was a perfection he did not arrive to till the *Indian Emperor’s* days. But perhaps his similitude

It was Dryden's opinion, at least for some time, and he maintains it in the dedication of this play, that the drama required an alternation of comic and tragic scenes; and that it is necessary to mitigate by alleviations of merriment the pressure of ponderous events, and the fatigue of toilsome passions. "Whoever," says he, "cannot perform both parts, is but half a writer for the stage."

The *Duke of Guise*, a tragedy (1683), written in conjunction with Lee, as *Oedipus* had been before, seems to deserve notice only for the offence which it gave to the remnant of the Covenanters, and in general to the enemies of the court, who attacked him with great violence, and were answered by him; though at last he seems to withdraw from the conflict, by transferring the greater part of the blame or merit to his partner. It happened that a contract had been made between them, by which they were to join in writing a play: and "he happened," says Dryden, "to claim the promise just upon the finishing of a poem, when I would have been glad of a little respite. Two-thirds of it belonged to him; and to me only the first scene of the play, the whole fourth act, and the first half, or somewhat more, of the fifth."

This was a play written professedly for the party of the Duke of York, whose succession was then opposed. A parallel is intended between the Leaguers of France and the Covenanters of England; and this intention produced the controversy.

Albion and Albanus (1685) is a musical drama or opera, written, like *The Duke of Guise*, against the Republicans. With what success it was performed, I have not found.*

The State of Innocence and Fall of Man (1675) is termed by him an opera: it is rather a tragedy in heroic rhyme, but of which the personages are such as cannot decently be exhibited on the stage. Some such production was foreseen by Marvel, who writes thus to Milton:—

"Or if a work so infinite be spann'd,
Jealous I was lest some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill-imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play."

It is another of his hasty productions; for the heat of his imagination raised it in a month.

This composition is addressed to the Princess of Modena, then Duchess of York, in a strain of flattery which disgraces genius, and which it was wonderful that any man that knew the meaning of his own words could use without self-detestation. It is an attempt to mingle Earth and Heaven, by praising human excellence in the language of religion.

The preface contains an apology for heroic verse and poetic licence; by which is meant not any liberty taken in contracting or extending words, but the use of bold fictions and ambitious figures.

The reason which he gives for printing what was never acted cannot be overpassed: "I was induced to it in my own defence, many hundred copies of it being dispersed abroad without my knowledge or consent; and every one gathering new faults, it became at length a libel against me." These copies, as they gathered faults, were apparently manuscript; and he lived in an age very unlike ours, if many hundred copies of fourteen hundred lines were likely to be transcribed. An author has a right to print his own works, and need not seek an apology in falsehood; but he that could bear to write the dedication, felt no pain in writing the preface.

Aureng Zebe (1676) is a tragedy founded on the actions of a great prince then reigning, but over nations not likely to employ their critics upon the transactions of the English stage. If he had known and disliked his own character, our trade was not in those times secure

* Downes says, it was performed on a very unlucky day, viz. that on which the Duke of Monmouth landed in the West; and he intimates, that the consternation into which the kingdom was thrown by this event was a reason why it was performed but six times, and was in general ill received.—H.

from his resentment. His country is at such a distance, that the manners might be safely falsified, and the incidents feigned; for the remoteness of place is remarked, by Racine, to afford the same conveniences to a poet as length of time.

This play is written in rhyme; and has the appearance of being the most elaborate of all the dramas. The personages are imperial; but the dialogue is often domestic, and therefore susceptible of sentiments accommodated to familiar incidents. The complaint of life is celebrated; and there are many other passages that may be read with pleasure.

This play is addressed to the Earl of Mulgrave, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, himself, if not a poet, yet a writer of verses, and a critic. In this address Dryden gave the first hints of his intention to write an epic poem. He mentions his design in terms so obscure, that he seems afraid lest his plan should be purloined, as, he says, happened to him when he told it more plainly in his preface to Juvenal. "The design," says he, "you know is great, the story English, and neither too near the present times, nor too distant from them."

All for Love, or the World well Lost (1678), a tragedy founded upon the story of Anthony and Cleopatra, he tells us, "is the only play which he wrote for himself:" the rest were given to the people. It is by universal consent accounted the work in which he has admitted the fewest improprieties of style or character; but it has one fault equal to many, though rather moral than critical, that, by admitting the romantic omnipotence of Love, he has recommended, as laudable and worthy of imitation, that conduct which, through all ages, the good have censured as vicious, and the bad despised as foolish.

Of this play the prologue and the epilogue, though written upon the common topics of malicious and ignorant criticism, and without any particular relation to the characters or incidents of the drama, are deservedly celebrated for their elegance and sprightliness.

Limberham, or the kind Keeper (1680), is a comedy, which, after the third night, was prohibited as too indecent for the stage. What gave offence, was in the printing, as the author says, altered or omitted. Dryden confesses that its indecency was objected to; but Langbaine, who yet seldom favours him, imputes its expulsion to resentment, because it "so much exposed the keeping part of the town."

Oedipus (1679) is a tragedy formed by Dryden and Lee, in conjunction, from the works of Sophocles, Seneca, and Corneille. Dryden planned the scenes, and composed the first and third acts.

Don Sebastian (1690) is commonly esteemed either the first or second of his dramatic performances. It is too long to be all acted, and has many characters and many incidents; and though it is not without sallies of frantic dignity, and more noise than meaning, yet, as it makes approaches to the possibilities of real life, and has some sentiments which leave a strong impression, it continued long to attract attention. Amidst the distresses of princes, and the vicissitudes of empire, are inserted several scenes which the writer intended for comic; but which, I suppose, that age did not much commend, and this would not endure. There are, however, passages of excellence universally acknowledged: the dispute and the reconciliation of Dorax and Sebastian has always been admired.

This play was first acted in 1690, after Dryden had for some years discontinued dramatic poetry.

Amphitryon is a comedy derived from Plantus and Moliere. The dedication is dated Oct. 1690. This play seems to have succeeded at its first appearance; and was, I think, long considered as a very diverting entertainment.

Cleomenes (1692) is a tragedy, only remarkable as it occasioned an incident related in the *Guardian*, and allusively mentioned by Dryden in his preface. As he came out from the representation, he was accosted thus by some airy stripling: "Had I been left alone with a young beauty, I would not have spent my time like your Spartan." "That, Sir," said Dryden, "perhaps is true; but give me leave to tell you that you are no hero."

King Arthur (1691) is another opera. It was the last work that Dryden performed for King Charles who did not live to see it exhibited, and it does not seem to have been ever

brought upon the stage.* In the dedication to the Marquis of Halifax, there is a very elegant character of Charles, and a pleasing account of his latter life. When this was first brought upon the stage, news that the Duke of Monmouth had landed was told in the theatre; upon which the company departed, and *Arthur* was exhibited no more.

His last drama was *Love Triumphant*, a tragi-comedy. In his dedication to the Earl of Salisbury he mentions "the lowness of fortune to which he has voluntarily reduced himself, and of which he has no reason to be ashamed."

This play appeared in 1694. It is said to have been unsuccessful. The catastrophe, proceeding merely from a change of mind, is confessed by the author to be defective. Thus he began and ended his dramatic labours with ill success.

From such a number of theatrical pieces, it will be supposed, by most readers, that he must have improved his fortune; at least, that such diligence with such abilities must have set penury at defiance. But in Dryden's time the drama was very far from that universal approbation which it has now obtained. The playhouse was abhorred by the Puritans, and avoided by those who desired the character of seriousness or decency. A grave lawyer would have debased his dignity, and a young trader would have impaired his credit, by appearing in those mansions of dissolute licentiousness. The profits of the theatre, when so many classes of the people were deducted from the audience, were not great; and the poet had, for a long time, but a single night. The first that had two nights was *Southern*; and the first that had three was *Rowe*. There were, however, in those days, arts of improving a poet's profit, which Dryden forbore to practise; and a play therefore seldom produced him more than a hundred pounds by the accumulated gain of the third night, the dedication, and the copy.

Almost every piece had a dedication, written with such elegance and luxuriance of praise as neither haughtiness nor avarice could be imagined able to resist. But he seems to have made flattery too cheap. That praise is worth nothing of which the price is known.

To increase the value of his copies, he often accompanied his work with a preface of criticism; a kind of learning then almost new in the English language, and which he, who had considered with great accuracy the principles of writing, was able to distribute copiously as occasions arose. By these dissertations the public judgment must have been much improved; and Swift, who conversed with Dryden, relates that he regretted the success of his own instructions, and found his readers made suddenly too skilful to be easily satisfied.

His prologues had such reputation, that for some time a play was considered as less likely to be well received, if some of his verses did not introduce it. The price of a prologue was two guineas, till, being asked to write one for Mr. Southern, he demanded three: "Not," said he, "young man, out of disrespect to you; but the players have had my goods too cheap."

Though he declares, that in his own opinion his genius was not dramatic, he had great confidence in his own fertility; for he is said to have engaged, by contract, to furnish four plays a year.

It is certain that in one year, 1678,† he published *All for Love*, *The Assignment*, two parts of the *Conquest of Granada*, *Sir Martin Marr-all*, and the *State of Innocence*, six complete plays, with a celerity of performance, which, though all Langbaine's charges of plagiarism should be allowed, shows such facility of composition, such readiness of language, and such copiousness of sentiment, as, since the time of Lopez de Vega, perhaps no other author has ever possessed.

He did not enjoy his reputation, however great, nor his profits, however small, without molestation. He had critics to endure, and rivals to oppose. The two most distinguished wits of the nobility, the Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Rochester, declared themselves his enemies.

* This is a mistake. It was set to music by Purcell, and well received, and is yet a favourite entertainment.—II.

† Dr Johnson in this assertion was misled by Langbaine. Only one of these plays appeared in 1678. Nor were there more than three in any one year. The dates are now added from the original editions.—R.

Buckingham characterised him, in 1671, by the name of *Bayes*, in the *Rehearsal*; a farce which he is said to have written with the assistance of Butler, the author of *Hudibras*; Martin Clifford, of the Charter-house; and Dr Sprat, the friend of Cowley, then his chaplain. Dryden and his friends laughed at the length of time, and the number of hands employed upon this performance; in which, though by some artifice of action it yet keeps possession of the stage, it is not possible now to find any thing that might not have been written without so long delay, or a confederacy so numerous.

To adjust the minute events of literary history, is tedious and troublesome; it requires indeed no great force of understanding, but often depends upon inquiries which there is no opportunity of making, or is to be fetched from books and pamphlets not always at hand.

The *Rehearsal* was played in 1671,* and yet is represented as ridiculing passages in the *Conquest of Granada*† and *Assignment*, which were not published till 1678; in *Marriage à-la-mode*, published in 1673; and in *Tyrannic Love*, in 1677. These contradictions show how rashly satire is applied.‡

It is said that this farce was originally intended against Davenant, who, in the first draught, was characterised by the name of *Bilboa*. Davenant had been a soldier and an adventurer.

There is one passage in the *Rehearsal* still remaining, which seems to have related originally to Davenant. *Bayes* hurts his nose, and comes in with brown paper applied to the bruise: how this affected Dryden does not appear. Davenant's nose had suffered such diminution by mishaps among the women, that a patch upon that part evidently denoted him.

It is said likewise that Sir Robert Howard was once meant. The design was probably to ridicule the reigning poet, whatever he might be.

Much of the personal satire, to which it might owe its first reception, is now lost or obscured. *Bayes* probably imitated the dress, and mimicked the manner of Dryden; the cant words which are so often in his mouth may be supposed to have been Dryden's habitual phrases, or customary exclamations. *Bayes*, when he is to write, is blooded and purged; this, as Lamotte relates himself to have heard, was the real practice of the poet.

There were other strokes in the *Rehearsal* by which malice was gratified; the debate between Love and Honour, which keeps prince *Volscius* in a single boot, is said to have alluded to the misconduct of the Duke of Ormond, who lost Dublin to the rebels while he was toying with a mistress.

The Earl of Rochester, to suppress the reputation of Dryden, took Settle into his protection, and endeavoured to persuade the public that its approbation had been to that time misplaced. Settle was a while in high reputation; his *Empress of Morocco*, having first delighted the town, was carried in triumph to Whitehall, and played by the ladies of the court. Now was the poetical meteor at the highest: the next moment began its fall. Rochester withdrew his patronage; seeming resolved, says one of his biographers, "to have a judgment contrary to that of the town;" perhaps being unable to endure any reputation beyond a certain height, even when he had himself contributed to raise it.

Neither critics nor rivals did Dryden much mischief, unless they gained from his own temper the power of vexing him, which his frequent bursts of resentment give reason to suspect. He is always angry at some past, or afraid of some future censure; but he lessens the smart of his wounds by the balm of his own approbation, and endeavours to repel the shafts of criticism by opposing a shield of adamant confidence.

The perpetual accusation produced against him, was that of plagiarism, against which he

* It was published in 1672.—R.

† The *Conquest of Granada* was published in 1672; The *Assignment*, in 1678; *Marriage à-la-mode* in the same year; and *Tyrannic Love* in 1672.

‡ There is no contradiction, according to Mr. Malone, but what arises from Dr. Johnson's having copied the erroneous dates assigned to these plays by Langbaine.—C.

never attempted any vigorous defence; for though he was perhaps sometimes injuriously censured, he would, by denying part of the charge, have confessed the rest; and, as his adversaries had the proof in their own hands, he, who knew that wit had little power against facts, wisely left, in that perplexity which it generally produces, a question which it was his interest to suppress, and which, unless provoked by vindication, few were likely to examine.

Though the life of a writer, from about thirty-five to sixty-three, may be supposed to have been sufficiently busied by the composition of eight-and-twenty pieces for the stage, Dryden found room in the same space for many other undertakings.

But, how much soever he wrote, he was at least once suspected of writing more; for, in 1679, a paper of verses, called *An Essay on Satire*, was shown about in manuscript; by which the Earl of Rochester, the Duchess of Portsmouth, and others, were so much provoked, that, as was supposed (for the actors were never discovered), they procured Dryden, whom they suspected as the author, to be waylaid and beaten. This incident is mentioned by the Duke of Buckinghamshire,* the true writer, in his *Art of Poetry*; where he says of Dryden,

"Though praised and beaten for another's rhymes,
His own deserve as great applause sometimes."

His reputation in time was such, that his name was thought necessary to the success of every poetical or literary performance, and therefore he was engaged to contribute something, whatever it might be, to many publications. He prefixed the Life of Polybius to the translation of Sir Henry Sheers: and those of Lucian and Plutarch, to versions of their works by different hands. Of the English Tacitus he translated the first book; and, if Gordon be credited, translated it from the French. Such a charge can hardly be mentioned without some degree of indignation; but it is not, I suppose, so much to be inferred, that Dryden wanted the literature necessary to the perusal of Tacitus, as that, considering himself as hidden in a crowd, he had no awe of the public; and, writing merely for money, was contented to get it by the nearest way.

In 1680, the *Epistles of Ovid* being translated by the poets of the time, among which one was the work of Dryden, and another of Dryden and Lord Mulgrave, it was necessary to introduce them by a preface; and Dryden, who on such occasions was regularly summoned, prefixed a discourse upon translation, which was then struggling for the liberty that it now enjoys. Why it should find any difficulty in breaking the shackles of verbal interpretation, which must for ever debar it from elegance, it would be difficult to conjecture, were not the power of prejudice every day observed. The authority of Jonson, Sandys, and Holiday, had fixed the judgment of the nation; and it was not easily believed that a better way could be found than they had taken, though Fanshawe, Denham, Waller, and Cowley, had tried to give examples of a different practice.

In 1681, Dryden became yet more conspicuous by uniting politics with poetry, in the memorable satire called *Abraham and Achitophel*, written against the faction which, by Lord Shaftesbury's incitement, set the Duke of Monmouth at its head.

Of this poem, in which personal satire was applied to the support of public principles, and in which therefore every mind was interested, the reception was eager, and the sale so large, that my father, an old bookseller, told me, he had not known it equalled but by Sacheverell's trial.

The reason of this general perusal Addison has attempted to derive from the delight which the mind feels in the investigation of secrets; and thinks that curiosity to decipher the names procured readers to the poem. There is no need to inquire why those verses were read, which, to all the attractions of wit, elegance, and harmony, added the co-operation of all the factious passions, and filled every mind with triumph or resentment.

* It is mentioned by A. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 804. 2nd Ed.—C.

It could not be supposed that all the provocation given by Dryden would be endured without resistance or reply. Both his person and his party were exposed in their turns to the shafts of satire, which, though neither so well pointed, nor perhaps so well aimed, undoubtedly drew blood.

* One of these poems is called *Dryden's Satire on his Muse*: ascribed, though, as Pope says, falsely, to Somers, who was afterwards chancellor. The poem, whosoever it was, has much virulence, and some sprightliness. The writer tells all the ill that he can collect both of Dryden and his friends.

The poem of *Absalom and Achitophel* had two answers, now both forgotten; one called *Azaria and Hushai*; the other *Absalom senior*. Of these hostile compositions, Dryden apparently imputes *Absalom senior* to Settle, by quoting in his verses against him the second line. *Azaria and Hushai* was, as Wood says, imputed to him, though it is somewhat unlikely that he should write twice on the same occasion. This is a difficulty which I cannot remove, for want of a minuter knowledge of poetical transactions.*

The same year he published *The Medal*, of which the subject is a medal struck on Lord Shaftesbury's escape from a prosecution, by the *ignoramus* of a grand jury of Londoners.

In both poems he maintains the same principles, and saw them both attacked by the same antagonist. Elkanah Settle, who had answered *Absalom*, appeared with equal courage in opposition to *The Medal*, and published an answer called *The Medal reversed*, with so much success in both encounters, that he left the palm doubtful, and divided the suffrages of the nation. Such are the revolutions of fame, or such is the prevalence of fashion, that the man, whose works have not yet been thought to deserve the care of collecting them, who died forgotten in an hospital, and whose latter years were spent in contriving shows for fairs, and carrying an elegy or epithalamium, of which the beginning and end were occasionally varied, but the intermediate parts were always the same, to every house where there was a funeral or a wedding, might with truth have had inscribed upon his stone,

"Here lies the Rival and Antagonist of Dryden."

Settle was, for his rebellion, severely chastised by Dryden under the name of *Doeg*, in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel*; and was perhaps for his factious audacity made the City poet, whose annual office was to describe the glories of the Mayor's day. Of these bards he was the last, and seems not much to have deserved even this degree of regard, if it was paid to his political opinions; for he afterwards wrote a panegyric on the virtues of Judge Jefferies; and what more could have been done by the meanest zealot for prerogative?

Of translated fragments, or occasional poems, to enumerate the titles, or settle the dates, would be tedious, with little use. It may be observed, that, as Dryden's genius was commonly excited by some personal regard, he rarely writes upon a general topic.

Soon after the accession of King James, when the design of reconciling the nation to the Church of Rome became apparent, and the religion of the court gave the only efficacious title to its favours, Dryden declared himself a convert to Popery. This at any other time might have passed with little censure. Sir Kenelm Digby embraced Popery; the two Reynolds reciprocally converted one another;† and Chillingworth himself was awhile so entangled in the wilds of controversy, as to retire for quiet to an infallible Church. If men of argument and study can find such difficulties, or such motives, as may either unite them to the Church of Rome, or detain them in uncertainty, there can be no wonder that a man, who perhaps never inquired why he was a Protestant, should by an artful and experienced disputant be made a Papist, overborne by the sudden violence of new and unexpected arguments, or

* *Azaria and Hushai* was written by Samuel Pordage, a dramatic writer of that time.—C.

† Dr. John Reynolds, who lived temp. Jac. I. was at first a zealous Papist, and his brother William as earnest

■ Protestant; but, by mutual disputation, each converted the other. See Fuller's Church History, p. 47. book x.—H.

deceived by a representation which shows only the doubts on one part, and only the evidence on the other.

That conversion will always be suspected that apparently concurs with interest. He that never finds his error till it hinders his progress towards wealth or honour, will not be thought to love Truth only for herself. Yet it may easily happen that information may come at a commodious time; and, as truth and interest are not by any fatal necessity at variance, that one may by accident introduce the other. When opinions are struggling into popularity, the arguments by which they are opposed or defended become more known; and he that changes his profession would perhaps have changed it before, with the like opportunities of instruction. This was the then state of Popery; every artifice was used to show it in its fairest form; and it must be owned to be a religion of external appearance sufficiently attractive.

It is natural to hope that a comprehensive is likewise an elevated soul, and that whoever is wise is also honest. I am willing to believe that Dryden, having employed his mind, active as it was, upon different studies, and filled it, capacious as it was, with other materials, came unprovided to the controversy, and wanted rather skill to discover the right, than virtue to maintain it. But inquiries into the heart are not for man; we must now leave him to his Judge.

The priests, having strengthened their cause by so powerful an adherent, were not long before they brought him into action. They engaged him to defend the controversial papers found in the strong box of Charles the Second; and, what yet was harder, to defend them against Stillingfleet.

With hopes of promoting Popery, he was employed to translate Maimbourg's *History of the League*; which he published with a large introduction. His name is likewise prefixed to the *English Life of Francis Xavier*; but I know not that he ever owned himself the translator. Perhaps the use of his name was a pious fraud, which however seems not to have had much effect; for neither of the books, I believe, was ever popular.

The version of *Xavier's Life* is commended by Brown, in a pamphlet not written to flatter; and the occasion of it is said to have been, that the Queen, when she solicited a son, made vows to him as her tutelary saint.

He was supposed to have undertaken to translate Varillas's *History of Heresies*; and, when Burnet published remarks upon it, to have written an *Answer*;* upon which Burnet makes the following observation:—

"I have been informed from England, that a gentleman, who is famous both for poetry and several other things, had spent three months in translating M. Varillas's *History*; but that, as soon as my *Reflections* appeared, he discontinued his labour, finding the credit of his author was gone. Now, if he thinks it is recovered by his *Answer*, he will perhaps go on with his translation; and this may be, for aught I know, as good an entertainment for him as the conversation that he had set on between the *Hinds* and *Panthers*, and all the rest of animals, for whom M. Varillas may serve well enough as an author: and this history and that poem are such extraordinary things of their kind, that it will be but suitable to see the author of the worst poem become likewise the translator of the worst history that the age has produced. If his grace and his wit improve both proportionably, he will hardly find that he has gained much by the change he has made, from having no religion, to choose one of the worst. It is true, he had somewhat to sink from in matter of wit; but, as for his morals, it is scarcely possible for him to grow a worse man than he was. He has lately wreaked his malice on me for spoiling his three months' labour; but in it he has done me all the honour that any man can receive from him, which is to be railed at by him. If I had ill-nature enough to prompt me to wish a very bad wish for him, it should be, that he would go on

* This is a mistake. See Malone p. 194 &c.—C.

and finish his translation. By that it will appear, whether the English nation, which is the most competent judge in this matter, has, upon the seeing our debate, pronounced in M. Varillas's favour, or in mine. It is true, Mr. D. will suffer a little by it; but at least it will serve to keep him in from other extravagances; and if he gains little honour by this work, yet he cannot lose so much by it as he has done by his last employment."

Having probably felt his own inferiority in theological controversy, he was desirous of trying whether, by bringing poetry to aid his arguments, he might become a more efficacious defender of his new profession. To reason in verse was, indeed, one of his powers; but subtilty and harmony, united, are still feeble, when opposed to truth.

Actuated therefore by zeal for Rome, or hope of fame, he published the *Hind and Panther*, a poem in which the Church of Rome, figured by the *milk-white Hind*, defends her tenets against the Church of England, represented by the *Panther*, a beast beautiful, but spotted.

A fable, which exhibits two beasts talking Theology, appears at once full of absurdity; and it was accordingly ridiculed in the *City Mouse* and *Country Mouse*, a parody, written by Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Prior, who then gave the first specimen of his abilities.

The conversion of such a man, at such a time, was not likely to pass uncensured. Three dialogues were published by the facetious Thomas Brown, of which the two first were called *Reasons of Mr. Bayes's changing his Religion*: and the third, *the Reasons of Mr. Hains the Player's Conversion and Re-conversion*. The first was printed in 1688, the second not till 1690, the third in 1691. The clamour seems to have been long continued, and the subject to have strongly fixed the public attention.

In the two first dialogues Bayes is brought into the company of Crites and Eugenius, with whom he had formerly debated on dramatic poetry. The two talkers in the third are Mr. Bayes and Mr. Hains.

Brown was a man not deficient in literature, nor destitute of fancy; but he seems to have thought it the pinnacle of excellence to be a *merry fellow*; and therefore laid out his powers upon small jests or gross buffoonery; so that his performances have little intrinsic value, and were read only while they were recommended by the novelty of the event that occasioned them.

These dialogues are like his other works: what sense or knowledge they contain is disgraced by the garb in which it is exhibited. One great source of pleasure is to call Dryden *little Bayes*. Ajax, who happens to be mentioned, is "he that wore as many cow-hides upon his shield as would have furnished half the King's army with shoe-leather."

Being asked whether he had seen the *Hind and Panther*, Crites answers: "Seen it! Mr. Bayes, why I can stir nowhere but it pursues me: it haunts me worse than a pewter-buttoned serjeant does a decayed cit. Sometimes I meet it in a bandbox, when my laundress brings home my linen; sometimes, whether I will or no, it lights my pipe at a coffee-house; sometimes it surprises me in a trunk-maker's shop; and sometimes it refreshes my memory for me on the backside of a Chancery-lane parcel. For your comfort, too, Mr. Bayes, I have not only seen it, as you may perceive, but have read it too, and can quote it as freely upon occasion as a frugal tradesman can quote that noble treatise, the *Worth of a Penny*, to his extravagant 'prentice, that revels in stewed apples and penny custards."

The whole animation of these compositions arises from a profusion of ludicrous and affected comparisons. "To secure one's chastity," says Bayes, "little more is necessary than to leave off a correspondence with the other sex, which, to a wise man, is no greater a punishment than it would be to a fanatic person to be forbid seeing *The Cheats* and *The Committee*; or for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen to be interdicted the sight of *The London Cuckolds*." This is the general strain, and therefore I shall be easily excused the labour of more transcription.

Brown does not wholly forget past transactions: "You began," says Crites to Bayes, "a

very different religion, and have not mended the matter in your last choice. It was but reason that your Muse, which appeared first in a tyrant's quarrel, should employ her last efforts to justify the usurpation of the *Hind*."

Next year the nation was summoned to celebrate the birth of the Prince. Now was the time for Dryden to rouse his imagination, and strain his voice. Happy days were at hand, and he was willing to enjoy and diffuse the anticipated blessings. He published a poem, filled with predictions of greatness and prosperity; predictions, of which it is not necessary to tell how they have been verified.

A few months passed after these joyful notes, and every blossom of Popish hope was blasted for ever by the Revolution. A Papist now could be no longer laurcat. The revenue, which he had enjoyed with so much pride and praise, was transferred to Shadwell, an old enemy, whom he had formerly stigmatised by the name of *Og*. Dryden could not decently complain that he was deposed; but seemed very angry that Shadwell succeeded him, and has therefore celebrated the intruder's inauguration in a poem exquisitely satirical, called *Mac Flecknoe*,* of which the Dunciad, as Pope himself declares, is an imitation, though more extended in its plan, and more diversified in its incidents.

It is related by Prior, that Lord Dorset, when, as Chamberlain, he was constrained to eject Dryden from his office, gave him from his own purse an allowance equal to the salary. This is no romantic or incredible act of generosity; an hundred a year is often enough given to claims less cogent by men less famed for liberality. Yet Dryden always represented himself as suffering under a public infliction; and once particularly demands respect for the patience with which he endured the loss of his little fortune. His patron might, indeed, enjoin him to suppress his bounty; but, if he suffered nothing, he should not have complained.

During the short reign of King James, he had written nothing for the stage,† being, in his opinion, more profitably employed in controversy and flattery. Of praise he might perhaps have been less lavish without inconvenience, for James was never said to have much regard for poetry: he was to be flattered only by adopting his religion.

Times were now changed: Dryden was no longer the court-poet, and was to look back for support to his former trade; and having waited about two years, either considering himself as discountenanced by the public, or perhaps expecting a second Revolution, he produced *Don Sebastian* in 1690; and in the next four years four dramas more.

In 1693 appeared a new version of Juvenal and Persius. Of Juvenal he translated the first, third, sixth, tenth, and sixteenth satires; and of Persius the whole work. On this occasion he introduced his two sons to the public, as nurselings of the Muses. The fourteenth of Juvenal was the work of John, and the seventh of Charles Dryden. He prefixed a very ample preface, in the form of a dedication to Lord Dorset; and there gives an account of the design which he had once formed to write an epic poem on the actions either of Arthur or the Black Prince. He considered the epic as necessarily including some kind of supernatural agency, and had imagined a new kind of contest between the guardian angels of kingdoms, of whom he conceived that each might be represented zealous for his charge, without any intended opposition to the purposes of the Supreme Being, of which all created minds must in part be ignorant.

This is the most reasonable scheme of celestial interposition that ever was formed. The surprises and terrors of enchantments, which have succeeded to the intrigues and oppositions of Pagan deities, afford very striking scenes, and open a vast extent to the imagination; but, as Boileau observes (and Boileau will be seldom found mistaken), with this incurable defect, that, in a contest between Heaven and Hell, we know at the beginning

* All Dryden's biographers have misdated this poem, which Mr. Malone's more accurate researches prove to have been published on the 4th of October, 1682.—C.

† *Alben and Albanus* must however be excepted.—R.

which is to prevail ; for this reason we follow Rinaldo to the enchanted wood with more curiosity than terror.

In the scheme of Dryden there is one great difficulty, which yet he would perhaps have had address enough to surmount. In a war, justice can be but on one side ; and, to entitle the hero to the protection of angels, he must fight in defence of indubitable right. Yet some of the celestial beings, thus opposed to each other must have been represented as defending guilt.

That this poem was never written, is reasonably to be lamented. It would doubtless have improved our numbers, and enlarged our language ; and might perhaps have contributed by pleasing instructions to rectify our opinions, and purify our manners.

What he required as the indispensable condition of such an undertaking, a public stipend, was not likely in these times to be obtained. Riches were not become familiar to us ; nor had the nation yet learned to be liberal.

This plan he charged Blackmore with stealing : "only," says he, "the guardian angels of kingdoms were machines too ponderous for him to manage."

In 1694, he began the most laborious and difficult of all his works, the translation of Virgil ; from which he borrowed two months, that he might turn "*Fresnoy's Art of Painting*" into English prose. The preface, which he boasts to have written in twelve mornings, exhibits a parallel of poetry and painting, with a miscellaneous collection of critical remarks, such as cost a mind stored like his no labour to produce them.

In 1697, he published his version of the works of Virgil ; and, that no opportunity of profit might be lost, dedicated the *Pastorals* to the Lord Clifford, the *Georgics* to the Earl of Chesterfield, and the *Æneid* to the Earl of Mulgrave. This economy of flattery, at once lavish and discreet, did not pass without observation.

This translation was censured by Milbourne, a clergyman, styled by Pope, "the fairest of critics," because he exhibited his own version to be compared with that which he condemned.

His last work was his *Fables*, published in consequence, as is supposed, of a contract now in the hands of Mr. Tonson : by which he obliged himself, in consideration of three hundred pounds, to finish for the press ten thousand verses.

In this volume is comprised the well-known ode on St. Cecilia's Day, which, as appeared by a letter communicated to Dr. Birch, he spent a fortnight in composing and correcting. But what is this to the patience and diligence of Boileau, whose *Equivoque*, a poem of only three hundred and forty-six lines, took from his life eleven months to write it, and three years to revise it ?

Part of his book of *Fables* is the first *Iliad* in English, intended as a specimen of a version of the whole. Considering into what hands Homer was to fall, the reader cannot but rejoice that this project went no further.

The time was now at hand which was to put an end to all his schemes and labours. On the first of May, 1701, having been some time, as he tells us, a cripple in his limbs, he died, in Gerard-street, of a mortification in his leg.

There is extant a wild story relating to some vexatious events that happened at his funeral, which, at the end of Congreve's *Life*, by a writer of I know not what credit, are thus related, as I find the account transferred to a biographical dictionary.

"Mr. Dryden dying on the Wednesday morning, Dr. Thomas Sprat, then Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster, sent the next day to the Lady Elizabeth Howard, Mr. Dryden's widow, that he would make a present of the ground, which was forty pounds, with all the other Abbey-fees. The Lord Halifax likewise sent to the Lady Elizabeth, and Mr. Charles Dryden her son, that, if they would give him leave to bury Mr. Dryden, he would inter him with a gentleman's private funeral, and afterwards bestow five hundred pounds on a monument in the Abbey ; which, as they had no reason to refuse, they accepted. On the Saturday following the company came ; the corpse was put into a velvet hearse ; and eighteen mourning coaches, filled with company, attended. When they were just ready to

move, the Lord Jefferies, son of the Lord Chancellor Jefferies, with some of his rakish companions, coming by, asked whose funeral it was : and being told Mr. Dryden's, he said, 'What, shall Dryden, the greatest honour and ornament of the nation, be buried after this private manner ! No, gentlemen, let all that loved Mr. Dryden, and honour his memory, alight and join with me in gaining my lady's consent to let me have the honour of his interment, which shall be after another manner than this ; and I will bestow a thousand pounds on a monument in the Abbey for him. The gentlemen in the coaches, not knowing of the Bishop of Rochester's favour, nor of the Lord Halifax's generous design (they both having, out of respect to the family, enjoined the Lady Elizabeth, and her son, to keep their favour concealed to the world, and let it pass for their own expense), readily came out of their coaches, and attended Lord Jefferies up to the lady's bedside, who was then sick. He repeated the purport of what he had before said ; but she absolutely refusing, he fell on his knees, vowing never to rise till his request was granted. The rest of the company by his desire kneeled also ; and the lady, being under a sudden surprize, fainted away. As soon as she recovered her speech, she cried, *No, no*. Enough, gentlemen, replied he ; my lady is very good, she says, *Go, go*. She repeated her former words with all her strength, but in vain, for her feeble voice was lost in their acclamations of joy ; and the Lord Jefferies ordered the hearsemen to carry the corpse to Mr. Russel's, an undertaker in Cheapside, and leave it there till he should send orders for the embalment, which, he added, should be after the royal manner. His directions were obeyed, the company dispersed, and Lady Elizabeth and her son remained inconsolable. The next day Mr. Charles Dryden waited on the Lord Halifax and the Bishop, to excuse his mother and himself, by relating the real truth. But neither his Lordship nor the Bishop would admit of any plea ; especially the latter, who had the Abbey lighted, the ground opened, the choir attending, an anthem ready set, and himself waiting for some time without any corpse to bury. The undertaker, after three days expectance of orders for embalment without receiving any, waited on the Lord Jefferies ; who, pretending ignorance of the matter, turned it off with an ill-natured jest, saying, that those who observed the orders of a drunken frolick deserved no better ; that he remembered nothing at all of it ; and that he might do what he pleased with the corpse. Upon this, the undertaker waited upon the Lady Elizabeth and her son, and threatened to bring the corpse home, and set it before the door. They desired a day's respite, which was granted. Mr. Charles Dryden wrote a handsome letter to the Lord Jefferies, who returned it with this cool answer : 'That he knew nothing of the matter, and would be troubled no more about it.' He then addressed the Lord Halifax and the Bishop of Rochester, who absolutely refused to do anything in it. In this distress Dr. Garth sent for the corpse to the College of Physicians, and proposed a funeral by subscription, to which himself set a most noble example. At last a day, about three weeks after Mr. Dryden's decease, was appointed for the interment. Dr. Garth pronounced a fine Latin oration, at the College, over the corpse* ; which was attended to the Abbey by a numerous train of coaches. When the funeral was over, Mr. Charles Dryden sent a challenge to the Lord Jefferies, who refusing to answer it, he sent several others, and went often himself ; but could neither get a letter delivered, nor admittance to speak to him ; which so incensed him, that he resolved, since his Lordship refused to answer him like a gentleman, that he would watch an opportunity to meet and fight off-hand, though with all the rules of honour ; which his Lordship hearing, left the town : and Mr. Charles Dryden could never have the satisfaction of meeting him, though he sought it till his death with the utmost application."

* In a satirical poem, entitled "The Apparition," &c. of which there were two editions in 1710, Garth's eloquence, on this occasion, is thus described:

"John Dryden, with his brethren of the bays,
His love to Garth, blaspheming Garth, conveys,
And thanks him for his Pagan funeral praise."—T

This story I once intended to omit, as it appears with no great evidence ; nor have I met with any confirmation, but in a letter of Farquhar ; and he only relates that the funeral of Dryden was tumultuary and confused.*

Supposing the story true, we may remark, that the gradual change of manners, though imperceptible in the process, appears great when different times, and those not very distant, are compared. If at this time a young drunken Lord should interrupt the pompous regularity of a magnificent funeral, what would be the event, but that he would be justled out of the way, and compelled to be quiet ? If he should thrust himself into an house, he would be sent roughly away ; and, what is yet more to the honour of the present time, I believe that those, who had subscribed to the funeral of a man like Dryden, would not, for such an accident, have withdrawn their contributions.†

He was buried among the poets in Westminster Abbey, where, though the Duke of Newcastle had, in a general dedication prefixed by Congreve to his dramatic works, accepted thanks for his intention of erecting him a monument, he lay long without distinction, till the Duke of Buckinghamshire gave him a tablet, inscribed only with the name of DRYDEN.

He married the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, with circumstances, according to the satire imputed to Lord Somers, not very honourable to either party ; by her he had three sons, Charles, John, and Henry. Charles was usher of the palace to Pope Clement the XIth ; and, visiting England in 1704, was drowned in an attempt to swim across the Thames at Windsor.

John was author of a comedy called *The Husband his own Cuckold*. He is said to have died at Rome. Henry entered into some religious order. It is some proof of Dryden's sincerity in his second religion, that he taught it to his sons. A man, conscious of hypocritical profession in himself, is not likely to convert others ; and, as his sons were qualified in 1693 to appear among the translators of Juvenal, they must have been taught some religion before their father's change.

Of the person of Dryden I know not any account ; of his mind, the portrait which has been left by Congreve, who knew him with great familiarity, is such as adds our love of his manners to our admiration of his genius. "He was," we are told, "of a nature exceedingly humane and compassionate, ready to forgive injuries, and capable of a sincere reconciliation with those who had offended him. His friendship, where he professed it, went beyond his professions. He was of a very easy, of very pleasing access ; but somewhat slow, and, as it were diffident, in his advances to others : he had that in nature which abhorred intrusion into any society whatever. He was therefore less known, and consequently his character became more liable to misapprehensions and misrepresentations : he was very modest, and very easily to be discountenanced in his approaches to his equals or superiors. As his reading had been very extensive, so was he very happy in a memory tenacious of everything that he had read. He was not more possessed of knowledge than he was communicative of it ; but then his communication was by no means pedantic, or imposed upon the conversation, but just such, and went so far, as, by the natural turn of the conversation in which he was engaged, it was necessarily promoted or required. He was extremely ready and gentle in

* An earlier account of Dryden's funeral than that above cited, though without the circumstances that preceded it, is given by Edward Ward, who, in his *London Spy*, published in 1706, relates, that on the occasion there was a performance of solemn music at the College ; and that at the procession, which himself saw, standing at the end of Chancery-lane, Fleet-street, there was a concert of hautyboys and trumpets. The day of Dryden's interment, he says, was Monday the 18th of May, which, according to Johnson, was twelve days after his decease, and shews how long his funeral was in suspense. Ward knew not that the expense of it was defrayed by subscription ; but compliments Lord Jefferies for so pious an undertaking. He also says, that the cause of Dryden's death was an inflammation in his toe, occasioned by the flesh growing over the nail, which being neglected produced a mortification in his leg.—H.

† In the Register of the College of Physicians, is the following entry : "May 3, 1700 Comitibus Censoriis ordinatis. At the request of several persons of quality, that Mr. Dryden might be carried from the College of Physicians to be interred at Westminster, it was unanimously granted by the President and Censors."

This entry is not calculated to afford any credit to the narrative concerning Lord Jefferies.—R.

his correction of the errors of any writer who thought fit to consult him, and full as ready and patient to admit the reprehensions of others, in respect of his own oversights or mistakes."

To this account of Congreve nothing can be objected but the fondness of friendship ; and to have excited that fondness in such a mind is no small degree of praise. The disposition of Dryden, however, is shown in this character rather as it exhibited itself in cursory conversation, than as it operated on the more important parts of life. His placability and his friendship indeed were solid virtues ; but courtesy and good-humour are often found with little real worth. Since Congreve, who knew him well, has told us no more, the rest must be collected as it can from other testimonies, and particularly from those notices which Dryden has very liberally given us of himself.

The modesty which made him so slow to advance, and so easy to be repulsed, was certainly no suspicion of deficient merit, or unconsciousness of his own value : he appears to have known, in its whole extent, the dignity of his own character, and to have set a very high value on his own powers and performances. He probably did not offer his conversation, because he expected it to be solicited ; and he retired from a cold reception, not submissive but indignant, with such deference of his own greatness as made him unwilling to expose it to neglect or violation.

His modesty was by no means inconsistent with ostentatiousness ; he is diligent enough to remind the world of his merit, and expresses with very little scruple his high opinion of his own powers ; but his self-commendations are read without scorn or indignation ; we allow his claims, and love his frankness.

Tradition, however, has not allowed that his confidence in himself exempted him from jealousy of others. He is accused of envy and insidiousness ; and is particularly charged with inciting Creech to translate Horace, that he might lose the reputation which Lucretius had given him.*

Of this charge we immediately discover that it is merely conjectural ; the purpose was such as no man would confess ; and a crime that admits no proof, why should we believe ?

He has been described as magisterially presiding over the younger writers, and assuming the distribution of poetical fame ; but he who excels has a right to teach, and he whose judgment is incontestable may without usurpation examine and decide.

Congreve represents him as ready to advise and instruct ; but there is reason to believe that his communication was rather useful than entertaining. He declares of himself that he was saturnine, and not one of those whose sprightly sayings diverted company ; and one of his censurers makes him say,

" Nor wine nor love could ever see me gay ;
To writing bred, I knew not what to say."

There are men whose powers operate only at leisure and in retirement, and whose intellectual vigour deserts them in conversation ; whom merriment confuses, and objection disconcerts ; whose bashfulness restrains their exertion, and suffers them not to speak till the time of speaking is past ; or whose attention to their own character makes them unwilling to utter at hazard what has not been considered, and cannot be recalled.

Of Dryden's sluggishness in conversation it is vain to search or to guess the cause. He certainly wanted neither sentiments nor language ; his intellectual treasures were great, though they were locked up from his own use. "His thoughts," when he wrote, "flowed in

* The accusation against Dryden of having incited Creech to translate Horace, that, by his failure in that work, he might lose the reputation which his poetical version of Lucretius had procured him, is proved by Mr. Malone to be an impudent and malicious falsehood, and is traced by him to Tom Brown.

See Mr. Malone's *Life of Dryden*, p. 508—511. —T

upon him so fast, that his only care was which to chuse, and which to reject." Such rapidity of composition naturally promises a flow of talk; yet we must be content to believe what an enemy says of him, when he likewise says it of himself. But, whatever was his character as a companion, it appears that he lived in familiarity with the highest persons of his time. It is related by Carte of the Duke of Ormond, that he used often to pass a night with Dryden, and those with whom Dryden consorted: who they were, Carte has not told, but certainly the convivial table at which Ormond sat was not surrounded with a plebeian society. He was indeed reproached with boasting of his familiarity with the great; and Horace will support him in the opinion, that to please superiors is not the lowest kind of merit.

The merit of pleasing must, however, be estimated by the means. Favour is not always gained by good actions or laudable qualities. Caresses and preferments are often bestowed on the auxiliaries of vice, the procurers of pleasure, or the flatterers of vanity. Dryden has never been charged with any personal agency unworthy of a good character: he abetted vice and vanity only with his pen. One of his enemies has accused him of lewdness in his conversation; but, if accusation without proof be credited, who shall be innocent?

His works afford too many examples of dissolute licentiousness and abject adulation, but they were probably, like his merriment, artificial and constrained; the effects of study and meditation, and his trade rather than his pleasure.

Of the mind that can trade in corruption, and can deliberately pollute itself with ideal wickedness for the sake of spreading the contagion in society, I wish not to conceal or excuse the depravity. Such degradation of the dignity of genius, such abuse of superlative abilities, cannot be contemplated but with grief and indignation. What consolation can be had, Dryden has afforded, by living to repent, and to testify his repentance.

Of dramatic immorality he did not want examples among his predecessors, or companions among his contemporaries; but, in the meanness and servility of hyperbolic adulation, I know not whether, since the days in which the Roman emperors were deified, he has been ever equalled, except by Afra Behn, in an address to Eleanor Gwyn. When once he has undertaken the task of praise, he no longer retains shame in himself, nor supposes it in his patron. As many odoriferous bodies are observed to diffuse perfumes from year to year, without sensible diminution of bulk or weight, he appears never to have impoverished his mint of flattery by his expenses, however lavish. He had all the forms of excellence, intellectual and moral, combined in his mind, with endless variation; and, when he had scattered on the hero of the day the golden shower of wit and virtue, he had ready for him, whom he wished to court on the morrow, new wit and virtue with another stamp. Of this kind of meanness he never seems to decline the practice, or lament the necessity: he considers the great as entitled to encomiastic homage, and brings praise rather as a tribute than a gift, more delighted with the fertility of his invention, than mortified by the prostitution of his judgment. It is indeed not certain, that on these occasions his judgment much rebelled against his interest. There are minds which easily sink into submission, that look on grandeur with undistinguishing reverence, and discover no defect where there is elevation of rank and affluence of riches.

With his praises of others and of himself is always intermingled a strain of discontent and lamentation, a sullen growl of resentment or a querulous murmur of distress. His works are undervalued, his merit is unrewarded, and "he has few thanks to pay his stars that he was born among Englishmen." To his critics he is sometimes contemptuous, sometimes resentful, and sometimes submissive.* The writer who thinks his works formed for duration,

* His satire was evidently dreaded, as appears in *The Cavalier's Litaney*, printed in 1682.

"From dining with Bethel and supping with Clayton,
From a lash with the quill of satirical Dryden,
From a high-mettled Whig that was kick'd at Low-Layton,
Libera nos, &c."—T.

mistakes his interest when he mentions his enemies. He degrades his own dignity by showing that he was affected by their censures, and gives lasting importance to names, which, left to themselves, would vanish from remembrance. From this principle Dryden did not often depart; his complaints are for the greater part general; he seldom pollutes his pages with an adverse name. He condescended indeed to a controversy with Settle, in which he perhaps may be considered rather as assaulting than repelling; and since Settle is sunk into oblivion, his libel remains injurious only to himself.

Among answers to critics, no poetical attacks, or altercations, are to be included; they are like other poems, effusions of genius, produced as much to obtain praise as to obviate censure. These Dryden practised, and in these he excelled.

Of Collier, Blackmore, and Milbourn, he has made mention in the Preface of his *Fables*. To the censure of Collier, whose remarks may be rather termed admonitions than criticisms, he makes little reply; being, at the age of sixty-eight, attentive to better things than the claps of a playhouse. He complains of Collier's rudeness, and the "horse-play of his railery;" and asserts, that "in many places he has perverted by his glosses the meaning" of what he censures; but in other things he confesses that he is justly taxed; and says with great calmness and candour, "I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts or expressions of mine that can be truly accused of obscenity, immorality, or profaneness, and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, he will be glad of my repentance." Yet as our best dispositions are imperfect, he left standing in the same book a reflection on Collier of great asperity, and indeed of more asperity than wit.

Blackmore he represents as made his enemy by the poem of *Absalom and Achitophel*, which "he thinks a little hard upon his fanatic patrons;" and charges him with borrowing the plan of his *Arthur* from the Preface to Juvenal, "though he had," says he, "the baseness not to acknowledge his benefactor, but instead of it to traduce me in a libel."

The libel in which Blackmore traduced him was a *Satire upon Wit*; in which, having lamented the exuberance of false wit and the deficiency of true, he proposes that all wit should be re-coined before it is current, and appoints masters of assay who shall reject all that is light or debased:—

" 'Tis true, that when the coarse and worthless dross
Is purged away, there will be mighty loss;
Ev'n Congreve, Southen, manly Wychely,
When thus refined will grievous sufferers be.
Into the melting pot when Dryden comes,
What horrid stench will rise, what noisome fumes!
How will he shrink, when all his lewd alloy
And wicked mixture shall be purged away!"

Thus stands the passage in the last edition; but in the original there was an abatement of the censure, beginning thus:—

"But what remains will be so pure, 'twill bear
Th' examination of the most severe."

Blackmore, finding the censure resented, and the civility disregarded, ungenerously omitted the softer part. Such variations discover a writer who consults his passions more than his virtue; and it may be reasonably supposed that Dryden imputes his enmity to its true cause.

Of Milbourn he wrote only in general terms, such as are always ready at the call of anger, whether just or not: a short extract will be sufficient. "He pretends a quarrel to me, that I have fallen foul upon priesthood: if I have, I am only to ask pardon of good priests, and am afraid his share of the reparation will come to little. Let him be satisfied that he shall never be able to force himself upon me for an adversary; I condemn him too much to enter into competition with him.

"As for the rest of those who have written against me, they are such scoundrels that they deserve not the least notice to be taken of them. Blackmore and Milbourne are only distinguished from the crowd by being remembered to their infamy."

Dryden indeed discovered, in many of his writings, an affected and absurd malignity to priests and priesthood, which naturally raised him many enemies, and which was sometimes as unseasonably resented as it was exerted. Trapp is angry that he calls the sacrificer in the *Georgics* "The Holy Butcher:" the translation is indeed ridiculous; but Trapp's anger arises from his zeal, not for the author, but the priest; as if any reproach of the follies of Paganism could be extended to the preachers of truth.

Dryden's dislike of the priesthood is imputed by Langbaine, and I think by Brown,* to a repulse which he suffered when he solicited ordination; but he denies, in the Preface to his Fables, that he ever designed to enter into the Church; and such a denial he would not have hazarded, if he could have been convicted of falsehood.

Malevolence to the clergy is seldom at a great distance from irreverence of religion, and Dryden affords no exception to this observation. His writings exhibit many passages, which, with all the allowance that can be made for characters and occasions, are such as piety would not have admitted, and such as may vitiate light and unprincipled minds. But there is no reason for supposing that he disbelieved the religion which he disobeyed. He forgot his duty rather than disowned it. His tendency to profaneness is the effect of levity, negligence, and loose conversation, with a desire of accommodating himself to the corruption of the times, by venturing to be wicked as far as he durst. When he professed himself a convert to Popery, he did not pretend to have received any new conviction of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

The persecution of critics was not the worst of his vexations; he was much more disturbed by the importunities of want. His complaints of poverty are so frequently repeated, either with the dejection of weakness sinking in helpless misery, or the indignation of merit claiming its tribute from mankind, that it is impossible not to detest the age which could impose on such a man the necessity of such solicitations, or not to despise the man who could submit to such solicitations without necessity.

Whether by the world's neglect, or his own imprudence, I am afraid that the greatest part of his life was passed in exigencies. Such outcries were surely never uttered but in severe pain. Of his supplies or his expenses, no probable estimate can now be made. Except the salary of the Laureat, to which King James added the office of Historiographer, perhaps with some additional emoluments, his whole revenue seems to have been casual; and it is well known that he seldom lives frugally who lives by chance. Hope is always liberal; and they that trust her promises, make little scruple of revelling to-day on the profits of the morrow.

Of his plays the profit was not great; and of the produce of his other works very little intelligence can be had. By discoursing with the late amiable Mr. Tonson, I could not find that any memorials of the transactions between his predecessor and Dryden had been preserved, except the following papers:—

"I do hereby promise to pay John Dryden, Esq., or order, on the 25th of March, 1699, the sum of two hundred and fifty guineas, in consideration of ten thousand verses, which the

* See also a Poem in Defence of the Church of England, in opposition to the Hind and Panther. Fol. Lond. 1688.

"Friend Bayes! I fear this fable, and these rimes,
Were thy dull penance for some former crimes,
When thy free muse her own brisk language spoke,
And, unbaptized, disdain'd the Christian yoke.

"The Spanish Flyer not thought himself revenged,
Until thy style, as well as faith, were changed.
Our Church refused *his* orders; whence I find
Her call'd the *Panther*, that of Rome the *Hind*."—T.

said John Dryden, Esq., is to deliver to me Jacob Tonson, when finished, whereof seven thousand five hundred verses, more or less, are already in the said Jacob Tonson's possession. And I do hereby farther promise, and engage myself, to make up the said sum of two hundred and fifty guineas three hundred pounds sterling to the said John Dryden, Esq., his executors, administrators, or assigns, at the beginning of the second impression of the said ten thousand verses.

"In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this 20th day of March, 1698-9. "JACOB TONSON."

"Sealed and delivered, being first duly stampd, pursuant to the Acts of Parliament for that purpose, in the presence of

"BEN. PORTLOCK,
WILL. CONGREVE."

"March 24, 1698.

"Received then of Mr. Jacob Tonson the sum of two hundred sixty-eight pounds fifteen shillings, in pursuance of an agreement for ten thousand verses, to be delivered by me to the said Jacob Tonson, whereof I have already delivered to him about seven thousand five hundred, more or less; he the said Jacob Tonson being obliged to make up the foresaid sum of two hundred sixty-eight pounds fifteen shillings three hundred pounds, at the beginning of the second impression of the foresaid ten thousand verses.

"I say, received by me,

"JOHN DRYDEN."

"Witness, CHARLES DRYDEN."

Two hundred and fifty guineas, at 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* is 268*l.* 15*s.*

It is manifest, from the dates of this contract, that it relates to the volume of *Fables*, which contains about twelve thousand verses, and for which therefore the payment must have been afterwards enlarged.

I have been told of another letter yet remaining, in which he desires Tonson to bring him money, to pay for a watch which he had ordered for his son, and which the maker would not leave without the price.

The inevitable consequence of poverty is dependence. Dryden had probably no recourse in his exigencies but to his bookseller. The particular character of Tonson I do not know; but the general conduct of traders was much less liberal in those times than in our own: their views were narrower, and their manners grosser. To the mercantile ruggedness of that race, the delicacy of the poet was sometimes exposed. Lord Bolingbroke, who in his youth had cultivated poetry, related to Dr. King, of Oxford, that one day, when he visited Dryden, they heard, as they were conversing, another person entering the house. "This," said Dryden, "is Tonson. You will take care not to depart before he goes away; for I have not completed the sheet which I promised him; and if you leave me unprotected, I must suffer all the rudeness to which his resentment can prompt his tongue."

What rewards he obtained for his poems, besides the payment of the bookseller, cannot be known. Mr. Derrick, who consulted some of his relations, was informed that his *Fables* obtained five hundred pounds from the Duchess of Ormond; a present not unsuitable to the magnificence of that splendid family; and he quotes Moyle, as relating that forty pounds were paid by a musical society for the use of *Alexander's Feast*.

In those days the economy of government was yet unsettled, and the payments of the Exchequer were dilatory and uncertain: of this disorder there is reason to believe that the Laureat sometimes felt the effects; for, in one of his Prefaces, he complains of those, who, being entrusted with the distribution of the Prince's bounty, suffer those that depend upon it to languish in penury.

Of his petty habits, or slight amusements, tradition has retained little. Of the only two men whom I have found to whom he was personally known, one told me, that at the house

which he frequented, called Will's Coffee-house, the appeal upon any literary dispute was made to him; and the other related, that his armed chair, which in the winter had a settled and prescriptive place by the fire, was in the summer placed in the balcony, and that he called the two places his winter and his summer seat. This is all the intelligence which his two survivors afforded me.

One of his opinions will do him no honour in the present age, though in his own time, at least in the beginning of it, he was far from having it confined to himself. He put great confidence in the prognostications of judicial astrology. In the Appendix to the Life of Congreve is a narrative of some of his predictions wonderfully fulfilled; but I know not the writer's means of information, or character of veracity. That he had the configurations of the horoscope in his mind, and considered them as influencing the affairs of men, he does not forbear to hint:—

"The utmost malice of the stars is past.—
Now frequent *truces* the happier lights among,
And *high-raised Jove*, from his dark prison freed,
Those weights took off that on his planet hung,
Will gloriously the new-laid works succeed."

He has elsewhere shown his attention to the planetary powers; and in the preface to his Fables has endeavoured obliquely to justify his superstition by attributing the same to some of the ancients. The latter, added to this narrative, leaves no doubt of his notions or practice.

So slight and so scanty is the knowledge which I have been able to collect concerning the private life and domestic manners of a man whom every English generation must mention with reverence as a critic and a poet.

DRYDEN may be properly considered as the father of English criticism, as the writer who first taught us to determine upon principles the merit of composition. Of our former poets, the greatest dramatist wrote without rules, conducted through life and nature by a genius that rarely misled, and rarely deserted him. Of the rest, those who knew the laws of propriety had neglected to teach them.

Two *Arts of English Poetry* were written in the days of Elizabeth by Webb and Puttenham, from which something might be learned, and a few hints had been given by Jonson and Cowley; but Dryden's *Essay on Dramatic Poetry* was the first regular and valuable treatise on the art of writing.

He who, having formed his opinions in the present age of English literature, turns back to peruse this dialogue, will not perhaps find much increase of knowledge, or much novelty of instruction; but he is to remember that critical principles were then in the hands of a few, who had gathered them partly from the ancients, and partly from the Italians and French. The structure of dramatic poems was then not generally understood. Audiences applauded by instinct; and poets perhaps often pleased by chance.

A writer who obtains his full purpose loses himself in his own lustre. Of an opinion which is no longer doubted, the evidence ceases to be examined. Of an art universally practised, the first teacher is forgotten. Learning once made popular is no longer learning; it has the appearance of something which we have bestowed upon ourselves, as the dew appears to rise from the field which it refreshes.

To judge rightly of an author, we must transport ourselves to his time, and examine what were the wants of his contemporaries, and what were his means of supplying them. That which is easy at one time was difficult at another. Dryden at least imported his science, and gave his country what it wanted before; or rather, he imported only the materials, and manufactured them by his own skill.

The Dialogue on the Drama was one of his first essays of criticism, written when he was yet a timorous candidate for reputation, and therefore laboured with that diligence which he

might allow himself somewhat to remit, when his name gave sanction to his positions, and his awe of the public was abated, partly by custom, and partly by success. It will not be easy to find, in all the opulence of our language, a treatise so artfully variegated with successive representations of opposite probabilities, so enlivened with imagery, so brightened with illustrations. His portraits of the English dramatists are wrought with great spirit and diligence. The account of Shakspeare may stand as a perpetual model of encomiastic criticism; exact without minuteness, and lofty without exaggeration. The praise lavished by Longinus, on the attestation of the heroes of Marathon, by Demosthenes, fades away before it. In a few lines is exhibited a character so extensive in its comprehension, and so curious in its limitations, that nothing can be added, diminished, or reformed: nor can the editors and admirers of Shakspeare, in all their emulation of reverence, boast of much more than of having diffused and paraphrased this epitome of excellence; of having changed Dryden's gold for baser metal, of lower value, though of greater bulk.

In this, and in all his other essays on the same subject, the criticism of Dryden is the criticism of a poet; not a dull collection of theorems, nor a rude detection of faults, which perhaps the censor was not able to have committed; but a gay and vigorous dissertation, where delight is mingled with instruction, and where the author proves his right of judgment by his power of performance.

The different manner and effect with which critical knowledge may be conveyed, was perhaps never more clearly exemplified than in the performances of Rymer and Dryden. It was said of a dispute between two mathematicians, "*malim cum Scaligero errare, quam cum Clavio rectè sapere*;" that "it was more eligible to go wrong with one, than right with the other." A tendency of the same kind every mind must feel at the perusal of Dryden's prefaces and Rymer's discourses. With Dryden we are wandering in quest of Truth; whom we find, if we find her at all, dressed in the graces of elegance; and, if we miss her, the labour of the pursuit rewards itself: we are led only through fragrance and flowers. Rymer, without taking a nearer, takes a rougher way; every step is to be made through thorns and brambles; and Truth, if we meet her, appears repulsive by her mien, and ungraceful by her habit. Dryden's criticism has the majesty of a queen; Rymer's has the ferocity of a tyrant.

As he had studied with great diligence the art of Poetry, and enlarged or rectified his notions, by experience perpetually increasing, he had his mind stored with principles and observations; he poured out his knowledge with little labour; for of labour, notwithstanding the multiplicity of his productions, there is sufficient reason to suspect that he was not a lover. To write *con amore*, with fondness for the employment, with perpetual touches and retouches, with unwillingness to take leave of his own idea, and an unwearied pursuit of unattainable perfection, was, I think, no part of his character.

His criticism may be considered as general or occasional. In his general precepts, which depend upon the nature of things, and the structure of the human mind, he may doubtless be safely recommended to the confidence of the reader; but his occasional and particular positions were sometimes interested, sometimes negligent, and sometimes capricious. It is not without reason that Trapp, speaking of the praises which he bestows on Palamon and Arcite, says, "*Novimus judicium Drydeni de poemate quodam Chaucerii, pulchro sane illo, et admodum laudando, nimirum quod non modo vere epicum sit, sed Iliada etiam atque Æneada sequet, imo superet. Sed novimus eodem tempore viri illius maximi non semper accuratissimas esse censuras, nec ad severissimam criticæ normam exactas: illo judice id plerumque optimum est, quod nunc præ manibus habet, et in quo nunc occupatur.*"

He is therefore by no means constant to himself. His defence and desertion of dramatic rhyme is generally known. Spence, in his remarks on Pope's *Odyssey*, produces what he thinks an unconquerable quotation from Dryden's preface to the *Æneid*, in favour of translating an epic poem into blank verse; but he forgets that when his author attempted

the *Iliad*, some years afterwards, he departed from his own decision, and translated into rhyme.

When he has any objection to obviate, or any licence to defend, he is not very scrupulous about what he asserts, nor very cautious, if the present purpose be served, not to entangle himself in his own sophistries. But, when all arts are exhausted, like other hunted animals, he sometimes stands at bay; when he cannot disown the grossness of one of his plays, he declares that he knows not any law that prescribes morality to a comic poet.

His remarks on ancient or modern writers are not always to be trusted. His parallel of the versification of Ovid with that of Claudian has been very justly censured by Sewel.* His comparison of the first line of Virgil with the first of Statius is not happier. Virgil, he says, is soft and gentle, and would have thought Statius mad, if he had heard him thundering out

“*Quæ superimposito moles geminata colosso.*”

Statius perhaps heats himself, as he proceeds, to exaggeration somewhat hyperbolical; but undoubtedly Virgil would have been too hasty, if he had condemned him to straw for one sounding line. Dryden wanted an instance, and the first that occurred was impressed into the service.

What he wishes to say, he says at hazard; he cited *Gorbuduc*, which he had never seen; gives a false account of Chapman's versification; and discovers, in the preface to his *Fables*, that he translated the first book of the *Iliad* without knowing what was in the second.

It will be difficult to prove that Dryden ever made any great advances in literature. As having distinguished himself at Westminster under the tuition of Busby, who advanced his scholars to a height of knowledge very rarely attained in grammar-schools, he resided afterwards at Cambridge; it is not to be supposed, that his skill in the ancient languages was deficient, compared with that of common students; but his scholastic acquisitions seem not proportionate to his opportunities and abilities. He could not, like Milton or Cowley, have made his name illustrious merely by his learning. He mentions but few books, and those such as lie in the beaten track of regular study; from which if ever he departs, he is in danger of losing himself in unknown regions.

In his *Dialogue on the Drama*, he pronounces with great confidence that the Latin tragedy of *Medea* is not Ovid's, because it is not sufficiently interesting and pathetic. He might have determined the question upon surer evidence; for it is quoted by Quintilian as the work of Seneca; and the only line which remains in Ovid's play, for one line is left us, is not there to be found. There was therefore no need of the gravity of conjecture, or the discussion of plot or sentiment, to find what was already known upon higher authority than such discussions can ever reach.

His literature, though not always free from ostentation, will be commonly found either obvious, and made his own by the art of dressing it; or superficial, which, by what he gives, shows what he wanted; or erroneous, hastily collected, and negligently scattered.

Yet it cannot be said that his genius is ever unprovided of matter, or that his fancy languishes in penury of ideas. His works abound with knowledge, and sparkle with illustrations. There is scarcely any science or faculty that does not supply him with occasional images and lucky similitudes; every page discovers a mind very widely acquainted both with art and nature, and in full possession of great stores of intellectual wealth. Of him that knows much it is natural to suppose that he has read with diligence: yet I rather believe that the knowledge of Dryden was gleaned from accidental intelligence and various conversation, by a quick apprehension, a judicious selection, and a happy memory; a keen appetite of knowledge, and a powerful digestion; by vigilance that permitted nothing to

* Preface to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.—Dr. J.

pass without notice, and a habit of reflection that suffered nothing useful to be lost. A mind like Dryden's, always curious, always active, to which every understanding was proud to be associated, and of which every one solicited the regard, by an ambitious display of himself, had a more pleasant, perhaps a nearer way to knowledge than by the silent progress of solitary reading. I do not suppose that he despised books, or intentionally neglected them; but that he was carried out, by the impetuosity of his genius, to more vivid and speedy instructors; and that his studies were rather desultory and fortuitous than constant and systematical.

It must be confessed that he scarcely ever appears to want book-learning but when he mentions books; and to him may be transferred the praise which he gives his master Charles:—

"His conversation, wit, and parts,
His knowledge in the noblest useful arts,
Were such, dead authors could not give,
But habits of those that live:
Who, lighting him, did greater lights receive;
He drain'd from all, and all they knew,
His apprehensions quick, his judgment true;
That the most learn'd with shame confess
His knowledge more, his reading only less."

Of all this, however, if the proof be demanded, I will not undertake to give it: the atoms of probability, of which my opinion has been formed, lie scattered over all his works; and by him who thinks the question worth his notice, his works must be perused with very close attention.

Criticism, either didactic or defensive, occupies almost all his prose, except those pages which he has devoted to his patrons; but none of his prefaces were ever thought tedious. They have not the formality of a settled style, in which the first half of the sentence betrays the other. The clauses are never balanced, nor the periods modelled: every word seems to drop by chance, though it falls into its proper place. Nothing is cold or languid: the whole is airy, animated, and vigorous; what is little, is gay; what is great, is splendid. He may be thought to mention himself too frequently; but, while he forces himself upon our esteem, we cannot refuse him to stand high in his own. Every thing is excused by the play of images, and the sprightliness of expression. Though all is easy, nothing is feeble; though all seems careless, there is nothing harsh; and though, since his earlier works more than a century has passed, they have nothing yet uncouth or obsolete.

He who writes much will not easily escape a manner, such a recurrence of particular modes as may be easily noted. Dryden is always *another and the same*; he does not exhibit a second time the same elegances in the same form, nor appears to have any art other than that of expressing with clearness what he thinks with vigour. His style could not easily be imitated, either seriously or ludicrously; for, being always equable and always varied, it has no prominent or discriminative characters. The beauty who is totally free from disproportion of parts and features cannot be ridiculed by an overcharged resemblance.

From his prose, however, Dryden derives only his accidental and secondary praise; the veneration with which his name is pronounced by every cultivator of English literature, is paid to him as he refined the language, improved the sentiments, and tuned the numbers of English Poetry.

After about half a century of forced thoughts, and rugged metre, some advances towards nature and harmony had been already made by Waller and Denham; they had shown that long discourses in rhyme grew more pleasing when they were broken into couplets, and that verse consisted not only in the number but the arrangement of syllables.

But though they did much, who can deny that they left much to do? Their works were not many, nor were their minds of very ample comprehension. More examples of more

modes of composition were necessary for the establishment of regularity, and the introduction of propriety in word and thought.

Every language of a learned nation necessarily divides itself into diction scholastic and popular, grave and familiar, elegant and gross : and from a nice distinction of these different parts arises a great part of the beauty of style. But, if we except a few minds, the favourites of nature, to whom their own original rectitude was in the place of rules, this delicacy of selection was little known to our authors ; our speech lay before them in a heap of confusion ; and every man took for every purpose what chance might offer him.

There was therefore before the time of Dryden no poetical diction, no system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestic use, and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts. Words too familiar, or too remote, defeat the purpose of a poet. From those sounds which we hear on small or on coarse occasions, we do not easily receive strong impressions, or delightful images ; and words to which we are nearly strangers, whenever they occur, draw that attention on themselves which they should transmit to things.

Those happy combinations of words which distinguish poetry from prose had been rarely attempted : we had few elegances or flowers of speech ; the roses had not yet been plucked from the bramble, or different colours had not been joined to enliven one another.

It may be doubted whether Waller and Denham could have overborne the prejudices which had long prevailed, and which even then were sheltered by the protection of Cowley. The new versification, as it is called, may be considered as owing its establishment to Dryden ; from whose time it is apparent that English poetry has had no tendency to relapse to its former savageness.

The affluence and comprehension of our language is very illustriously displayed in our poetical translations of Ancient Writers ; a work which the French seem to relinquish in despair, and which we were long unable to perform with dexterity. Ben Jonson thought it necessary to copy Horace almost word by word ; Feltham, his contemporary and adversary, considers it as indispensably requisite in a translation to give line for line. It is said that Sandys, whom Dryden calls the best versifier of the last age, has struggled hard to comprise every book of the English Metamorphoses in the same number of verses with the original. Holyday had nothing in view but to show that he understood his author, with so little regard to the grandeur of his diction, or the volubility of his numbers, that his metres can hardly be called verses ; they cannot be read without reluctance, nor will the labour always be rewarded by understanding them. Cowley saw that such copiers were a servile race ; he asserted his liberty, and spread his wings so boldly that he left his authors. It was reserved for Dryden to fix the limits of poetical liberty, and give us just rules and examples of translation.

When languages are formed upon different principles, it is impossible that the same modes of expression should always be elegant in both. While they run on together, the closest translation may be considered as the best ; but when they divaricate, each must take its natural course. Where correspondence cannot be obtained, it is necessary to be content with something equivalent. "Translation, therefore," says Dryden, "is not so loose as paraphrase, nor so close as metaphrase."

All polished languages have different styles ; the concise, the diffuse, the lofty, and the humble. In the proper choice of style consists the resemblance which Dryden principally exacts from the translator. He is to exhibit his author's thoughts in such a dress of diction as the author would have given them, had his language been English : rugged magnificence is not to be softened ; hyperbolical ostentation is not to be repressed ; nor sententious affectation to have its point blunted. A translator is to be like his author ; it is not his business to excel him.

The reasonableness of these rules seems sufficient for their vindication ; and the effects produced by observing them were so happy, that I know not whether they were ever opposed

but by Sir Edward Sherburne, a man whose learning was greater than his powers of poetry, and who, being better qualified to give the meaning than the spirit of Seneca, has introduced his version of three tragedies by a defence of close translation. The authority of Horace, which the new translators cited in defence of their practice, he has, by a judicious explanation, taken fairly from them; but reason wants not Horace to support it.

It seldom happens that all the necessary causes concur to any great effect: will is wanting to power, or power to will, or both are impeded by external obstructions. The exigencies in which Dryden was condemned to pass his life are reasonably supposed to have blasted his genius, to have driven out his works in a state of immaturity, and to have intercepted the full-blown elegance which longer growth would have supplied.

Poverty, like other rigid powers, is sometimes too hastily accused. If the excellence of Dryden's works was lessened by his indigence, their number was increased; and I know not how it will be proved, that if he had written less he would have written better; or that, indeed, he would have undergone the toil of an author, if he had not been solicited by something more pressing than the love of praise.

But, as is said by his Sebastian,

"What had been, is unknown; what is, appears."

We know that Dryden's several productions were so many successive expedients for his support; his plays were therefore often borrowed; and his poems were almost all occasional.

In an occasional performance no height of excellence can be expected from any mind, however fertile in itself, and however stored with acquisitions. He whose work is general and arbitrary has the choice of his matter, and takes that which his inclination and his studies have best qualified him to display and decorate. He is at liberty to delay his publication till he has satisfied his friends and himself, till he has reformed his first thoughts by subsequent examination, and polished away those faults which the precipitance of ardent composition is likely to leave behind it. Virgil is related to have poured out a great number of lines in the morning, and to have passed the day in reducing them to fewer.

The occasional poet is circumscribed by the narrowness of his subject. Whatever can happen to man has happened so often that little remains for fancy or invention. We have been all born; we have most of us been married; and so many have died before us, that our deaths can supply but few materials for a poet. In the fate of princes the public has an interest; and what happens to them of good or evil, the poets have always considered as business for the Muse. But after so many inaugural gratulations, nuptial hymns, and funeral dirges, he must be highly favoured by nature, or by fortune, who says anything not said before. Even war and conquest, however splendid, suggest no new images; the triumphant chariot of a victorious monarch can be decked only with those ornaments that have graced his predecessors.

Not only matter but time is wanting. The poem must not be delayed till the occasion is forgotten. The lucky moments of animated imagination cannot be attended; elegances and illustrations cannot be multiplied by gradual accumulation; the composition must be despatched, while conversation is yet busy, and admiration fresh; and haste is to be made, lest some other event should lay hold upon mankind.

Occasional compositions may however secure to a writer the praise both of learning and facility; for they cannot be the effect of long study, and must be furnished immediately from the treasures of the mind.

The death of Cromwell was the first public event which called forth Dryden's poetical powers. His heroic stanzas have beauties and defects; the thoughts are vigorous, and, though not always proper, show a mind replete with ideas; the numbers are smooth; and the diction, if not altogether correct, is elegant and easy.

Davenant was perhaps at this time his favourite author, though Goudibert never appears

to have been popular ; and from Davenant he learned to please his ear with the stanza of four lines alternately rhymed.

Dryden very early formed his versification ; there are in this early production no traces of Donne's or Jonson's ruggedness ; but he did not so soon free his mind from the ambition of forced conceits. In his verses on the Restoration, he says of the King's exile :—

“ He, toss'd by Fate —
Could taste no sweets of youth's desired age,
But found his life too true a pilgrimage.”

And afterwards, to show how virtue and wisdom are increased by adversity, he makes this remark :—

“ Well might the ancient poets then confer
On Night the honour'd name of *counselor*,
Since, struck with rays of prosperous fortune blind,
We light alone in dark afflictions find.”

His praise of Monk's dexterity comprises such a cluster of thoughts unallied to one another, as will not elsewhere be easily found :—

“ 'Twas Monk, whom Providence design'd to loose
Those real bonds false freedom did impose.
The blessed saints that watch'd this turning scene
Did from their stars with joyful wonder lean,
To see small clues draw vastest weights along,
Not in their bulk, but in their order strong.
Thus pencils can by one slight touch restore
Smiles to that changed face that wept before.
With ease such fond chimeras we pursue,
As fancy frames, for fancy to subdue :
But, when ourselves to action we betake,
It shuns the mint like gold that chemists make.
How hard was then his task, at once to be
What in the body natural we see !
Man's Architect distinctly did ordain
The charge of muscles, nerves, and of the brain,
Through viewless conduits spirits to dispense
The springs of motion from the seat of sense ;
'Twas not the hasty product of a day,
But the well-ripen'd fruit of wise delay.
He, like a patient angler, ere he strook,
Would let them play awhile upon the hook.
Our healthful food the stomach labours thus,
At first embracing what it straight doth crush.
Wise leeches will not vain receipts obtrude,
While growing pains pronounce the humours crude
Deaf to complaints, they wait upon the ill,
Till some safe crisis authorise their skill.”

He had not yet learned, indeed he never learned well, to forbear the improper use of mythology. After having rewarded the heathen deities for their care,

“ With *Alga* who the sacred altar strows ?
To all the sea-gods Charles an offering owes ;
A bull to thee, *Portunus*, shall be slain ;
A ram to you, ye *Tempests of the Main*.”

He tells us, in the language of Religion :—

“ Prayer storm'd the skies, and ravish'd Charles from thence,
As Heaven itself is took by violence.”

And afterwards mentions one of the most awful passages of Sacred History.

Other conceits there are too curious to be quite omitted ; as,

“ For by example most we sinn'd before,
And, glass-like, clearness mix'd with frailty bore.”

How far he was yet from thinking it necessary to found his sentiments on nature, appears from the extravagance of his fictions and hyperboles :—

"The winds, that never moderation knew,
Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blow;
Or, out of breath with joy, could not enlarge
Their straiten'd lungs,—
It is no longer motion cheats your view;
As you meet it, the land approacheth you;
The land returns, and in the white it wears,
The marks of penitence, and sorrow bears."

I know not whether this fancy, however little be its value, was not borrowed. A French poet read to Malherbe some verses, in which he represents France as moving out of its place to receive the king. "Though this," said Malherbe, "was in my time, I do not remember it."

His poem on the *Coronation* has a more even tenor of thought. Some lines deserve to be quoted :—

"You have already quench'd sedition's brand;
And zeal, that burn'd it, only warms the land;
The jealous sects that durst not trust their cause,
So far from their own will as to the laws,
Him for their umpire and their synod take,
And their appeal alone to Caesar make."

Here may be found one particle of that old versification, of which, I believe, in all his works, there is not another :—

"Nor is it duty, or our hope alone,
Creates that joy, but full *fruition*"

In the verses to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, two years afterwards, is a conceit so hopeless at the first view, that few would have attempted it; and so successfully laboured, that though at last it gives the reader more perplexity than pleasure, and seems hardly worth the study that it costs, yet it must be valued as a proof of a mind at once subtle and comprehensive :—

"In open prospect nothing bounds our eye,
Until the earth seems join'd unto the sky.
So in this hemisphere our utmost view
Is only bounded by our king and you:
Our sight is limited where you are join'd,
And beyond that no farther heaven can find
So well your virtues do with his agree,
That though your orbs of different greatness be,
Yet both are for each other's use disposed,
His to enclose, and yours to be enclosed.
Nor could another in your room have been,
Except an emptiness had come between."

The comparison of the Chancellor to the Indies leaves all resemblance too far behind it :—

"And as the Indies were not found before
Those rich perfumes which from the happy shore
The winds upon their balmy wings convey'd,
Whose guilty sweetness first their world betray'd.
So by your counsels we are brought to view
A new and undiscover'd world in you."

There is another comparison, for there is little else in the poem, of which, though perhaps it cannot be explained into plain prosaic meaning, the mind perceives enough to be delighted, and readily forgives its obscurity, for its magnificence :—

"How strangely active are the arts of peace,
Whose restless motions less than wars do cease
Peace is not freed from labour, but from noise;
And war more force, but not more pains employs."

Such is the mighty swiftness of your mind,
That, like the Earth's, it leaves our sense behind ;
While you so smoothly turn and roll our sphere,
That rapid motion does but rest appear.
For, as in Nature's swiftness, with the throng
Of flying orbs while ours is borne along,
All seems at rest to the deluded eye,
Moved by the soul of the same harmony ;
So, carried on by your unwearied care,
We rest in peace, and yet in motion share."

To this succeed four lines, which perhaps afford Dryden's first attempt at those penetrating remarks on human nature, for which he seems to have been peculiarly formed :—

"Let envy then those crimes within you see,
From which the happy never must be free;
Envy, that does with misery reside,
The joy and the revenge of ruin'd pride."

Into this poem he seems to have collected all his powers ; and after this he did not often bring upon his anvil such stubborn and unmalleable thoughts ; but, as a specimen of his abilities to unite the most unsociable matter, he has concluded with lines of which I think not myself obliged to tell the meaning :—

"Yet unimpair'd with labours, or with time,
Your age but seems to a new youth to climb.
Thus heavenly bodies do our time beget,
And measure change, but share no part of it:
And still it shall without a weight increase,
Like this new year, whose motions never cease.
For since the glorious course you have begun
Is led by Charles, as that is by the sun,
It must both weightless and immortal prove,
Because the centre of it is above."

In the *Annus Mirabilis* he returned to the quatrain, which from that time he totally quitted, perhaps from experience of its inconvenience, for he complains of its difficulty. This is one of his greatest attempts. He had subjects equal to his abilities, a great naval war, and the Fire of London. Battles have always been described in heroic poetry ; but a sea-fight and artillery had yet something of novelty. New arts are long in the world before poets describe them ; for they borrow every thing from their predecessors, and commonly derive very little from nature or from life. Boileau was the first French writer that had ever hazarded in verse the mention of modern war, or the effects of gunpowder. We, who are less afraid of novelty, had already possession of those dreadful images. Waller had described a sea-fight. Milton had not yet transferred the invention of fire-arms to the rebellious angels.

This poem is written with great diligence, yet does not fully answer the expectation raised by such subjects and such a writer. With the stanza of Davenant he has sometimes his vein of parenthesis, and incidental disquisition, and stops his narrative for a wise remark.

The general fault is, that he affords more sentiment than description, and does not so much impress scenes upon the fancy, as deduce consequences and make comparisons.

The initial stanzas have rather too much resemblance to the first lines of Waller's poem on the war with Spain ; perhaps such a beginning is natural, and could not be avoided without affectation. Both Waller and Dryden might take their hint from the poem on the civil war of Rome, "*Orbem jam totum,*" &c.

Of the King collecting his navy, he says :—

"It seems, as every ship their sovereign knows,
His awful summons they so soon obey :
So hear the scaly herds when Proteus blows,
And so to pasture follow through the sea."

It would not be hard to believe that Dryden had written the two first lines seriously, and that some wag had added the two latter in burlesque. Who would expect the lines that immediately follow, which are indeed perhaps indecently hyperbolic, but certainly in a mode totally different?

"To see this fleet upon the ocean move,
Angels drew wide the curtains of the skies;
And Heaven, as if there wanted lights above,
For tapers made two glaring comets rise."

The description of the attempt at Bergen will afford a very complete specimen of the descriptions in this poem:—

"And now approach'd their fleet from India, fraught
With all the riches of the rising sun:
And precious sand from Southern climates brought,
The fatal regions where the war begun.

"Like hunted castors, conscious of their store,
Their way-laid wealth to Norway's coast they bring
Then first the North's cold bosom spices bore,
And winter brooded on the Eastern spring.

"By the rich scent we found our perfumed prey,
Which, flank'd with rocks, did close in covert lie;
And round about their murdering cannon lay,
At once to threaten and invite the eye.

"Fiercer than cannon, and than rocks more hard,
The English undertake th' unequal war:
Seven ships alone, by which the port is barr'd,
Besiege the Indics, and all Denmark dare.

"These fight like husbands, but like lovers those:
These fain would keep, and those more fain enjoy:
And to such height their frantic passion grows,
That what both love both hazard to destroy:

"Amidst whole heaps of spices lights a ball,
And now their odours arm'd against them fly;
Some precious by shatter'd porcelain fall,
And some by aromatic splinters die:

"And though, by tempests of the prize bereft,
In heaven's inclemency some ease we find:
Our foes we vanquish'd by our valour left,
And only yielded to the seas and wind."

In this manner is the sublime too often mingled with the ridiculous. The Dutch seek a shelter for a wealthy fleet: this surely needed no illustration; yet they must fly, not like all the rest of mankind on the same occasion, but "like hunted castors;" and they might with strict propriety be hunted, for we winded them by our noses—their *perfumes* betrayed them. The *husband* and the *lover*, though of more dignity than the castor, are images too domestic to mingle properly with the horrors of war. The two quatrains that follow are worthy of the author.

The account of the different sensations with which the two fleets retired, when the night parted them, is one of the fairest flowers of English poetry:—

"The night comes on, we eager to pursue
The combat still, and they ashamed to leave;
Till the last streaks of dying day withdraw,
And doubtful moonlight did our rage deceive.

"In th' English fleet each ship resounds with joy,
And loud applause of their great leader's fame;
In fiery dreams the Dutch they still destroy,
And, slumbering, smile at the imagined flame.

"Not so the Holland fleet, who, tired and done,
Stretch'd on their decks, like weary oxen lie;
Faint sweats all down their mighty members run;
Vast bulks, which little souls but ill supply.

"In dreams they fearful precipices tread,
Or, shipwreck'd, labour to some distant shore;
Or, in dark churches, walk among the dead;
They wake with horror, and dare sleep no more."

It is a general rule in poetry, that all appropriated terms of art should be sunk in general expressions, because poetry is to speak an universal language. This rule is still stronger with regard to arts not liberal, or confined to few, and therefore far removed from common knowledge; and of this kind, certainly, is technical navigation. Yet Dryden was of opinion, that a sea-fight ought to be described in the nautical language; "and certainly," says he, "as those, who in a logical disputation keep to general terms, would hide a fallacy, so those who do it in poetical description would veil their ignorance."

Let us then appeal to experience; for by experience at last we learn as well what will please as what will profit. In the battle his terms seem to have been blown away; but he deals them liberally in the dock:—

"So here some pick out bullets from the side,
Some drive old *oakum* through each *seam* and rift:
Their left hand does the *calking-iron* guide,
The rattling *mallet* with the right they lift.

"With boiling pitch another near at hand,
From friendly Sweden brought, the *seams* *instops*;
Which, well laid o'er, the salt-sea waves withstand,
And shake them from the rising beak in drops.

"Some the *gall'd* ropes with dawby *marling* bind,
Or *cane-cloth* masts with strong *tarpauling* coats;
To try new *shrouds* one mounts into the wind,
And one below their ease or stiffness notes."

I suppose there is not one term which every reader does not wish away.

His digression to the original and progress of navigation, with his prospect of the advancement which it shall receive from the Royal Society, then newly instituted, may be considered as an example seldom equalled of seasonable excursion and artful return.

One line, however, leaves me discontented; he says, that, by the help of the philosophers,

"Instructed ships shall sail to quick commerce,
By which remotest regions are allied."—

Which he is constrained to explain in a note "by a more exact measure of longitude." It had better become Dryden's learning and genius to have laboured science into poetry, and have shown, by explaining longitude, that verse did not refuse the ideas of philosophy.

His description of the Fire is painted by resolute meditation, out of a mind better formed to reason than to feel. The conflagration of a city, with all its tumults of concomitant distress, is one of the most dreadful spectacles which this world can offer to human eyes; yet it seems to raise little emotion in the breast of the poet; he watches the flame coolly from street to street, with now a reflection, and now a simile, till at last he meets the King, for whom he makes a speech, rather tedious in a time so busy; and then follows again the progress of the fire.

There are, however, in this part some passages that deserve attention; as in the beginning:—

"The diligence of trades and noiseful gain,
And luxury, more late, asleep were laid:
All was the night's; and in her silent reign
No sound the rest of nature did invade.

"In this deep quiet"——

The expression "All was the night's" is taken from Seneca, who remarks on Virgil's line,

"*Omnia noctis erant, placida composita quiete,*"

that he might have concluded better,

"*Omnia noctis erant.*"

The following quatrain is vigorous and animated :—

“ The ghosts of traitors from the bridge descend,
With bold fanatick spectres to rejoice;
About the fire into a dance they bend,
And sing their sabbath notes with feeble voice.”

His prediction of the improvements which shall be made in the new city is elegant and poetical, and with an event which poets cannot always boast has been happily verified. The poem concludes with a simile that might have better been omitted.

Dryden, when he wrote this poem, seems not yet fully to have formed his versification, or settled his system of propriety.

From this time he addicted himself almost wholly to the stage, “to which,” says he, “my genius never much inclined me,” merely as the most profitable market for poetry. By writing tragedies in rhyme, he continued to improve his diction and his numbers. According to the opinion of Harte, who had studied his works with great attention, he settled his principles of versification in 1676, when he produced the play of *Aureng Zebe*; and according to his own account of the short time in which he wrote *Tyrannic Love*, and the *State of Innocence*, he soon obtained the full effect of diligence, and added facility to exactness.

Rhyme has been so long banished from the theatre, that we know not its effects upon the passions of an audience; but it has this convenience, that sentences stand more independent on each other, and striking passages are therefore easily selected and retained. Thus the description of Night in the *Indian Emperor*, and the rise and fall of empire in the *Conquest of Granada*, are more frequently repeated than any lines in *All for Love*, or *Don Sebastian*.

To search his plays for vigorous sallies and sententious elegances, or to fix the dates of any little pieces which he wrote by chance or by solicitation, were labour too tedious and minute.

His dramatic labours did not so wholly absorb his thoughts, but that he promulgated the laws of translation in a preface to the English Epistles of Ovid; one of which he translated himself, and another in conjunction with the Earl of Mulgrave.

Abulom and Achitophel is a work so well known, that particular criticism is superfluous. If it be considered as a poem political and controversial, it will be found to comprise all the excellences of which the subject is susceptible; acrimony of censure, elegance of praise, artful delineation of characters, variety and vigour of sentiment, happy turns of language, and pleasing harmony of numbers; and all these raised to such a height as can scarcely be found in any other English composition.

It is not, however, without faults; some lines are inelegant and improper, and too many are irreligiously licentious. The original structure of the poem was defective; allegories drawn to great length will always break; Charles could not run continually parallel with David.

The subject had likewise another inconvenience: it admitted little imagery or description; and a long poem of mere sentiments easily becomes tedious; though all the parts are forcible, and every line kindles new rapture, the reader, if not relieved by the interposition of something that soothes the fancy, grows weary of admiration, and defers the rest.

As an approach to the historical truth was necessary, the action and catastrophe were not in the poet's power; there is therefore an unpleasant disproportion between the beginning and the end. We are alarmed by a faction formed of many sects, various in their principles, but agreeing in their purpose of mischief, formidable for their numbers, and strong by their supports; while the King's friends are few and weak. The chiefs on either part are set forth to view: but when expectation is at the height, the King makes a speech, and—

“Henceforth a series of new times began.”

Who can forbear to think of an enchanted castle, with a wide moat and lofty battlements,

walls of marble and gates of brass, which vanishes at once into air, when the destined knight blows his horn before it?

In the second part, written by Tate, there is a long insertion, which, for its poignancy of satire, exceeds any part of the former. Personal resentment, though no laudable motive to satire, can add great force to general principles. Self-love is a busy prompter.

The Medal, written upon the same principles with *Absalom and Achitophel*, but upon a narrower plan, gives less pleasure, though it discovers equal abilities in the writer. The superstructure cannot extend beyond the foundation; a single character or incident cannot furnish as many ideas, as a series of events, or multiplicity of agents. This poem, therefore, since time has left it to itself, is not much read, nor perhaps generally understood; yet it abounds with touches both of humorous and serious satire. The picture of a man whose propensities to mischief are such, that his best actions are but inability of wickedness, is very skilfully delineated and strongly coloured:—

"Power was his aim; but, thrown from that pretence,
The wretch turn'd loyal in his own defence,
And malice reconciled him to his prince.
Him, in the anguish of his soul he served:
Rewarded faster sullen than he deserved.
Behold him now exalted into trust;
His counsels oft convenient, seldom just;
E'en in the most sincere advice he gave,
He had a grudging still to be a knave.
The frauds he learn'd in his fanatick years,
Made him uneasy in his lawful gears,
At least as little honest as he could,
And like white witches, mischievously good.
To this first bias, longingly, he leans,
And rather would be great by wicked means."

The Threnodia, which, by a term I am afraid neither authorised nor analogical, he calls *Augustalis*, is not among his happiest productions. Its first and obvious defect is the irregularity of its metre, to which the ears of that age, however, were accustomed. What is worse, it has neither tenderness nor dignity; it is neither magnificent nor pathetic. He seems to look round him for images which he cannot find, and what he has he distorts by endeavouring to enlarge them. "He is," he says, "petrified with grief;" but the marble sometimes relents, and trickles in a joke.

"The sons of art all med'cines tried,
And every noble remedy applied;
With emulation each essay'd
His utmost skill; nay, more, they pray'd;
Was never losing game with better conduct play'd."

He had been a little inclined to merriment before, upon the prayers of a nation for their dying sovereign; nor was he serious enough to keep Heathen fables out of his religion:—

"With him the innumerable crowd of armed prayers
Knock'd at the gates of heaven, and knock'd aloud;
The first well-meaning supplicants
All for his life assail'd the throne,
All would have bribed the skies by offering up their own.
So great a throng not heaven itself could bar,
'Twas almost borne by force as in the giants' war.
The prayers, at least, for his reprieve, were heard;
His death, like Hezekiah's, was deferred."

There is throughout the composition a desire of splendour without wealth. In the conclusion he seems too much pleased with the prospect of the new reign to have lamented his old master with much sincerity.

He did not miscarry in this attempt for want of skill either in lyric or elegiac poetry. His poem on the death of *Mrs. Killigrew* is undoubtedly the noblest ode that our language ever

has produced. The first part flows with a torrent of enthusiasm. "Fervet immensusque ruit." All the stanzas indeed are not equal. An imperial crown cannot be one continued diamond; the gems must be held together by some less valuable matter.

In his first ode for Cecilia's day, which is lost in the splendour of the second, there are passages which would have dignified any other poet. The first stanza is vigorous and elegant, though the word *diapason* is too technical, and the rhymes are too remote from one another.

From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
This universal frame began;
When Nature underneath a heap
Of jarring atoms lay,
And could not heave her head,
The tuneful voice was heard from high,
'Arise, ye more than dead.'
Then cold and hot, and moist and dry,
In order to their stations leap,
And Music's power obey.
From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
This universal frame began.
From harmony to harmony
Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
The diapason closing full in Man."

The conclusion is likewise striking; but it includes an image so awful in itself, that it can owe little to poetry; and I could wish the anathesis of *music untuning* had found some other place.

"As from the power of sacred lays
The spheres began to move,
And sung the great Creator's praise
To all the bless'd above:

"So, when the last and dreadful hour
This crumbling pageant shall devour,
The trumpet shall be heard on high,
The dead shall live, the living die,
And Music shall untune the sky."

Of his skill in elegy he has given a specimen in his *Eleonora*, of which the following lines discover their author:—

"Though all these rare endowments of the mind
Were in a narrow space of life confined,
The figure was with full perfection crown'd,
Though not so large an orb, as truly round:
As when in glory, through the public place,
The spoils of conquer'd nations were to pass,
And but one day for triumph was allow'd,
The consul was constrain'd his pomp to crowd;
And so the swift procession hurried on,
That all, though not distinctly, might be shown;
So, in the straiten'd bounds of life confined,
She gave but glimpses of her glorious mud;
And multitudes of virtues pass'd along,
Each pressing foremost in the mighty throng,
Ambitious to be seen, and then make room
For greater multitudes that were to come.
Yet unemploy'd no minute slip'd away;
Moments were precious in so short a stay.
The haste of Heaven to have her was so great,
That some were single acts, though each complete;
And every act stood ready to repeat."

This piece, however, is not without its faults: there is so much likeness in the initial comparison, that there is no illustration. As a king would be lamented, *Eleonora* was lamented:—

"As, when some great and gracious monarch dies,
Soft whispers, first, and mournful murmurs, rise
Among the sad attendants; then the sound
Soon gathers voice, and spreads the news around,
Through town and country, till the dreadful blast
Is blown to distant colonies at last,

Who then, perhaps, were offering vows in vain,
 For his long life, and for his happy reign,
 So slowly, by degrees, unwilling Fame
 Did matchless Eleonora's fate proclaim,
 Till public as the loss the news became."

This is little better than to say in praise of a shrub, that it is as green as a tree; or of a brook, that it waters a garden, as a river waters a country.

Dryden confesses that he did not know the lady whom he celebrates: the praise being therefore inevitably general, fixes no impression upon the reader, nor excites any tendency to love, nor much desire of imitation. Knowledge of the subject is to the poet what durable materials are to the architect.

The *Religio Laici*, which borrows its title from the *Religio Medici* of Browne, is almost the only work of Dryden which can be considered as a voluntary effusion: in this, therefore, it might be hoped, that the full effulgence of his genius would be found. But unhappily the subject is rather argumentative than poetical; he intended only a specimen of metrical disputation:—

"And this unpolish'd rugged verse I chose,
 As fittest for discourse, and nearest prose."

This, however, is a composition of great excellence in its kind, in which the familiar is very properly diversified with the solemn, and the grave with the humorous; in which metre has neither weakened the force, nor clouded the perspicuity of argument; nor will it be easy to find another example equally happy of this middle kind of writing, which, though prosaic in some parts, rises to high poetry in others, and neither towers to the skies, nor creeps along the ground.

Of the same kind, or not far distant from it, is the *Hind and Panther*, the longest of all Dryden's original poems; an allegory intended to comprise and to decide the controversy between the Romanists and Protestants. The scheme of the work is injudicious and incommensurable; for what can be more absurd than that one beast should counsel another to rest her faith upon a pope and council? He seems well enough skilled in the usual topics of argument, endeavours to show the necessity of an infallible judge, and reproaches the Reformers with want of unity; but is weak enough to ask, why, since we see without knowing how, we may not have an infallible judge without knowing where?

The *Hind* at one time is afraid to drink at the common brook, because she may be worried; but, walking home with the *Panther*, talks by the way of the *Nicene Fathers*, and at last declares herself to be the Catholic Church.

This absurdity was very properly ridiculed in the *City Mouse* and *Country Mouse* of Montague and Prior; and in the detection and censure of the incongruity of the fiction chiefly consists the value of their performance, which, whatever reputation it might obtain by the help of temporary passions, seems, to readers almost a century distant, not very forcible or animated.

Pope, whose judgment was perhaps a little bribed by the subject, used to mention this poem as the most correct specimen of Dryden's versification. It was indeed written when he had completely formed his manner, and may be supposed to exhibit, negligence excepted, his deliberate and ultimate scheme of metre.

We may therefore reasonably infer, that he did not approve the perpetual uniformity which confines the sense to couplets, since he has broken his lines in the initial paragraph.

"A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,
 Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged;
 Without unspotted, innocent within,
 She fear'd no danger, for she knew no sin.
 Yet had she oft been chased with horns and hounds,
 And Scythian shafts, and many winged wounds
 Aim'd at her heart; was often forced to fly,
 And doom'd to death, though fated not to die."

These lines are lofty, elegant, and musical, notwithstanding the interruption of the pause, of which the effect is rather increase of pleasure by variety, than offence by ruggedness.

To the first part it was his intention, he says, "to give the majestic turn of heroic poesy;" and perhaps he might have executed his design not unsuccessfully, had not an opportunity of satire, which he cannot forbear, fallen sometimes in his way. The character of a Presbyterian, whose emblem is the *Wolf*, is not very heroically majestic:—

"More haughty than the rest, the wolfish race
Appear with belly gaunt and famish'd face;
Never was so deform'd a beast of grace.
His ragged tail betwixt his legs he wears,
Close clapp'd for shame; but his rough crest he rears,
And pricks up his predestinating ears."

His general character of the other sorts of beasts that never go to church, though sprightly and keen, has, however, not much of heroic poesy:—

"These are the chief; to number o'er the rest,
And stand like Adam, naming every beast,
Were weary work; nor will the Muse describe
A slimy-born, and sun-begotten tribe,
Who, far from steeples and their sacred sound,
In fields their sullen conventicles found.
These gross, half-animated lumps I leave;
Nor can I think what thoughts they can conceive
But, if they think at all, 'tis sure no higher
Than matter, put in motion, may aspire;
Souls that can scarce ferment their mass of clay,
So drossy, so divisible are they,
As would but serve pure bodies for allay;
Such souls as shades produce, such beetle things
As only buzz to heaven with evening wings;
Strike in the dark, offending but by chance:
Such are the blindfold blows of ignorance.
They know no being, and but hate a name;
To them the Hind and Panther are the same."

One more instance, and that taken from the narrative part, where style was more in his choice, will show how steadily he kept his resolution of heroic dignity.

"For when the herd, sufficed, did late repair
To ferny heaths and to their forest lair,
She made a manneily excuse to stay,
Proffering the Hind to wait her half the way;
That, since the sky was clear, an hour of talk
Might help her to beguile the tedious walk.
With much good-will the motion was embraced,
To chat awhile on their adventures past;
Nor had the grateful Hind so soon forgot
Her friend and fellow-sufferer in the plot.
Yet, wondering how of late she grew estranged,
Her forehead cloudy and her countenance changed,
She thought this hour th' occasion would present
To learn her secret cause of discontent,
Which well she hoped might be with ease redress'd,
Considering her a well-bred, civil beast,
And more a gentlewoman than the rest.
After some common talk what rumours ran,
The lady of the spotted muff began."

The second and third parts he professes to have reduced to diction more familiar and more suitable to dispute and conversation; the difference is not, however, very easily perceived; the first has familiar, and the two others have sonorous, lines. The original incongruity runs through the whole; the king is now *Cæsar*, and now the *Lion*; and the name *Pan* is given to the Supreme Being.

But when this constitutional absurdity is forgiven, the poem must be confessed to be written with great smoothness of metre, a wide extent of knowledge, and an abundant

multiplicity of images ; the controversy is embellished with pointed sentences, diversified by illustrations, and enlivened by sallies of invective. Some of the facts to which allusions are made are now become obscure, and perhaps there may be many satirical passages little understood.

As it was by its nature a work of defiance, a composition which would naturally be examined with the utmost acrimony of criticism, it was probably laboured with uncommon attention, and there are, indeed, few negligences in the subordinate parts. The original impropriety, and the subsequent unpopularity of the subject, added to the ridiculousness of its first elements, has sunk it into neglect ; but it may be usefully studied, as an example of poetical ratiocination, in which the argument suffers little from the metre.

In the poem on *the Birth of the Prince of Wales*, nothing is very remarkable but the exorbitant adulation, and that insensibility of the precipice on which the king was then standing, which the laureate apparently shared with the rest of the courtiers. A few months cured him of controversy, dismissed him from court, and made him again a playwright and translator.

Of Juvenal there had been a translation by Stapylton, and another by Holyday ; neither of them is very poetical. Stapylton is more smooth ; and Holyday's is more esteemed for the learning of his notes. A new version was proposed to the poets of that time, and undertaken by them in conjunction. The main design was conducted by Dryden, whose reputation was such that no man was unwilling to serve the Muses under him.

The general character of this translation will be given, when it is said to preserve the wit, but to want the dignity, of the original. The peculiarity of Juvenal is a mixture of gaiety and stateliness, of pointed sentences and declamatory grandeur. His points have not been neglected ; but his grandeur none of the band seemed to consider as necessary to be imitated, except *Creech*, who undertook the thirteenth satire. It is therefore perhaps possible to give a better representation of that great satirist, even in those parts which Dryden himself has translated, some passages excepted, which will never be excelled.

With Juvenal was published Persius, translated wholly by Dryden. This work, though, like all other productions of Dryden, it may have shining parts, seems to have been written merely for wages, in an uniform mediocrity, without any eager endeavour after excellence, or laborious effort of the mind.

There wanders an opinion among the readers of poetry, that one of these satires is an exercise of the school. Dryden says, that he once translated it at school ; but not that he preserved or published the juvenile performance.

Not long afterwards he undertook perhaps the most arduous work of its kind, a translation of Virgil, for which he had shown how well he was qualified by his version of the *Pollio*, and two episodes, one of Nisus and Euryalus, the other of Mezentius and Lausus.

In the comparison of Homer and Virgil, the discriminative excellence of Homer is elevation and comprehension of thought, and that of Virgil is grace and splendour of diction. The beauties of Homer are therefore difficult to be lost, and those of Virgil difficult to be retained. The massy trunk of sentiment is safe by its solidity, but the blossoms of elocution easily drop away. The author, having the choice of his own images, selects those which he can best adorn ; the translator must, at all hazards, follow his original, and express thoughts which perhaps he would not have chosen. When to this primary difficulty is added the inconvenience of a language so much inferior in harmony to the Latin, it cannot be expected that they who read the *Georgics* and the *Æneid* should be much delighted with any version.

All these obstacles Dryden saw, and all these he determined to encounter. The expectation of his work was undoubtedly great ; the nation considered its honour as interested in the event. One gave him the different editions of his author, another helped him in the subordinate parts. The arguments of the several books were given him by Addison.

The hopes of the public were not disappointed. He produced, says Pope, "the most noble and spirited translation that I know in any language." It certainly excelled whatever

had appeared in English, and appears to have satisfied his friends, and, for the most part, to have silenced his enemies. Milbourne, indeed, a clergyman, attacked it; but his outrages seem to be the ebullitions of a mind agitated by stronger resentment than bad poetry can excite, and previously resolved not to be pleased.

His criticism extends only to the Preface, Pastorals, and Georgics; and, as he professes to give his antagonist an opportunity of reprisal, he has added his own version of the first and fourth Pastorals, and the first Georgic. The world has forgotten his book; but, since his attempt has given him a place in literary history, I will preserve a specimen of his criticism, by inserting his remarks on the invocation before the first Georgic, and of his poetry, by annexing his own version:

Ver. 1. "What makes a plenteous harvest, when to turn
The fruitful soil, and when to sow the corn.

It's *unlucky*, they say, to *stumble at the threshold*; but what has a *plenteous harvest* to do here? Virgil would not pretend to prescribe *rules* for *that* which depends not on the husbandman's care, but the *disposition of Heaven* altogether. Indeed, the *plenteous crop* depends somewhat on the *good method of tillage*; and where the *land's* ill manur'd, the *corn*, without a miracle, can be but *indifferent*; but the *harvest* may be *good*, which is its *properest* epithet, tho' the *husbandman's skill* were never so *indifferent*. The next sentence is too *literal*, and *when to plough* had been Virgil's meaning, and intelligible to every body; and *when to sow the corn*, is a needless addition."

Ver. 3. "The care of sheep, of oxen, and of kine,
And when to geld the lambs, and shear the swine.

would as well have fallen under the *cura boum, qui cultus habendo sit pecori*, as Mr. D.'s deduction of particulars."

Ver. 5. "The birth and genius of the frugal bee
I sing, Mæcenas, and I sing to thee.

But where did *experientia* ever signify *birth and genius*? or what ground was there for such a *figure* in this place? How much more manly is Mr. Ogilby's version?—

'What makes rich grounds, in what celestial signs
'Tis good to plough, and marry elms with vines:
What best fits cattle, what with sheep agree,
And several arts improving frugal bees;
I sing, Mæcenas.'

Which four lines, tho' faulty enough, are yet much more to the purpose than Mr. D.'s six."

Ver. 22. "From fields and mountains to my song repair.

For *patrium linquens nemus, saltusque Lycæi*—Very well explained!"

Ver. 23, 24. "Inventor Pallas, of the fattening oil,
Thou founder of the plough, and ploughman's toil!

Written as if *these* had been *Pallas's invention*. *The ploughman's toil's* impertinent."

Ver. 25. "—— The shroud-like cypress ——

Why *shroud-like*? Is a *cypress*, pulled up by the *roots*, which the *sculpture* in the *last Eclogue* fills *Silvanus's* hand with, so very like a *shroud*? Or did not Mr. D. think of that kind of *cypress* us'd often for *scarves and hatbands* at funerals formerly, or for *widows' veils*, &c. ? if so, 'twas a *deep, good thought*."

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What's meant by *increasing the year*? Did the *gods* or *goddesses* add more *months*, or *days*, or *hours* to it? Or how can *arva tueri* signify, to wear rural honours? Is this to translate, or abuse an author? The next couplet is borrowed from Ogylby, I suppose, because *less to the purpose* than ordinary."

Ver. 33. "The patron of the world, and Rome's peculiar guard.

Idle, and none of Virgil's, no more than the sense of the *precedent couplet*; so again, he *interpolates Virgil* with that and the *round circle of the year to guide powerful of blessings, which thou strew'st around*; a ridiculous *Latinism*, and an *impertinent addition*; indeed the whole *period* is but one piece of *absurdity* and *nonsense*, as those who lay it with the *original* must find."

Ver. 42, 43. "And Neptune shall resign the fasces of the sea.

Was he *consul* or *dictator* there?"

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But where is *that void*? Or, what does our *translator* mean by it? He knows what Ovid says *God* did to prevent such a *void* in heaven; perhaps this was then forgotten: but Virgil talks more sensibly."

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No, he would not then have *gotten out of his way* so fast."

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What made *her* then so *angry* with *Ascalaphus*, for preventing her return? She was now mused to *Patience* under the *determinations of Fate*, rather than *fond* of her *residence*."

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Such were the strictures of Milbourn, who found few abettors, and of whom it may be reasonably imagined, that many who favoured his design were ashamed of his insolence.

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translation of the *Æneid*, which, when dragged into the world, did not live long enough to cry. I have never seen it ; but that such a version there is, or has been, perhaps some old catalogue informed me.

With not much better success, Trapp, when his Tragedy and his Prolections had given him reputation, attempted another blank version of the *Æneid* ; to which, notwithstanding the slight regard with which it was treated, he had afterwards perseverance enough to add the Eclogues and Georgics. His book may continue in existence as long as it is the clandestine refuge of schoolboys.

Since the English ear has been accustomed to the melliflence of Pope's numbers, and the diction of poetry has become more splendid, new attempts have been made to translate Virgil : and all his works have been attempted by men better qualified to contend with Dryden. I will not engage myself in an invidious comparison, by opposing one passage to another ; a work of which there would be no end, and which might be often offensive without use.

It is not by comparing line with line that the merit of great works is to be estimated, but by their general effects and ultimate result. It is easy to note a weak line, and write one more vigorous in its place ; to find a happiness of expression in the original, and transplant it by force into the version : but what is given to the parts may be subducted from the whole, and the reader may be weary, though the critic may commend. Works of imagination excel by their allurements and delight ; by their power of attracting and detaining the attention. That book is good in vain, which the reader throws away. He only is the master, who keeps the mind in pleasing captivity ; whose pages are perused with eagerness, and in hope of new pleasure are perused again ; and whose conclusion is perceived with an eye of sorrow, such as the traveller casts upon departing day.

By his proportion of this predominance I will consent that Dryden should be tried : of this, which, in opposition to reason, makes Ariosto the darling and the pride of Italy ; of this, which, in defiance of criticism, continues Shakspeare the sovereign of the drama.

His last work was his *Fables*, in which he gave us the first example of a mode of writing which the Italians call *risacimento*, a renovation of ancient writers, by modernising their language. Thus the old poem of *Boiardo* has been newly-dressed by Domenichi and Berni. The works of Chaucer, upon which this kind of rejuvenescence has been bestowed by Dryden, require little criticism. The tale of the Cock seems hardly worth revival ; and the story of *Palamon and Arcite*, containing an action unsuitable to the times in which it is placed, can hardly be suffered to pass without censure of the hyperbolical commendation which Dryden has given it in the general Preface, and in a poetical Dedication, a piece where his original fondness of remote conceits seems to have revived.

Of the three pieces borrowed from Boccace, *Sigismunda* may be defended by the celebrity of the story. *Theodore and Honoria*, though it contains not much moral, yet afforded opportunities of striking description. And *Cymon* was formerly a tale of such reputation, that at the revival of letters it was translated into Latin by one of the Beroaldi.

Whatever subjects employed his pen he was still improving our measures, and embellishing our language.

In this volume are interspersed some short original poems, which, with his prologues, epilogues, and songs, may be comprised in Congreve's remark, that even those, if he had written nothing else, would have entitled him to the praise of excellence in his kind.

One composition must however be distinguished. The ode for *St. Cecilia's Day*, perhaps the last effort of his poetry, has been always considered as exhibiting the highest flight of fancy, and the exactest nicety of art. This is allowed to stand without a rival. If indeed there is any excellence beyond it, in some other of Dryden's works that excellence must be found. Compared with the ode on *Killigrew*, it may be pronounced perhaps superior in the whole, but without any single part equal to the first stanza of the other

It is said to have cost Dryden a fortnight's labour ; but it does not want its negligences ;

some of the lines are without correspondent rhymes ; a defect which I never detected but after an acquaintance of many years, and which the enthusiasm of the writer might hinder him from perceiving.

His last stanza has less emotion than the former ; but it is not less elegant in the diction. The conclusion is vicious ; the music of *Timotheus*, which *raised a mortal to the skies*, had only a metaphorical power ; that of *Cecilia*, which *drew an angel down*, had a real effect : the crown therefore could not reasonably be divided.

In a general survey of Dryden's labours, he appears to have a mind very comprehensive by nature, and much enriched with acquired knowledge. His compositions are the effects of a vigorous genius operating upon large materials.

The power that predominated in his intellectual operations was rather strong reason than quick sensibility. Upon all occasions that were presented, he studied rather than felt, and produced sentiments not such as nature enforces, but meditation supplies. With the simple and elemental passions, as they spring separate in the mind, he seems not much acquainted ; and seldom describes them but as they are complicated by the various relations of society, and confused in the tumults and agitations of life.

What he says of Love may contribute to the explanation of his character :—

"Love various minds does variously inspire:
It stirs in gentle bosoms gentle fire,
Like that of incense on the altar laid
But raging flames tempestuous souls invade;
A fire which every windy passion blows,
With pride it mounts, or with revenge it glows."

Dryden's was not one of the *gentle bosoms* ; Love, as it subsists in itself, with no tendency but to the person loved, and wishing only for correspondent kindness ; such Love as shuts out all other interest, the Love of the Golden Age, was too soft and subtle to put his faculties in motion. He hardly conceived it but in its turbulent effervescence with some other desires ; when it was inflamed by rivalry, or obstructed by difficulties ; when it invigorated ambition, or exasperated revenge.

He is therefore, with all his variety of excellence, not often pathetic ; and had so little sensibility of the power of effusions purely natural, that he did not esteem them in others. Simplicity gave him no pleasure ; and for the first part of his life he looked on Otway with contempt, though at last, indeed very late, he confessed that in his play *there was Nature, which is the chief beauty*.

We do not always know our own motives. I am not certain whether it was not rather the difficulty which he found in exhibiting the genuine operations of the heart, than a servile submission to an injudicious audience, that filled his plays with false magnificence. It was necessary to fix attention ; and the mind can be captivated only by recollection, or by curiosity ; by reviving natural sentiments, or impressing new appearances of things ; sentences were readier at his call than images ; he could more easily fill the ear with splendid novelty, than awaken those ideas that slumber in the heart.

The favourite exercise of his mind was ratiocination ; and, that argument might not be too soon at an end, he delighted to talk of liberty and necessity, destiny and contingency ; these he discusses in the language of the school with so much profundity, that the terms which he uses are not always understood. It is indeed learning, but learning out of place.

When once he had engaged himself in disputation, thoughts flowed in on either side : he was now no longer at a loss ; he had always objections and solutions at command ; "*verbaque pro-visam rem*"—gave him matter for his verse, and he finds without difficulty verse for his matter.

In Comedy, for which he professes himself not naturally qualified, the mirth which he excites will perhaps not be found so much to arise from any original humour, or peculiarity of character nicely distinguished and diligently pursued, as from incidents and circumstances, artifices and surprises ; from jests of action rather than of sentiment. What he had of

humorous or passionate, he seems to have had not from nature, but from other poets ; if not always as a plagiarist at least as an imitator.

Next to argument, his delight was in wild and daring sallies of sentiment, in the irregular and eccentric violence of wit. He delighted to tread upon the brink of meaning, where light and darkness begin to mingle ; to approach the precipice of absurdity, and hover over the abyss of unideal vacancy. This inclination sometimes produced nonsense, which he knew ; as,

"Move swiftly, Sun, and fly a lover's pace,
Leave weeks and months behind thee in thy race.
Amamel flies
To guard thee from the demons of the air;
My flaming sword above them to display,
All keen, and ground upon the edge of day."

And sometimes it issued in absurdities, of which perhaps he was not conscious :—

"Then we upon our orb's last verge shall go,
And see the ocean leaning on the sky;
From thence our rolling neighbours we shall know,
And on the lunar world securely pry."

These lines have no meaning ; but may we not say, in imitation of Cowley on another book,

"'Tis so like *sense* 'twill serve the turn as well?"

This endeavour after the grand and the new produced many sentiments either great or bulky, and many images either just or splendid :—

"I am as free as Nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.

"—'Tis but because the Living death ne'er knew,
They fear to prove it as a thing that's new :
Let me th' experiment before you try,
I'll show you first how easy 'tis to die.

"—There with a forest of their darts he strove,
And stood like *Capaneus* defying Jove,
With his broad sword the boldest beating down,
While Fate grew pale lest he should win the town,
And turn'd the iron leaves of his dark book
To make new dooms, or mend what it mistook.

"—I beg no pity for this mouldering clay;
For if you give it burial, there it takes
Possession of your earth:
If burnt, and scatter'd in the air, the winds
That strew my dust diffuse my royalty,
And spread me o'er your clime, for where one atom
Of mine shall light, know there Sebastian reigns."

Of these quotations the two first may be allowed to be great, the two latter only tumid.

Of such selection there is no end. I will add only a few more passages ; of which the first, though it may perhaps be quite clear in prose, is not too obscure for poetry, as the meaning that it has is noble :—

"No, there is a necessity in Fate,
Why still the brave bold man is fortunate;
He keeps his object ever full in sight;
And that assurance holds him firm and right,
True, 'tis a narrow way that leads to bliss,
But right before there is no precipice;
Fear makes men look aside, and so their footing miss."

Of the images which the two following citations afford, the first is elegant, the second magnificent ; whether either be just, let the reader judge :—

"—— What precious drops are these,
Which silently each other's track pursue,
Bright as young diamonds in their infant dew?"

"—— Resign your castle ——
—Enter, brave Sir; for, when you speak the word,
The gates shall open of their own accord;
The genius of the place its Lord shall meet,
And bow its towery forehead at your feet."

These bursts of extravagance Dryden calls the "Dalilahs" of the Theatre; and owns that many noisy lines of *Maximin and Almanzor* call out for vengeance upon him; "but I knew," says he, "that they were bad enough to please, even when I wrote them." There is surely reason to suspect that he pleased himself as well as his audience; and that these, like the harlots of other men, had his love, though not his approbation.

He had sometimes faults of a less generous and splendid kind. He makes, like almost all other poets, very frequent use of mythology, and sometimes connects religion and fable too closely without distinction.

He descends to display his knowledge with pedantic ostentation; as when, in translating Virgil, he says, "tack to the larboard"—and "veer starboard;" and talks in another work, of "virtue spooning before the wind."—His vanity now and then betrays his ignorance:—

"They Nature's king through Nature's optics view'd;
Reversed, they view'd him lessen'd to their eyes."

He had heard of reversing a telescope, and unluckily reverses the object.

He is sometimes unexpectedly mean. When he describes the Supreme Being as moved by prayer to stop the Fire of London, what is his expression?

"A hollow crystal pyramid he takes,
In firmamental waters dipp'd above,
Of this a broad *extinguisher* he makes,
And hoods the flames that to their quarry strove."

When he describes the Last Day, and the decisive tribunal, he intermingles this image:—

"When rattling bones together fly,
From the four quarters of the sky."

It was indeed never in his power to resist the temptation of a jest. In his *Elegy on Cromwell*:—

No sooner was the Frenchman's cause embraced,
Than the *light Monsieur* the *grave Don* outweigh'd;
His fortune turn'd the scale——"

He had a vanity, unworthy of his abilities, to show, as may be suspected, the rank of the company with whom he lived, by the use of French words, which had then crept into conversation; such as *fraicheur* for *coolness*, *fougue* for *turbulence*, and a few more, none of which the language has incorporated or retained. They continue only where they stood first, perpetual warnings to future innovators.

These are his faults of affectation; his faults of negligence are beyond recital. Such is the unevenness of his compositions, that ten lines are seldom found together without something of which the reader is ashamed. Dryden was no rigid judge of his own pages; he seldom struggled after supreme excellence, but snatched in haste what was within his reach; and when he could content others, was himself contented. He did not keep present to his mind an idea of pure perfection; nor compare his works, such as they were, with what they might be made. He knew to whom he should be opposed. He had more music than Waller, more vigour than Denham, and more nature than Cowley; and from his contemporaries he was in no danger. Standing therefore in the highest place, he had no care to rise by contending with himself; but, while there was no name above his own, was willing to enjoy fame on the easiest terms.

He was no lover of labour. What he thought sufficient, he did not stop to make better ; and allowed himself to leave many parts unfinished, in confidence that the good lines would overbalance the bad. What he had once written, he dismissed from his thoughts ; and I believe there is no example to be found of any correction or improvement made by him after publication. The hastiness of his productions might be the effect of necessity ; but his subsequent neglect could hardly have any other cause than impatience of study.

What can be said of his versification will be little more than a dilatation of the praise given it by Pope :—

“ Waller was smooth ; but Dryden taught to join
The varying verse, the full resounding line,
The long majestic march, and energy divine.”

Some improvements had been already made in English numbers ; but the full force of our language was not yet felt ; the verse that was smooth was commonly feeble. If Cowley had sometimes a finished line, he had it by chance. Dryden knew how to choose the flowing and the sonorous words ; to vary the pauses, and adjust the accents ; to diversify the cadence, and yet preserve the smoothness of his metre.

Of Triplets and Alexandrines, though he did not introduce the use, he established it. The Triplet has long subsisted among us. Dryden seems not to have traced it higher than to Chapman's Homer ; but it is to be found in Phaer's Virgil, written in the reign of Mary ; and in Hall's Satires, published five years before the death of Elizabeth.

The Alexandrine was, I believe, first used by Spenser, for the sake of closing his stanza with a fuller sound. We had a longer measure of fourteen syllables, into which the *Æneid* was translated by Phaer, and other works of the ancients by other writers ; of which Chapman's *Iliad* was, I believe, the last.

The two first lines of Phaer's third *Æneid* will exemplify this measure :—

“ When Asia's state was overthrown, and Priem's kingdom stout,
All guildless, by the power of gods above was rooted out.”

As these lines had their break, or *cæsura*, always at the eighth syllable, it was thought in time commodious to divide them ; and quatrains of lines, alternately consisting of eight and six syllables, make the most soft and pleasing of our lyric measures ; as,

“ Relentless Time, destroying power,
Which stone and brass obey,
Who giv'st to ev'ry flying hour
To work some new decay.”

In the Alexandrine, when its power was once felt, some poems, as Drayton's *Polyolion*, were wholly written ; and sometimes the measures of twelve and fourteen syllables were interchanged with one another. Cowley was the first that inserted the Alexandrine at pleasure among the heroic lines of ten syllables, and from him Dryden professes to have adopted it.

The Triplet and Alexandrine are not universally approved. Swift always censured them, and wrote some lines to ridicule them. In examining their propriety, it is to be considered that the essence of verse is regularity, and its ornament is variety. To write verse, is to dispose syllables and sounds harmonically by some known and settled rule ; a rule however lax enough to substitute similitude for identity, to admit change without breach of order, and to relieve the ear without disappointing it. Thus a Latin hexameter is formed from dactyls and spondees differently combined ; the English heroic admits of acute or grave syllables variously disposed. The Latin never deviates into seven feet, or exceeds the number of seventeen syllables ; but the English Alexandrine breaks the lawful bounds, and surprises the reader with two syllables more than he expected.

The effect of the Triplet is the same ; the ear has been accustomed to expect a new rhyme in every couplet ; but is on a sudden surprised with three rhymes together, to which

the reader could not accommodate his voice, did he not obtain notice of the change from the braces of the margins. Surely there is something unskilful in the necessity of such mechanical direction.

Considering the metrical art simply as a science, and consequently excluding all casualty we must allow that Triplets and Alexandrines, inserted by caprice, are interruptions of that constancy to which science aspires. And though the variety which they produce may very justly be desired, yet, to make poetry exact, there ought to be some stated mode of admitting them.

But till some such regulation can be formed, I wish them still to be retained in their present state. They are sometimes convenient to the poet. Fenton was of opinion, that Dryden was too liberal, and Pope too sparing, in their use.

The rhymes of Dryden are commonly just, and he valued himself for his readiness in finding them; but he is sometimes open to objection.

It is the common practice of our poets to end the second line with a weak or grave syllable :—

“ Together o’er the Alps methinks we fly,
Fill’d with ideas of fair Italy.”

Dryden sometimes puts the weak rhyme in the first :—

“ Laugh all the powers that favour *tyranny*,
And all the standing army of the sky.”

Sometimes he concludes a period or paragraph with the first line of a couplet, which though the French seem to do it without irregularity, always displeases in English poetry.

The Alexandrine, though much his favourite, is not always very diligently fabricated by him. It invariably requires a break at the sixth syllable; a rule which the modern French poets never violate, but which Dryden sometimes neglected :—

“ And with paternal thunder vindicates his throne.”

Of Dryden’s works it was said by Pope, that he “ could select from them better specimens of every mode of poetry than any other English writer could supply.” Perhaps no nation ever produced a writer that enriched his language with such a variety of models. To him we owe the improvement, perhaps the completion of our metre, the refinement of our language, and much of the correctness of our sentiments. By him we were taught “ *sapere et fari*,” to think naturally and express forcibly. Though Davies has reasoned in rhyme before him, it may be perhaps maintained that he was the first who joined argument with poetry. He showed us the true bounds of a translator’s liberty. What was said of Rome, adorned by Augustus, may be applied by an easy metaphor to English poetry embellished by Dryden, “ *lateritiam invenit, marmoream reliquit*.” He found it brick, and he left it marble.

The invocation before the Georgics is here inserted from Mr Milbourne’s version, that according to his own proposal,* his verses may be compared with those which he censures.

“ What makes the richest *tith*, beneath what signs
To plough, and when to mow your *elms* and *vines*;
What care with *flocks*, and what with *herds* agrees,
And all the management of frugal *bees*;
I sing, *Mæcenas*! Ye immensely clear,
Vast orbs of light, which guide the rolling year:
Bacchus, and mother *Ceres*, if by you
We fatt’ning corn for hungry *masts* pursue,
If, taught by *ycr*, we find the *cluster* press’d,
And thin cold *steams* with *springly* juice refresh’d;

* It is laughable enough to read John Dunton’s appreciation of Milbourne’s poetical talents: “ Most other perfections are so far from matching his, they deserve not to be mention’d. His *translations* are fine, and true; his *preaching* sublime, and rational; and he’s a *first-rate poet*!”—Dunton’s Life and Errors, &c., p. 452. T.

Ye *fauns*, the present *numens* of the field,
Wood nymphs and *fauns*, your kind assistance yield;
 Your gifts I sing: and thou, at whose fear'd stroke
 From rending earth the fiery *courser* broke,
 Great *Neptune*, O assist my artful song!
 And thou to whom the woods and groves belong,
 Whose snowy heifers on her flow'ry plains
 In mighty herds the *Ocean Isle* maintains!
Fun, happy shepherd, if thy cares divine,
 E'er to improve thy *Manalus* incline,
 Leave thy *Lycæan wood* and *native grove*,
 And with thy lucky smiles our work approve;
 Be *Pallas* too, sweet oil's inventor, kind;
 And he who first the crooked *plough* design'd,
Sylvanus, god of all the woods, appear,
 Whose hands a new-drawn tender *cypress* bear!
 Ye *gods* and *goddesses*, who e'er with love
 Would guard our pastures and our fields improve,
 Ye, who new plants from unknown lands supply,
 And with condensing clouds obscure the sky,
 And drop them softly thence in fruitful showers;
 Assist my enterprise ye gentle powers!
 And thou, great *Cæsar*! though we know not yet
 Among what gods thou 'lt fix thy lofty seat;
 Whether thou 'lt be the kind *tutelar god*
 Of thy own *Rome*, or with thy awful nod
 Guide the vast world, while thy great hand shall bear
 The fruits and seasons of the turning year,
 And thy bright brows thy mother's myrtles wear;
 Whether thou 'lt all the boundless ocean sway,
 And seamen only to thyself shall pray;
Thule, the fairest island, kneel to thee,
 And, that thou may'st her son by marriage be,
Tethys will for the happy purchase yield
 To make a *dowry* of her wat'ry field:
 Whether thou 'lt add to Heaven a *brighter sign*,
 And o'er the *summer months* serenely shine;
 Where between *Cancer* and *Erigone*,
 There yet remains a spacious *room* for thee;
 Where the hot *Scorpion*, too, his arm declines,
 And more to thee than half his *arch* resigns;
 Whate'er thou 'lt be; for sure the realms below
 No just pretence to thy command can show:
 No such ambition sways thy vast desires,
 Though *Greece* her own *Elysian Fields* admires.
 And now, at last, contented *Proserpine*
 Can all her mother's earnest prayers decline.
 Whate'er thou 'lt be, O guide our gentle course;
 And with thy smiles our bold attempts enforce;
 With me th' unknowing *rustics* want relief,
 And, though on earth, our sacred vows receive!"

MR. DRYDEN, having received from Rymer his *Remarks on the Tragedies of the last Age*, wrote observations on the blank leaves; which, having been in the possession of Mr. Garrick, are by his favour communicated to the public, that no particle of Dryden may be lost.

"That we may less wonder why pity and terror are not now the only springs on which our tragedies move, and that Shakspeare may be more excused, Rapin confesses that the French tragedies now all run on the *tendre*; and gives the reason, because love is the passion which most predominates in our souls, and that therefore the passions represented become insipid, unless they are conformable to the thoughts of the audience. But it is to be concluded, that this passion works not now amongst the French so strongly as the other two did amongst the ancients. Amongst us, who have a stronger genius for writing, the operations from the writing are much stronger; for the raising of Shakspeare's passions is more from the excellency of the words and thoughts, than the justness of the occasion; and, if he has been able to pick single occasions, he has never founded the whole reasonably: yet, by the genius of poetry in writing, he has succeeded.

"Rapin attributes more to the *dictio*, that is, to the words and discourse of a tragedy, than Aristotle has done, who places them in the last rank of beauties; perhaps only last in order, because they are the last product of the design, of the disposition or connection of its parts

of the characters, of the manners of those characters, and of the thoughts proceeding from those manners. Rapin's words are remarkable: 'Tis not the admirable intrigue, the surprising events, and extraordinary incidents, that make the beauty of a tragedy: 'tis the discourses, when they are natural and passionate: so are Shakspeare's.

"The parts of a poem, tragic or heroic, are,

"1. The fable itself.

"2. The order or manner of its contrivance, in relation of the parts to the whole.

"3. The manners, or decency, of the characters, in speaking or acting what is proper for them, and proper to be shown by the poet.

"4. The thoughts which express the manners

"5. The words which express those thoughts.

"In the last of these Homer excels Virgil; Virgil all the other ancient poets; and Shakspeare all modern poets.

"For the second of these, the order: the meaning is, that a fable ought to have a beginning, middle, and an end, all just and natural; so that that part, *e. g.* which is in the middle, could not naturally be the beginning or end, and so of the rest: all depend on one another, like the links of a curious chain. If terror and pity are only to be raised, certainly this author follows Aristotle's rules, and Sophocles' and Euripides' example; but joy may be raised too, and that doubly, either by seeing a wicked man punished, or a good man at last fortunate; or perhaps indignation, to see wickedness prosperous and goodness depressed: both these may be profitable to the end of a tragedy, reformation of manners; but the last improperly, only as it begets pity in the audience; though Aristotle, I confess, places tragedies of this kind in the second form.

"He who undertakes to answer this excellent critique of Mr. Rymer, in behalf of our English poets against the Greek, ought to do it in this manner: either by yielding to him the greatest part of what he contends for, which consists in this, that the *μῦθος*, *i. e.* the design and conduct of it, is more conducing in the Greeks to those ends of tragedy, which Aristotle and he propose, namely, to cause terror and pity; yet the granting this does not set the Greeks above the English poets.

"But the answerer ought to prove two things: first, that the fable is not the greatest master-piece of a tragedy, though it be the foundation of it.

"Secondly, that other ends as suitable to the nature of tragedy may be found in the English, which were not in the Greek.

"Aristotle places the fable first; not *quoad dignitatem*, sed *quoad fundamentum*: for a fable never so movingly contrived to those ends of his, pity and terror, will operate nothing on our affections, except the characters, manners, thoughts, and words, are suitable.

"So that it remains for Mr. Rymer to prove, that in all those, or the greatest part of them, we are inferior to Sophocles and Euripides; and this he has offered at, in some measure; but, I think, a little partially to the ancients.

"For the fable itself 'tis in the English more adorned with episodes, and larger than in the Greek poets; consequently more diverting. For, if the action be but one, and that plain, without any counterturn of design or episode, *i. e.* underplot, how can it be so pleasing as the English, which have both underplot and a turned design, which keeps the audience in expectation of the catastrophe? whereas in the Greek poets we see through the whole design at first.

"For the characters, they are neither so many nor so various in Sophocles and Euripides as in Shakspeare and Fletcher; only they are more adapted to those ends of tragedy which Aristotle commends to us, pity and terror.

"The manners flow from the characters, and consequently must partake of their advantages and disadvantages.

"The thoughts and words, which are the fourth and fifth beauties of tragedy, are certainly more noble and more poetical in the English than in the Greek, which must be proved by comparing them somewhat more equitably than Mr. Rymer has done.

"After all, we need not yield that the English way is less conducing to move pity and terror, because they often show virtue oppressed and vice punished ; where they do not both, or either, they are not to be defended.

"And if we should grant that the Greeks performed this better, perhaps it may admit of dispute, whether pity and terror are either the prime, or at least the only ends of tragedy.

"Tis not enough that Aristotle had said so ; for Aristotle drew his models of tragedy from Sophocles and Euripides ; and if he had seen ours, might have changed his mind. And chiefly we have to say, (what I hinted on pity and terror, in the last paragraph save one,) that the punishment of vice and reward of virtue are the most adequate ends of tragedy, because most conducing to good example of life. Now, pity is not so easily raised for a criminal (and the ancient tragedy always represents its chief person such) as it is for an innocent man ; and the suffering of innocence and punishment of the offender is of the nature of English tragedy : contrarily, in the Greek, innocence is unhappy often, and the offender escapes. Then we are not touched with the sufferings of any sort of men so much as of lovers ; and this was almost unknown to the ancients : so that they neither administered poetical justice, of which Mr. Rymer boasts, so well as we ; neither knew they the best common-place of pity, which is love.

"He therefore unjustly blames us for not building on what the ancients left us ; for it seems, upon consideration of the premises, that we have wholly finished what they began.

"My judgment on this piece is this : that it is extremely learned, but that the author of it is better read in the Greek than in the English poets ; that all writers ought to study this critique, as the best account I have ever seen of the ancients ; that the model of tragedy he has here given is excellent and extremely correct ; but that it is not the only model of all tragedy, because it is too much circumscribed in plot, characters, &c., and, lastly, that we may be taught here justly to admire and imitate the ancients, without giving them the preference with this author, in prejudice to our own country.

"Want of method in this excellent treatise makes the thoughts of the author sometimes obscure.

"His meaning, that pity and terror are to be moved, is, that they are to be moved as the means conducing to the ends of tragedy, which are pleasure and instruction.

"And these two ends may be thus distinguished. The chief end of the poet is to please ; for his immediate reputation depends on it.

"The great end of the poem is to instruct, which is performed by making pleasure the vehicle of that instruction ; for poesy is an art, and all arts are made to profit. *Rapin.*

"The pity, which the poet is to labour for, is for the criminal, not for those or him whom he has murdered, or who have been the occasion of the tragedy. The terror is likewise in the punishment of the same criminal ; who, if he be represented too great an offender, will not be pitied ; if altogether innocent, his punishment will be unjust.

"Another obscurity is, where he says, Sophocles perfected tragedy by introducing the third actor : that is, he meant three kinds of action : one company singing, or speaking ; another playing on the music ; a third dancing.

"To make a true judgment in this competition betwixt the Greek poets and the English, in tragedy :

"Consider, first, how Aristotle has defined a tragedy. Secondly, what he assigns the end of it to be. Thirdly, what he thinks the beauties of it. Fourthly, the means to attain the end proposed.

"Compare the Greek and English tragic poets justly, and without partiality, according to those rules.

"Then, secondly, consider whether Aristotle has made a just definition of tragedy ; of its parts, of its ends, and of its beauties ; and whether he, having not seen any others but those of Sophocles, Euripides, &c., had or truly could determine what all the excellencies of tragedy are, and wherein they consist.

"Next, show in what ancient tragedy was deficient : for example, in the narrowness of its plots, and fewness of persons ; and try whether that be not a fault in the Greek poets ; and whether their excellency was so great, when the variety was visibly so little ; or whether what they did was not very easy to do.

"Then make a judgment on what the English have added to their beauties : as, for example, not only more plot, but also new passions ; as, namely, that of love, scarcely touched on by the ancients, except in this one example of Phædra, cited by Mr. Rymer ; and in that how short they were of Fletcher !

"Prove also that love, being an heroic passion, is fit for tragedy, which cannot be denied, because of the example alleged of Phædra ; and how far Shakspeare has outdone them in friendship, &c.

"To return to the beginning of this enquiry ; consider if pity and terror be enough for tragedy to move : and I believe, upon a true definition of tragedy, it will be found that its work extends farther, and that it is to reform manners, by a delightful representation of human life in great persons, by way of dialogue. If this be true, then not only pity and terror are to be moved, as the only means to bring us to virtue, but generally love to virtue, and hatred to vice ; by showing the rewards of one, and punishments of the other ; at least, by rendering virtue always amiable, though it be shown unfortunate ; and vice detestable, though it be shown triumphant.

"If, then, the encouragement of virtue and discouragement of vice be the proper ends of poetry in tragedy, pity and terror, though good means, are not the only. For all the passions, in their turns, are to be set in a ferment ; as joy, anger, love, fear, are to be used as the poet's common-places ; and a general concernment for the principal actors is to be raised, by making them appear such in their characters, their words, and actions, as will interest the audience in their fortunes.

"And if, after all, in a larger sense, pity comprehends this concernment for the good, and terror includes detestation for the bad, then let us consider whether the English have not answered this end of tragedy as well as the ancients, or perhaps better.

"And here Mr. Rymer's objections against these plays are to be impartially weighed, that we may see whether they are of weight enough to turn the balance against our countrymen.

"Tis evident those plays, which he arraigns, have moved both those passions in a high degree upon the stage.

"To give the glory of this away from the poet, and to place it upon the actors, seems unjust.

"One reason is, because whatever actors they have found, the event has been the same ; that is, the same passions have been always moved ; which shows that there is something of force and merit in the plays themselves, conducing to the design of raising these two passions : and suppose them ever to have been excellently acted, yet action only adds grace, vigour, and more life upon the stage ; but cannot give it wholly where it is not first. But, secondly, I dare appeal to those who have never seen them acted, if they have not found these two passions moved within them ; and if the general voice will carry it, Mr. Rymer's prejudice will take off his single testimony.

"This, being matter of fact, is reasonably to be established by this appeal ; as, if one man says it is night, when the rest of the world conclude it to be day, there needs no farther argument against him, that it is so.

"If he urge, that the general taste is depraved, his arguments to prove this can at best but evince that our poets took not the best way to raise those passions ; but experience proves against him, that those means which they have used, have been successful, and have produced them.

"And one reason of that success is, in my opinion, this : that Shakspeare and Fletcher have written to the genius of the age and nation in which they lived ; for though nature, as he objects, is the same in all places, and reason too the same ; yet the climate, the age, the

disposition of the people, to whom a poet writes, may be so different, that what pleased the Greeks would not satisfy an English audience.

"And if they proceed upon a foundation of truer reason to please the Athenians, than Shakspeare and Fletcher to please the English, it only shows that the Athenians were a more judicious people; but the poet's business is certainly to please the audience.

"Whether our English audience have been pleased hitherto with acorns, as he calls it, or with bread, is the next question; that is, whether the means which Shakspeare and Fletcher have used, in their plays, to raise those passions before named, be better applied to the ends by the Greek poets than by them. And perhaps we shall not grant him this wholly: let it be yielded that a writer is not to run down with the stream, or to please the people by their usual methods, but rather to reform their judgments, it still remains to prove that our theatre needs this total reformation.

"The faults, which he has found in their design are rather wittily aggravated in many places than reasonably urged; and as much may be returned on the Greeks by one who were as witty as himself.

"They destroy not, if they are granted, the foundation of the fabric; only take away from the beauty of the symmetry; for example, the faults in the character of the king, in King and No-king, are not, as he calls them, such as render him detestable, but only imperfections which accompany human nature, and are for the most part excused by the violence of his love; so that they destroy not our pity or concernment for him: this answer may be applied to most of his objections of that kind.

"And Rollo committing many murders, when he is answerable but for one, is too severely arraigned by him; for, it adds to our horror and detestation of the criminal; and poetic justice is not neglected neither; for we stab him in our minds for every offence which he commits; and the point, which the poet is to gain on the audience, is not so much in the death of an offender as the raising an horror of his crimes.

"That the criminal should neither be wholly guilty, nor wholly innocent, but so participating of both as to move both pity and terror, is certainly a good rule, but not perpetually to be observed; for that were to make all tragedies too much alike; which objection he foresaw, but has not fully answered.

"To conclude, therefore; if the plays of the ancients are more correctly plotted, ours are more beautifully written. And, if we can raise passions as high on worse foundations, it shows our genius in tragedy is greater; for in all other parts of it the English have manifestly excelled them."

THE original of the following letter is preserved in the Library at Lambeth,* and was kindly imparted to the public by the Rev. Dr. Vyse: †

Copy of an Original Letter from John Dryden, Esq. to his Sons in Italy, from a M.S. in the Lambeth Library, marked No. 933, p. 56.

(Superscribed)

"Al illustrissimo Sig^{re}

"Carlo Dryden Camariere

"d'Honore A.S.S.

"Franca per Mantova.

"In Roma.

"DEAR SONS,

"Sept. the 3rd, our style.

"Being now at Sir William Bowyer's in the country, I cannot write at large, because I find myself somewhat indisposed with a cold, and am thick of hearing, rather worse than

* In the same library is a manuscript copy of Dryden's *Mac-Fleance*, which has been collated for the present edition of his poems. T.

† With this incomparable production, as Mr. Malone has justly remarked, Johnson's exquisite parallel of Dryden and Pope, in the life of the latter poet, should be read; in which "the superiority of genius, that power which constitutes a

I was in town. I am glad to find, by your letter of July 26th, your style, that you are both in health; but wonder you should think me so negligent as to forget to give you an account of the ship in which your parcel is to come. I have written to you two or three letters concerning it, which I have sent by safe hands, as I told

poet; that quality without which judgment is cold and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates;" is, "with some hesitation," attributed to Dryden.

"He professed to have learned his poetry from Dryden, whom, whenever an opportunity was presented, he praised through his whole life with unvaried liberality; and perhaps his character may receive some illustration, if he be compared with his master.

"Integrity of understanding and nicety of discernment were not allotted in a less proportion to Dryden than to Pope. The rectitude of Dryden's mind was sufficiently shown by the dismissal of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers. But Dryden never desired to apply all the judgment that he had. He wrote, and professed to write, merely for the people; and when he pleased others, he contented himself. He spent no time in struggles to rouse latent powers; he never attempted to make that better which was already good, nor often to mend what he must have known to be faulty. He wrote, as he tells us, with very little consideration; when occasion or necessity called upon him, he poured out what the present moment happened to supply, and when once it had passed the press, ejected it from his mind; for, when he had no pecuniary interest, he had no further solicitude.

"Pope was not content to satisfy; he desired to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his best; he did not court the candour, but dared the judgment of his reader, and, expecting no indulgence from others, he showed none to himself. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious observation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence, till he had left nothing to be forgiven.

"For this reason he kept his pieces very long in his hands, while he considered and reconsidered them. The only poems which can be supposed to have been written with such regard to the times as might hasten their publication, were the satires of 'Thirty-eight'; of which Dodsley told me that they were brought to him by the author, that they might be fairly copied. 'Almost every line,' he said, 'was then written twice over; I gave him a clean transcript, which he sent some time afterwards to me for the press, with almost every line written twice over a second time.'

"His declaration, that his care for his works ceased at their publication, was not strictly true. His parental attention never abandoned them: what he found amiss in the first edition, he silently corrected in those that followed. He appears to have revised the 'Illiad,' and freed it from some of its imperfections; and the 'Essay on Criticism' received many improvements after its first appearance. It will seldom be found that he altered without adding clearness, elegance, or vigour. Pope had perhaps the judgment of Dryden; but Dryden certainly wanted the diligence of Pope.

"In acquired knowledge, the superiority must be allowed to Dryden, whose education was more scholastic, and who before he became an author had been allowed more time for study, with better means of information. His mind has a larger range, and he collects his images and illustrations from a more extensive circumference of science. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of Dryden were formed by comprehensive speculation, and those of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope.

"Poetry was not the sole praise of either; for both excelled likewise in prose; but Pope did not borrow his prose from his predecessor. The style of Dryden is capricious and varied; that of Pope is cautious and uniform. Dryden observes the motions of his own mind; Pope constrains his mind to his own rules of composition. Dryden is sometimes vehement and rapid; Pope is always smooth, uniform, and gentle. Dryden's page is a natural field, rising into inequalities, and diversified by the varied exuberance of abundant vegetation; Pope's is a velvet lawn, shaven by the scythe, and levelled by the roller.

"Of genius, that power which constitutes a poet; that quality without which judgment is cold, and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates; the superiority must, with some hesitation, be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred, that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, because Dryden had more; for every other writer since Milton must give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it must be said, that, if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems. Dryden's performances were always hasty, either excited by some external occasion, or extorted by domestic necessity; he composed without consideration, and published without correction. What his mind could supply at call, or gather in one excursion, was all that he sought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condense his sentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that study might produce, or chance might supply. If the flights of Dryden, therefore, are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it. Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight.

"This parallel will, I hope, when it is well considered, be found just; and if the reader should suspect me, as I suspect myself, of some partial fondness for the memory of Dryden, let him not too hastily condemn me; for meditation and enquiry may, perhaps, show him the reasonableness of my determination."

To this fine parallel may be added, from a work of great merit, entitled, *the Progress of Satire*, the following acute estimate of Dryden's satirical powers.

"Nearly at the same period (with Boileau) after some momentary gleams, and strong flashes in the horizon, Satire arose in England. When I name Dryden, I comprehend every varied excellence of our poetry. In harmony, strength, modulation, rhythm, energy, he first displayed the full power of the English language. My business with him, at present, is only as a Satirist. I will be brief: I speak to the intelligent. He was the first poet who brought to perfection what I would term, 'the Allegory of Satire.' Fables, indeed, and apologues, and romances, have always been the most ancient modes of reproof and censure. It was the peculiar happiness of Dryden, to give an eternal sense and interest to subjects which are transitory. He placed his scene on the ground of actual history. The reader of every age has an interest in the delineation of characters and names which have been familiar to him from his earliest years. He is already prepared and feels a predilection for the subject. This accommodation of ancient characters to existing persons, has a peculiar force in the age to which it is addressed; and posterity reads with delight, a poem founded on pristine story, and illustrated by the records of modern times. Dryden's power of satire has been generally acknowledged in his *Mac-Fleming*; but his masterpiece is that wonderful and unequalled performance, *Absalom and Achitophel*. He presents to us an heroic subject, in heroic numbers—a well-constructed allegory, and a forcible appeal to our best feelings and passions. He paints the horrors of anarchy, sedition, rebellion, and democracy, with the pencil of Dante, or of Michael Angelo; and he gives the

you, and doubt not but you have them before this can arrive to you. Being out of town, I have forgotten the ship's name, which your mother will enquire, and put it into her letter, which is joined with mine. But the master's name I remember: he is called Mr. Ralph Thorp; the ship is bound to Leghorn, consigned to Mr. Peter and Mr. Thomas Ball, merchants. I am of your opinion, that by Tonson's means almost all our letters have miscarried for this last year. But, however, he has missed of his design in the Dedication, though he had prepared the book for it: for, in every figure of *Æneas* he has caused him to be drawn like King William, with a hooked nose. After my return to town, I intend to alter a play of Sir Robert Howard's written long since, and lately put into my hands; 'tis called *The Conquest of China by the Tartars*. It will cost me six weeks study, with the probable benefit of an hundred pounds. In the meantime I am writing a song for St. Cecilia's Feast, who, you know, is the patroness of music. This is troublesome, and no way beneficial; but I could not deny the Stewards of the Feast, who came in a body to me to desire that kindness, one of them being Mr. Bridgeman, whose parents are your mother's friends. I hope to send you thirty guineas between Michaelmas and Christmas, of which I will give you an account when I come to town. I remember the council you give me in your letter; but dissembling, though lawful in some cases, is not my talent; yet, for your sake, I will struggle with the plain openness of my nature, and keep in my just resentments against that degenerate order. In the mean time, I flatter not myself with any manner of hopes, but do my duty, and suffer for God's sake; being assured, before hand, never to be rewarded, though the times should alter. Towards the latter end of this month, September, Charles will begin to recover his perfect health, according to his nativity which, casting it myself, I am sure is true, and all things hitherto have happened accordingly to the very time that I predicted them; I hope at the same time to recover more health, according to my age. Remember me to poor Harry, whose prayers I earnestly desire. My Virgil succeeds in the world beyond its desert or my expectation. You know the profits might have been more; but neither my conscience nor my honour would suffer me to take them: but I never can repent of my constancy, since I am thoroughly persuaded of the justice of the cause for which I suffer. It has pleased God to raise up many friends to me amongst my enemies, though they who ought to have been my friends are negligent of me. I am called to dinner, and cannot go on with this letter, which I desire you to excuse; and am

"Your most affectionate father,

"JOHN DRYDEN."

speeches of his heroes, with the strength, propriety, and correctness of Virgil. It is Satire in its highest form; but it is Satire addressed to the few. It is not adapted to the general effect of this species of poetry. In my opinion, Dryden has not the style and manner of Horace, or Juvenal, or Persius, or Boileau. Pope called him '*unhappy*,' from the looseness of the age in which he lived. He has enthusiasm, majesty, severity, gravity, strength of conception, and boldness of imagery. But sprightliness, gaiety, and easy *badinage*, an occasional playfulness, so necessary to the general effect of satirical poetry, were all wanting to him. Perhaps his genius was too sublime. He could not, or he would not, descend to the minutiae which are often required, the anecdotes, and the passing traits of the time. His satire had an original character. It was the strain of Archilochus, sounding from the lyre of Alceus." T

UPON

THE DEATH OF LORD HASTINGS.*

Must noble Hastings immaturely die,
The honour of his ancient family,

* There is some fancy in this Poem, but many of the lines are very bad, and the images too gross, both in design and expression, to have escaped our author in his riper years. However, he was not quite eighteen when he wrote it; and, by reprinting it, the reader may trace the progress of that genius which afterwards arrived at such sublimity. The nobleman herein lamented, was styled Henry Lord Hastings, son to Ferdinand, Earl of Huntingdon. He died before his father, in 1649, being then in his twentieth year. He had, from nature and education, a most amiable disposition, a strong judgment, and so refined a taste, that, according to Collins's Peerage, not less than ninety-eight elegies were composed on his death. DERRICK.

Derrick should have added, that Collins expressly mentions these elegies as printed in "*Lachrymæ Musarum*, the Tears of the Muses, expressed in elegies written by divers persons of nobility and worth, upon the death of the most hopeful Henry, Lord Hastings, eldest [only] son of the Right Honourable Ferdinand, Earl of Huntingdon, heir-general of the high-born Prince George, Duke of Clarence, brother to King Edward IV." [Collected and set forth by R. B.] But as the *Lachrymæ Musarum* contains only thirty-six elegies, it is clear that the figures 98 in Collins are erroneous, and a mere error of the press. MALONE.

On examining the *Lachrymæ Musarum*, it should seem that Mr. Collins was led into an error concerning the number of elegies on the death of Lord Hastings, by glancing his eye on the Table of Contents, in which the last elegy has a reference to p. 98; which he hastily supposed was the number of elegies in the book.

Ver. 1. *Must noble Hastings* It is a mortifying circumstance to be compelled to begin these notes with a censure of the very first piece of our admired poet. But it is impossible not to be hurt by the false, unnatural thoughts, by the forced and far-sought conceits, by the rugged and inharmonious numbers, and the perpetual aim and desire to be witty, with which this Elegy so much abounds, that we wonder he could ever rise so high after so unpromising a beginning. One well-known sentence characterises his works: "*Ubi bene nemo melius, ubi male nemo pejus.*" The person he lamented was Henry Lord Hastings, son to Ferdinand, Earl of Huntingdon, who died before his father, 1649. He was ancestor of the last Earl of Huntingdon, to whom Dr. Aken-side addressed an Ode, of a very different cast from the verses before us, full of true Grecian spirit and sentiments, and in a style of peculiar force and energy. This nobleman will be long lamented by all his friends and acquaintance, of whom I had the honour to be one, for the elegance of his manners, his pleasing affability, his extensive knowledge of men and things, the variety and vigour of his wit and conversation, enlivened by many curious facts and anecdotes, his accurate taste in all parts of polite literature, and his universal candour and benevolence.

The character of Aspasia, written by Congreve, in the Tatler No. 72 is meant for Lady E. Hastings. She was

Beauty and learning thus together meet,
To bring a winding for a wedding sheet?
Must virtue prove death's harbinger? must she,
With him expiring, feel mortality?
Is death, sin's wages, grace's now! shall art
Make us more learned, only to depart?
If merit be disease; if virtue death;
To be good, not to be; who'd then bequeath¹⁰
Himself to discipline? who'd not esteem
Labour a crime? study self-murder deem?
Our noble youth now have pretence to be
Dunces securely, ignorant healthfully.
Rare linguist, whose worth speaks itself, whose¹⁵
praise,
Though not his own, all tongues besides do raise.

daughter of Theophilus Hastings, seventh Earl of Huntingdon. Her father came to the honours and estate of that family in 1655. So that three poets, Dryden, Congreve, and Aken-side, celebrated the Hastings. Dr. JOSEPH WARTON.

Ver. 4. — *a winding for a wedding sheet?* In this line, as also in verse 93, the poet alludes to the melancholy circumstance of Lord Hastings's death having taken place on the day preceding that which, previously to his illness, had been appointed for the celebration of his marriage. The lady to whom he was betrothed was the daughter of a very celebrated physician, Sir Theodore Mayerne, whose skill was in vain exerted to save his intended son-in-law from that malignant disorder, the small-pox. "*Pride sponsalium (proh Hymenæe!) funere luit immaturo,*" says his epitaph. See also the following verses of Andrew Marvel, in the collection already quoted:—

"The gods themselves cannot their joy conceal,
But draw their veils, and their pure beams reveal;
Only they drooping Hymenæus note,
Who, for sad purple, tears his saffron coat,
And trails his torches throw the starry hall
Reversed, for his darling's funeral.
And Æsculapius, who, ashamed and stern,
Himself at once condemneth and Mayern;
Like some sad chymist, who, prepared to reap
His golden harvest, sees his glasses leap;
For how immortal must their race have stood,
Had Mayern once been mix'd with Hastings' blood

But what could he, good man, although he mix'd
All herbs, and them a thousand ways infused," &c.

The elegy in which these verses occur, is by far the best in the collection, if we except that of our author. MALONE.

Ver. 15. *Rare linguist.* On this topic Sir Aston Cockayne, in his elegy on Lord Hastings, thus expatiates:—

"His few, but well-spent years, had master'd all
The liberal arts and his sweet tongue could fall

Than whom great Alexander may seem less;
 Who conquer'd men, but not their languages.
 In his mouth nations spake, his tongue might be
 Interpreter to Greece, France, Italy.²⁰
 His native soil was the four parts of the earth;
 All Europe was too narrow for his birth.
 A young apostle; and, with reverence may
 I speak 't, inspired with gift of tongues, as they.
 Nature gave him, a child, what men in vain²⁵
 Oft strive, by art though further'd, to obtain.
 His body was an orb, his sublime soul
 Did move on virtue's and on learning's pole:
 Whose regular motions better to our view,
 Than Archimedes' sphere, the heavens did shew.³¹
 Graces and virtues, languages and arts,
 Beauty and learning, fill'd up all the parts.
 Heaven's gifts, which do like falling stars appear
 Scatter'd in others; all, as in their sphere,
 Were fix'd, conglobate in his soul; and thence³⁵
 Shone through his body, with sweet influence;
 Letting their glories so on each limb fall,
 The whole frame render'd was celestial.
 Come, learned Ptolemy, and trial make,
 If thou this hero's altitude canst take:⁴⁰

Into the ancient dialects; dispense
 Sacred Judea's amplest eloquence;
 The Latine idiom elegantly true,
 And Greek as rich as Athens ever knew:
 The Italian and the French do both confess
 Him perfect in their modern languages."

Lachrymæ Musarum, &c., 1650.

All these attainments were made at an early age; for Lord Hastings died in his nineteenth (not, as Derrick has in his *twentieth*) year, on the 23d of June, 1649, after an illness of only seven days' duration. MALONE.

Ver. 17. *Than whom great Alexander may seem less;
 Who conquer'd men, but not their languages.*

Yet from his letter to his master Aristotle, recorded by Plutarch and Aulus Gellius, we are led to conclude that the love of conquest was but the second ambition in Alexander's soul. The letter, as translated by Addison in his *Guardian*, No. 111, is as follows:—

"Alexander to Aristotle greeting,—

"You have not done well to publish your books of select knowledge; for what is there now in which I can surpass others, if those things which I have been instructed in are communicated to everybody? For my own part, I declare to you, I would rather excel others in knowledge than power. Farewell."

A living author, who excels in clear and vigorous composition, will, I trust, forgive me if I transcribe a passage in defence of the hero of Macedonia, from a letter addressed by him to the late Dr. Joseph Warton. "In truth I am happy in knowing that you think as well of the Macedonian as I do. I am no favourer of paradoxes, nor would I write a Richard III. up into a good character, but surely it is time that the world should learn to distinguish between the conquests of an *intelligent being* and the *ravages of a Tartar*, between an Alexander and a Zingis, a Timour or a Buonaparte. Alexander was a builder, and these only demolishers. How small is the proportion of the former to the latter, in the history of the world!" Rev. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 27. — *his sublime soul*]. Dr. Newton has placed the accent on the first syllable of *sublime* in Milton's Mask of Comus, as the accent may seem to be in the present instance, ver. 783.

"The sublime notion and high mystery—"

The word in Milton's and Dryden's lines may, however, be read more gracefully without it. Rev. H. J. Todd.

Ver. 35. *Were fix'd, conglobate in his soul*]. This word is used in the second book of Lucretius, ver. 153, in the same sense.

"See complexa meant inter se conque globata."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 36. — *sweet influence*]. Canst thou bind the sweet influences of the Pleiades? Job xxxviii. 31. JOHN WARTON.

But that transcends thy skill; thrice happy all,
 Could we but prove thus astronomical.
 Laved Tycho now, struck with this ray, which
 shone

More bright i' the morn, than others beam at noon,
 He'd take his astrolabe, and seek out here
 What new star 'twas did gild our hemisphere.
 Replenish'd then with such rare gifts as these,
 Where was room left for such a foul disease?
 The nation's sin hath drawn that veil, which
 shrouds

Our day-spring in so sad benighting clouds.⁵⁰
 Heaven would no longer trust its pledge; but thus
 Recall'd it; rapt its Ganymede from the small-pox,
 Was there no milder way but the small-pox,
 The very filthiness of Pandora's box?
 So many spots, like naves on Venus' soil,⁵⁵
 One jewel set off with so many a foil;
 Blusters with pride swell'd, which through 's flesh
 did sprout
 Like rose-buds, stuck i' the lily skin about.

Ver. 53. — *the small-pox*]. An obvious occasion is here offered of paying a small tribute to Dr. Jenner, whose able researches have so essentially contributed to check the ravages of this dreadful disease, the small-pox. To him, therefore, we may apply the words of the poet:

"O qui secundo natus Apolline
 Incumbis arti Pæoniae, studens
 Arcana Naturæ, gravæque
 Mores novo prohibere morbum,
 Jenner, laudes an sileam tuas? —
 Hic sæpe mecum dum meditor gemens,
 Inter meorum funera, quæ diu
 Vixi superstes, quod veneno
 Poeta gravi, maculosque totis,
 Primis in ævi viribus abstulit
 Infesta febris, lingua valet partem
 Narrare, quid debes supremo
 Quanta Deo tibi danda laus est,
 Furor quod non ante domabili
 Tot dira Pestis quæ peperit mala,
 In gentis humane levamen.
 Te medicæ superata cessat.
 Te mater amictu filiole cavens
 Ut tuto ab atrâ corpore sit ille;
 Innupta te virgo, decentes
 Sint memori sine labe males."

See the late Christopher Anstey's "Ad Edvardum Jenner, M.D. Carmen Alcaicum." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 58. *Like rose-buds, stuck i' the lily skin about*]. "Of his school performances," (says the great Johnson, in his *Life of Dryden*), "has appeared only a poem on the death of Lord Hastings, composed with great ambition of such conceits as, notwithstanding the reformation begun by Waller and Denham, the example of Cowley still kept in reputation. Lord Hastings died of the small-pox, and his poet has made of the pustules, first, rose-buds, and then gems; at last exalts them into stars; and says,

"No comet need foretell his change drew on,
 Whose corpse might seem a constellation!"

Perhaps it may appear at first sight surprising, that Dr. Busby should patiently bear such thoughts as pervade the whole of this poem on Lord Hastings; but our surprise ceases when we read the following judicious observation of Quintilian, which could not escape the penetration of that great master, who consequently showed the indulgence here recommended to the exuberant imagination of a youthful poet.

"Ne illud quidem quod admonemus indignum est, ingenia puerorum nimia interim emendationis severitate delicere. Nam et desperant, et dolent, et novissimum oderunt: et, quod maxime nocet, dum omnia timent, nihil conantur. Quod etiam rusticus notum est, qui frondibus tenens non putant adhibendum esse falcem, quia reformidare ferrum videntur, et cicatricos nondum pati posse. Jucundus ergo tum maxime debet esse præceptor, ut quæ aliqui naturâ sunt aspera, molli manu leniantur: laudare aliqua, ferre quadam, mutare etiam, reddidit cur id fiat ratione; illuminare interponendo aliquid sui." — Quintilian, Inst. Orat. lib. ii. JOHN WARTON.

Each little pimple had a tear in it,
 To wait the fault its rising did commit :
 Which, rebel like, with its own lord at strife,
 Thus made an insurrection 'gainst his life.
 Or were these gems sent to adorn his skin,
 The cabinet of a richer soul within?
 No comet need foretel his change drew on,
 Whose corpse might seem a constellation.
 O ! had he died of old, how great a strife
 Had been, who from his death should draw their
 life?
 Who should, by one rich draught, become what-
 e'er
 Seneca, Cato, Numa, Cæsar, were ?
 Learn'd, virtuous, pious, great ; and have by this
 An universal metempsychosis.
 Must all these aged fires in one funeral
 Expire ? all die in one so young, so small ?
 Who, had he lived his life out, his great fame
 Had swoll'n 'bove any Greek or Roman name.
 But hasty winter, with one blast, hath brought
 The hopes of autumn, summer, spring, to nought.
 Thus fades the oak i' the sprig, i' the blade the
 corn ;
 Thus without young, this Phoenix dies, new born.
 Must then old three-legg'd grey-beards with their
 gout,
 Catarrhs, rheums, aches, live three ages out ?
 Time's offals, only fit for the hospital !
 Or to hang antiquaries' rooms withal !
 Must drunkards, lechers, spent with sinning, live
 With such helps as broths, possets, physic give ?
 None live, but such as should die ! shall we
 meet
 With none but ghostly fathers in the street ?
 Grief makes me rail ; sorrow will force its way ;
 And showers of tears tempestuous sighs best lay.

The tongue may fail ; but overflowing eyes
 Will weep out lasting streams of elegies.
 But thou, O virgin-widow, left alone,
 Now thy beloved, heaven-ravish'd spouse is gone,
 Whose skilful sire in vain strove to apply
 Med'cines, when thy balm was no remedy,
 With greater than Platonic love, O wed
 His soul, though not his body, to thy bed :
 Let that make thee a mother ; bring thou forth
 The ideas of his virtue, knowledge, worth ;
 Transcribe the original in new copies ; give
 Hastings o' the better part : so shall he live
 In 's nobler half ; and the great grandsire be
 Of an heroic divine progeny :
 An issue, which to eternity shall last,
 Yet but the irradiations which he cast.
 Erect no mausoleums : for his best
 Monument is his spouse's marble breast.*

Ver. 92. — *streams of elegies.*] In a very scarce little volume, entitled *Lachrymæ Musarum*, London, printed by T. N., 1650, communicated to me by Mr. Reed, of Staple Inn, are thirty-six Elegies, in Greek, Latin, and English, on the death of this nobleman. Of these, twenty-six are in English, two in Greek, and eight in Latin. The concluding copies are this by Dryden, and the Latin copies by Cyril Wyche, Edward Campion, Thomas Adams, Ralph Montague, all Westminster scholars. The Greek copies are signed Joannes Harmarus, Oxoniensis, *ἐπιταφίαι*, and C. W. M. Morens posuit. Most of these are written with the same false taste which pervades the poem now before us. J. WATSON.

Ver. 93. *But thou, O virgin-widow.*] So in another elegy on Lord Hastings, by "Jo. Benyon, Hosp. Lincoln."

"Thy love writes *maid*, yet is half *widow* too." MALONE.

* The verses on Lord Hastings in the "*Lachrymæ Musarum*," are subscribed "Johannes Dryden. Scholæ Westm. alumnus." — It appears, from a note of the editor's, that they were sent at a late period in the year (1649), after a great part of the book was printed off, and when it was just ready for publication. MALONE.

TO HIS FRIEND THE AUTHOR, JOHN HODDESDON,

ON HIS DIVINE EPIGRAMS.*

THOU hast inspired me with thy soul, and I
 Who ne'er before could ken of Poetry,
 Am grown so good proficient, I can lend
 A line in commendation of my friend.
 Yet 'tis but of the second hand ; if ought
 There be in this, 'tis from thy fancy brought.
 Good thief, who dar'st, Prometheus-like, aspire,
 And fill thy poems with celestial fire :

* Mr. Hoddesdon's poetical effusions were published in 8vo, 1650, under the title of "Sion and Parnassus; or, Epigrams on several texts of the Old and New Testament." To this book is prefixed the author's engraved portrait, "Ætat. 18," by which it appears that he and Dryden were nearly of the same age. MALONE.

These commendatory verses, which are subscribed "J. Dryden, of Trin. C.," are here printed from the original edition, which was obligingly communicated by Mr. Malone. JOHN WATSON.

Enliven'd by these sparks divine, their rays
 Add a bright lustre to thy crown of bays.
 Young eaglet, who thy nest thus soon forsook,
 So lofty and divine a course hast took
 As all admire, before the down begin
 To peep, as yet, upon thy smoother chin ;
 And, making heaven thy aim, hast had the grace
 To look the sun of righteousness i' th' face.
 What may we hope, if thou go'st on thus fast,
 Scriptures at first ; enthusiasms at last !
 Thou hast commenced, betimes, a saint ; go on,
 Mingling diviner streams with Helicon ;
 That they who view what Epigrams here be,
 May learn to make like, in just praise of thee.
 Reader, I've done, nor longer will withhold
 Thy greedy eyes ; looking on this pure gold
 Thou 'lt know adulterate copper, which, like this
 Will only serve to be a foil to his.

HEROIC STANZAS ON THE DEATH OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

WRITTEN AFTER HIS FUNERAL.*

I.
AND now 'tis time; for their officious haste,
Who would before have borne him to the sky,
Like eager Romans, ere all rites were past,
Did let too soon the sacred eagle fly.

II.
Though our best notes are treason to his fame,⁵
Join'd with the loud applause of public voice;
Since Heaven, what praise we offer to his name,
Hath render'd too authentic by its choice.

III.
Though in his praise no arts can liberal be,
Since they, whose muses have the highest
flown,¹⁰
Add not to his immortal memory,
But do an act of friendship to their own:

IV.
Yet 'tis our duty, and our interest too,
Such monuments as we can build to raise;
Lest all the world prevent what we should do,¹⁵
And claim a title in him by their praise.

* "The death of Cromwell was the first public event which called forth Dryden's poetical powers. His heroic stanzas have beauties and defects; the thoughts are vigorous, and though not always proper, shew a mind replete with ideas; the numbers are smooth, and the diction, if not altogether correct, is elegant and easy."

"Davenant seems at this time to have been his favourite author, though Gondibert never appears to have been popular; and from Davenant he learned to please his ear with the stanza of four lines alternately rhymed." Johnson's Life of Dryden. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1. *And now 'tis time;* We are not to wonder that Dryden, after this panegyric on Cromwell, should live to be appointed poet laureat to Charles II., any more than that Mr. Sprat, after a similar panegyric, should live to write the History of the Rye-house Plot, and become Bishop of Rochester. Men were dazzled with the uncommon talents of the Protector, "who wanted nothing to raise him to heroic excellence, but virtue;" they were struck with his intrepidity,—his industry,—his insight into all characters,—his secrecy in his projects, and his successes, beyond all hope and expectation, in the course of human affairs. The most manly and nervous of all Waller's poems, are the Stanzas to Cromwell, which are far superior to the poem on his death, (though that excels this of Dryden,) and on the War with Spain. 'Tis observable that Milton never address any poem to Cromwell; but only one admittable sonnet, in which, not like a mean flatterer, he assumes the tone of an adviser, and cautions him against the avarice and the encroachments of the Presbyterian clergy, whom he calls "hireling wolves." The University of Oxford, notwithstanding its ancient loyalty, sent him a volume of Latin verses, on his making peace with the Dutch; in which collection are to be found the names of *Crew, Mew, Godolphin*, South, Locke, and *Busby*. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 3. *Like eager Romans, &c.* It was usual to conceal an eagle on the top of the funeral pile, destined to receive the dead body of the Roman emperor. When the pile was set on fire, the bird was set at liberty, and mounting into the air, was supposed by the common people to carry with it to heaven the soul of the deceased. DERRICK.

V.
How shall I then begin, or where conclude,
To draw a fame so truly circular?
For in a round what order can be show'd,
Where all the parts so equal perfect are?²⁵

VI.
His grandeur he derived from Heaven alone;
For he was great, ere fortune made him so:
And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,
Made him but greater seem, not greater grow.

VII.
No borrow'd bays his temples did adorn,²⁵
But to our crown he did fresh jewels bring;
Nor was his virtue poison'd soon as born,
With the too early thoughts of being king.

VIII.
Fortune (that easy mistress to the young,
But to her ancient servants coy and hard)³⁰
Him at that age her favourites rank'd among,
When she her best-loved Pompey did discard.

IX.
He, private, mark'd the fault of others' sway,
And set as sea-marks for himself to shun:³¹
Not like rash monarchs, who their youth betray
By acts their age too late would wish undone.

X.
And yet dominion was not his design;
We owe that blessing, not to him, but Heaven,
Which to fair acts unsought rewards did join;
Rewards, that less to him than us were given.

Ver 17. *How shall I then begin, or where conclude,* He probably had in his mind the following passage of Theocritus, in his panegyric on Ptolemy, ver. 9.

"Ἴδαν ἱς πολυδιδυμένον ἀνὴρ ὑλητόντας ἰνδόν,
Πλατταίνου, παριόντος ἄδην, πρὶν δὲ ξένου ἔργον
Τὶ ψεύτος καταλιξῶ;" JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 20. *Where all the parts so equal perfect are?* Instead of *equally perfect*. Such slight inaccuracies Dryden's fervid genius little regarded. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 23. *And wars, like mists that rise against the sun,*
Made him but greater seem, not greater grow.

A sublime thought, which reminds us of the passage in Milton; although he applies the same appearance of nature, the sun rising through a mist, in a different manner.

"As when the sun, new risen,
Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams;" Par. Lost, bk. i. l. 1395.

"But herein will I imitate the sun,
Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
To smother up his beauty from the world;
That when he please again to be himself,
Being wanted, he may be more wonder'd at,
By breaking through the foul and ugly mists
Of vapours, that did seem to strangle him."

Shak. Henry IV. Act i. Sc 2. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 38. *By acts their age too late would wish undone,*
Infertum voluit esse, dolor quod suaserit et mens. Hor. l.
Ep. ii. l. 60. JOHN WARTON.

Our former chiefs, like sticklers of the war, 41
First sought to inflame the parties, then to poise:
The quarrel loved, but did the cause abhor;
And did not strike to hurt, but make a noise

War, our consumption, was their gainful trade 45
We inward bled, whilst they prolong'd our pain;
He fought to end our fighting, and essay'd
To staunch the blood by breathing of the vein.

Swift and resistless through the land he past,
Like that bold Greek who did the East subdue,
And made to battles such heroic haste, 51
As if on wings of victory he flew.

He fought secure of fortune as of fame:
Still, by new maps, the island might be shown,
Of conquests, which he strew'd where'er he came, 56
Thick as the galaxy with stars is sown.

His palms, though under weights they did not stand,
Still thrived; no winter could his laurels fade:
Heaven in his portrait show'd a workman's hand,
And drew it perfect, yet without a shade. 60

Peace was the prize of all his toil and care,
Which war had banish'd, and did now restore:
Bologna's walls thus mounted in the air,
To seat themselves more surely than before.

Her safety rescued Ireland to him owes; 65
And treacherous Scotland to no interest true,
Yet blest that fate which did his arms dispose
Her land to civilise, as to subdue.

Nor was he like those stars which only shine,
When to pale mariners they storms portend:
He had his calmer influence, and his mien 71
Did love and majesty together blend.

'Tis true, his countenance did imprint an awe;
And naturally all souls to his did bow,
As wands of divination downward draw, 75
And point to beds where sovereign gold doth grow.

Ver. 48. To staunch the blood by breathing of the vein.]
The loyalists supposed that by this line Dryden meant to allude to Cromwell's murder of his Sovereign. Thus in "The Laureat" or "Jack Squabb's History in a little drawn, Down to his evening, from his early dawn," ver. 21—25.

"Nay, had our Charles, by heaven's severe decree,
Been found, and murder'd in the royal tree,
Even thou hadst praised the fact; his father slain,
Thou call'st but gently breathing of a vein."

Ver. 56 — galaxy with stars is sown.] Lucetius,
lib. iii. ver. 44.
— "Lumine consert arva." JOHN WARTON

Ver. 63. Bologna's walls thus mounted in the air,
To seat themselves more surely than before.]

It is said that at the siege of Bologna, in 1512, a mine blew up that part of the wall of the church of Santa Maria del Baracano, on which stood a miraculous image of the blessed Virgin. Though it was carried so high, that both armies could see one another through the breach, yet it fell again exactly into its place, so that it was impossible to see where it had been separated. DERRICK.

When past all offerings to Feretrian Jove,
He Mars deposed, and arms to gowns made
yield;
Successful councils did him soon approve 80
As fit for close intrigues, as open field.

To suppliant Holland he vouchsafed a peace,
Our once bold rival of the British main,
Now tamely glad her unjust claim to cease,
And buy our friendship with her idol, gain.

Fame of the asserted sea through Europe blown,
Made France and Spain ambitious of his
love; 85
Each knew that side must conquer he would own;
And for him fiercely, as for empire, strove.

No sooner was the Frenchman's cause embraced,
Than the light Monsieur the grave Don out-
weigh'd: 90
His fortune turn'd the scale where'er 'twas cast;
Though Indian mines were in the other laid.

When absent, yet we conquer'd in his right:
For though some meaner artist's skill were
shown

Ver. 86. Made France and Spain ambitious of his love.]
The 9th of March, 1681, died at Vincennes, Cardinal Mazarin, at upwards of fifty years of age. Cardinal Richelieu lived nearly the same number of years. They had governed France successively as prime ministers, each of them nearly eighteen years, with much the same kind of authority that the Grand Viziers exercise among the Turks. Both were ambitious; Mazarin was more timid, more designing, more subtle, pliant, and unsteady; Richelieu was more resolute, more warm, had greater parts, was more obstinate, and more fixed and determined. Mazarin's genius for business was more limited: he was better acquainted with the foibles of mankind, and knew well how to keep them in suspense. Richelieu, with more extensive talents, was better versed in business, and maintained his power by awing some, and amusing others with hopes. Mazarin had a greater knack at speaking, and was more happily formed to please the ladies: Richelieu would much sooner gain the confidence of a man; and he persuaded more by deeds than words. It is said that on March 17, 1633, Monsieur Bourdeaux, the ambassador extraordinary, sent by Mazarin from the King of France to Cromwell, made his public entry, and on the way had his audience at the Banqueting-house, Whitehall; when he extolled the virtues of his Highness, begs his friendship, and says that the Divine Providence, after so many calamities, could not deal more favourably with these nations, or cause them to forget their miseries, with greater satisfaction, than by submitting them to so just a government. Cromwell gained an entire ascendant even over the artful Mazarin. In the treaty the Protector's name was inserted before that of the King. Thulioe, vol. iii. p. 103. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 91. His fortunes.] Cromwell, it is said, appeared precisely at a time when he could succeed. Under Elizabeth he would have been hanged; under Charles II. ridiculed. He appeared when England was disgusted with Kings, and his son Richard when they were equally disgusted with Protectors. Some men owe their fame and eminence to the circumstances of the age in which they happened to live; to the taste of their particular times; to the exigencies of the state; to the enemies they found to combat, and to other favourable circumstances and events. But the following great men would have been great in all ages, and in all countries:—Homer, Hippocrates, Epaminondas, Philip, Aristotle, Archimedes, Scipio, Virgil, Horace, Cæsar, Hannibal, Mango-Copac, Confucius, Mahomet II., Cervantes, Cortez, Kepler, Copernicus, Bacon, Newton, Marlborough, Molière, Fontenelle, Turenne, Machiavel, Milton, Montecucoli, Dante, and Columbus. Dr. J. WARTON.

In mingling colours, or in placing light;
Yet still the fair designment was his own.

XXV.

For from all tempers he could service draw;
The worth of each, with its alloy, he knew,
And, as the confident of Nature, saw
How she complexions did divide and brew.

XXVI.

Or he their single virtues did survey,
By intuition, in his own large breast,
Where all the rich ideas of them lay,
That were the rule and measure to the rest.

XXVII.

When such heroic virtue heaven sets out,
The stars, like commons, sullenly obey;
Because it drains them when it comes about,
And therefore is a tax they seldom pay.

XXVIII.

From this high spring our foreign conquests flow,
Which yet more glorious triumphs do portend;
Since their commencement to his arms they owe,
If springs as high as fountains may ascend.

XXIX.

He made us freemen of the continent,
Whom Nature did like captives treat before;
To nobler preys the English lion sent,
And taught him first in Belgian walks to roar.

XXX.

That old unquestion'd pirate of the land,
Proud Rome, with dread the fate of Dunkirk heard;
And trembling wish'd behind more Alps to stand,
Although an Alexander were her guard.

XXXI.

By his command we boldly cross'd the line,
And bravely fought where southern stars arise;

Ver. 96. — *designment*] He has borrowed this word from Spenser, F. Q. II. xi. 10.

"Gainst which the second troupe *designment* makes:"

That is, *plot*. Dryden, however, uses it simply for *design* or *plan*. It should be added, that *designment* is the reading of Spenser's second edition; as the first reads, without perspicuity, *assignment*. TODD.

Ver. 113. *He made us freemen*] We may be said to have been made freemen of the continent by the taking of Dunkirk, which was wrested from the Spaniards by the united forces of France and England, and delivered up to the latter in the beginning of 1658. DERRICK.

Ver. 120. *Although an Alexander*] At this time Alexander VII. sat in the papal chair. DERRICK.

We traced the far-fetch'd gold unto the mine,
And that which bribed our fathers made our prize.

XXXII.

Such was our prince; yet own'd a soul above
The highest acts it could produce to show:
Thus poor mechanic arts in public move,
Whilst the deep secrets beyond practice go.

XXXIII.

Nor died he when his ebbing fame went less,
But when fresh laurels courted him to live:
He seem'd but to prevent some new success,
As if above what triumphs earth could give.

XXXIV.

His latest victories still thickest came,
As near the centre motion doth increase;
Till he, press'd down by his own weighty name,
Did, like the vestal, under spoils debase.

XXXV.

But first the ocean as a tribute sent
The giant prince of all her watery herd;
And the isle, when her protecting genius went,
Upon his obseques loud sighs conferr'd.

XXXVI.

No civil broils have since his death arose,
But faction now by habit does obey;
And wars have that respect for his repose,
As winds for halcyons, when they breed at sea.

XXXVII.

His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest,
His name a great example stands, to show
How strangely high endeavours may be blest,
Where piety and valour jointly go.

Ver. 135. *Till he, press'd down by his own weighty name*] Not unlike Livy, who, describing the progress of the city of Rome, says, "Quæ ab exiguis perfecta initis, eo creverit ut jam magnitudine laboret sua." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 145. *His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest*] Our poet's prophetic capacity here failed, for we read in the accurate memoirs of the Protectorate-House of Cromwell, by Mark Noble, F.S.A.—"He was elected Protector December 12, 1653, and inaugurated again, with more state, June 20, 1657; and died peaceably in his bed (worn out by excessive fatigue of mind and body, by grief in domestic misfortunes, and his load of debts), at his palace at Whitehall, upon his auspicious September 3, 1658; and was buried with more than regal pomp, in the sepulchre of our monarchs; from whence, at the Restoration, his body was dragged to, and exposed upon, the gallows at Tyburn, the trunk thrown into a hole beneath it, and his head set upon a pole at Westminster-hall."—*Noble's Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 145. JOHN WARTON.

ASTRÆA REDUX.

A POEM ON THE HAPPY RESTORATION AND RETURN OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY CHARLES II. 1660.

Jam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.—VIRG.

The last great age foretold by sacred rhymes
Renews its finish'd course; Saturnian times
Roll round again.

Now with a general peace the world was blest,
While ours, a world divided from the rest,
A dreadful quiet felt, and worse far
Than arms, a sullen interval of war:
Thus when black clouds draw down the labouring
 skies,
Ere yet abroad the winged thunder flies,
An horrid stillness first invades the ear,
And in that silence we the tempest fear.
The ambitious Swede, like restless billows toss'd,
On this hand gaining what on that he lost,
Though in his life he blood and ruin breathed,
To his now guideless kingdom peace bequeath'd.
And Heaven, that seem'd regardless of our fate,
For France and Spain did miracles create;
Such mortal quarrels to compose in peace,
As nature bred, and interest did increase.
We sigh'd to hear the fair Iberian bride
Must grow a lily to the lily's side,
Whilst our cross stars denied us Charles his bed,
Whom our first flames and virgin love did wed.
For his long absence Church and State did groan:
Madness the pulpit, faction seized the throne: 22

Ver. 1. *Now with a general*] Waller, as well as Dryden, altered his sentiments, and changed his notes, on the Restoration; and when the King hinted to him the inferiority of his second poem to the former, answered, "Poets, sir, succeed better in fiction than in truth." What notice Charles took of Dryden's *Astræa* we are ignorant. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 7. *An horrid silence first invades the ear*] See Thomson's impending storm in Summer, v. 1116.

"—A *boding silence* reigns,
Dread through the dun expanse; save the dull sound
That from the mountain, previous to the storm,
Rolls o'er the muttering earth, disturbs the flood,
And shakes the forest-leaf without a breach."

JOHN WARTON

Ibid. *An horrid stillness first invades the ear,*
And in that silence we the tempest fear.] This distich was laid hold of by the wits of the times, and among others by Capt. Alexander Radcliffe, in his *News from Hell*, who ridicules it thus:

"*Laureat*, who was both learn'd and florid,
Was damn'd long since for *silence* horrid:
Nor had there been such clutter made,
But that this *silence* did invade:
Invade! and so't might well—that's clear:
But what did it invade?—an ear." DENNICK.

Ver. 19. — *denied us Charles his bed*] Original edition. TODD.

Ver. 22. *Madness the pulpit*] From the numerous sermons preached before the Parliament, particularly from 1640 to 1660, a variety of curious examples might be

Experienced age in deep despair was lost,
To see the rebel thrive, the loyal cross'd:
Youth, that with joys had unacquainted been, 23
Envied gray hairs that once good days had seen:
We thought our sires, not with their own content,
Had, ere we came to age, our portion spent.
Nor could our nobles hope their bold attempt,
Who ruin'd crowns would coronets exempt. 30
For when, by their designing leaders taught
To strike at power which for themselves they
 sought,
The vulgar, gull'd into rebellion. arm'd;
Their blood to action by the prize was warm'd.
The sacred purple then and scarlet gown, 35
Like sanguine dye, to elephants was shown.
Thus, when the bold Typhceus scaled the sky,
And forced great Jove from his own heaven to fly,
(What king, what crown from treason's reach is free,
If Jove and Heaven can violated be!) 40
The lesser gods, that shared his prosperous state,
All suffer'd in the exiled Thunderer's fate.
The rabble now such freedom did enjoy,
As winds at sea, that use it to destroy:
Blind as the Cyclop, and as wild as he, 45
They own'd a lawless savage liberty,
Like that our painted ancestors so prized,
Ere empire's arts their breasts had civilised.
How great were then our Charles his woes, who thus
Was forced to suffer for himself and us! 50
He, toss'd by fate, and hurried up and down,
Heir to his father's sorrows, with his crown,

adduced to prove the justness of Dryden's assertion. And who can wonder at this assertion, when he is told that notifications of the following kind were affixed on walls and door-posts: "On such a day such a brewer's clerk *exerciseth*; such a taylor *expoundeth*; such a waterman *teacheth*!" See the Preface to Feadley's *Dippers Dint*, 4to, 1647. For a minute account of the ravings and rantings of many of the preachers before the Parliament, the reader is referred to a collection of extracts from their discourses, entitled *Evangelium Armatum*, printed soon after the Restoration of King Charles II. TODD.

Ver. 46. *They own'd a lawless*] "Perhaps," says Swift, vol. x. p. 188, "in my own thoughts, I prefer a well-instituted common-wealth before a monarchy; and I know several others of the same opinion. Now, if on this pretence I should insist on liberty of conscience, form conventions of republicans, and print books, preferring that sort of government, and condemning what is established, the magistrate would with great justice hang me and my disciples." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 49. *How great were then our Charles his woes*] Original edition, and rightly so printed for the sake of the metre. TODD.

Could taste no sweets of youth's desired age ;
But found his life too true a pilgrimage.
Unconquer'd yet in that forlorn estate, 55
His manly courage overcame his fate.
His wounds he took, like Romans, on his breast,
Which, by his virtue, were with laurels dress'd.
As souls reach heaven while yet in bodies pent, 60
So did he live above his banishment.
That sun, which we beheld with cozen'd eyes
Within the water, moved along the skies.
How easy 'tis, when destiny proves kind,
With full-spread sails to run before the wind !
But those that 'gainst stiff gales laveering go, 65
Must be at once resolved, and skilful too.
He would not, like soft Otho, hope prevent,
But stay'd and suffer'd fortune to repent.
These virtues Galba in a stranger sought,
And Piso to adopted empire brought. 70
How shall I then my doubtful thoughts express,
That must his sufferings both regret and bless ?
For when his early valour Heaven had cross'd ;
And all at Worcester but the honour lost ;
Forced into exile from his rightful throne, 75
He made all countries where he came his own ;
And, viewing monarchs' secret arts of sway,
A royal factor for his kingdoms lay.
Thus banish'd David spent abroad his time,
When to be God's anointed was his crime ; 80
And, when restored, made his proud neighbours
rue
Those choice remarks he from his travels drew.
Nor is he only by affliction shown
To conquer others' realms, but rule his own :
Recovering hardly what he lost before, 85
His right endears it much ; his purchase more.

Ver. 57. *His wounds he took, like Romans, on his breast.*
My reader will not be displeased with the following citation from *Æliæ's Various History*, lib. 12, cap. 21. "The matrons of Lacedæmon, when they received the news that their sons were slain in battle, were accustomed to go forth to inspect their wounds, both before and behind, and when they found the greater number was before, they conducted the bodies of their children to the monuments of their ancestors with great solemnity, and a kind of stern pride in their countenances ; but if they perceived any wounds behind, weeping and blushing for shame, they departed with the utmost secrecy, leaving the dead bodies to be interred in the common sepulchre, or carried them away by stealth to be privately buried at home."

To which we may add these spirited lines of Tyrtæus, so peculiarly applicable at this important juncture.

Αυτὸς δ' ἐν πολεμικοῖσι πύσσιν φίλον αἰετὶς θυμὸν,
ἄστυ τε καὶ λαὸν καὶ πατρί' ἐκάλεισας
Πόλε' διὰ στήθεσι καὶ στήθεσι συμβαλόντων,
Καὶ διὰ θυμῷσι πρὸς θυμὸν ἐλάλῃων.
Τὸν δ' ἀφ' ὀφθαλμῶν κατ' ὤμους καὶ πόδι γόγγυτι,
Ἀργαλίου δὲ πύσσιν παρὰ κρηδὶ πόδας.

"Now fall'n, the noblest of the van, he dies !
His city by the beauteous death renown'd ;
His low-bent father marks, where he lies,
The shield, the breast-plate, hackt by many a wound.

The young, the old, alike commingling tears,
His country's heavy grief bedews the grave ;
And all his race in veidant lustre wears
Fame's richest wreath, transmitted from the brave."

Polwhele's Translation.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 78. *A royal factor for his kingdoms lay.* Original edition, *their kingdoms*. TODD.

Ver. 86. *His right endears* "It is remarkable," says *Algarotti*, "that no great people is governed by families that have been originally natives. China is governed by Tartars; the Euphrates, the Nile, Orontes, Greece, Epirus, by Turks. It is not an English race that governs England; it is a German family that has succeeded a Dutch prince

Inured to suffer ere he came to reign,
No rash procedure will his actions stain :
To business ripen'd by digestive thought, 90
His future rule is into method brought :
As they who first proportion understand,
With easy practice reach a master's hand.
Well might the ancient poets then confer
On Night the honour'd name of Counsellor, 94
Since struck with rays of prosperous fortune blind,
We light alone in dark afflictions find.
In such adversities to sceptres train'd,
The name of Great his famous grandsire gain'd ;
Who yet a king alone in name and right,
With hunger, cold, and angry Jove did fight ; 100
Shock'd by a Covenanting League's vast powers,
As holy and as catholic as ours :
Till fortune's fruitless spite had made it known,
Her blows not shock but riveted his throne.
Some lazy ages, lost in sleep and ease, 105
No action leave to busy chronicles :
Such, whose supine felicity but makes
In story chasms, in epoches mistakes ;
O'er whom Time gently shakes his wings of down,
Till with his silent sickle they are mown. 110
Such is not Charles his too too active age,
Which, govern'd by the wild distemper'd rage
Of some black star infecting all the skies,
Made him at his own cost like Adam wise.
Tremble ye nations, who secure before, 115
Laugh'd at those arms that 'gainst ourselves we
bore ;
Roused by the lash of his own stubborn tail,
Our lion now will foreign foes assail.
With alga who the sacred altar strews ?
To all the sea-gods Charles an offering owes : 120

he succeeded a Scotch family, which had succeeded a family of Anjou, which had succeeded a Norman family, which had driven away a Saxon family." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 101. *Shock'd by a Covenanting League* Original edition TODD.

Ver. 108. — *in epoches mistakes* ;] Original edition. TODD.

Ver. 111 *Charles his too too active age* ;] Original edition. Derrick prints

"Such is not Charles too too active age."

See also before, ver. 49. *Too too active age*, was an ancient formula. So in H. Parrot's *Springs for Woodcocks*, 12mo. London, 1613, Epigram 133, lib. 1.

— "tis knowne her jesting's too too evill."

And even in prose, as in Penn's *Exhortation unto the Governours, &c. of Wales*, 1588, p. 51. "The case is too too manifest." *Too too* for *exceeding* is also used in the Lancashire dialect. I venture to add part of P. Fletcher's well-drawn character of Lasciviousness personified, *Purp. Isl. edit.* 1638, p. 90,

"Broad were his jests, wilde his uncivil sport ;
His fashion too fond, and loosely light :
A long love-lock on his left shoulder plight,
Like to a woman's hair, well shew'd a woman's sprite." TODD.

Ver. 115. — *who secure before* ;] Original edition. TODD.

Ver. 117. *Roused by the lash of his own stubborn tail* ;] An Homeric simile. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 119 *With alga who the sacred altars strews ?*
To all the sea-gods Charles an offering owes ;
A bull to thee, Fortune, shall be slain,
A lamb to you, ye tempests of the main :]

He had not yet learned, indeed he never learned well, to forbear the improper use of mythology. After having thus rewarded the heathen deities for their care, he tells us in the language of religion,

"Prayer storm'd the skies, and ravish'd Charles from thence,
As heaven itself is took by violence" JOHNSON.

A bull to thee, Portunus, shall be slain,
 A lamb to you, ye tempests of the main :
 For those loud storms that did against him roar,
 Have cast his shipwreck'd vessel on the shore.
 Yet as wise artists mix their colour so, 125
 That by degrees they from each other go :
 Black steals unheeded from the neighb'ring white,
 Without offending the well-cozen'd sight :
 So on us stole our blessed change ; while we
 The effect did feel, but scarce the manner see. 130
 Frosts that constrain the ground, and birth deny
 To flowers that in its womb expecting lie,
 Do seldom their usurping power withdraw,
 But raging floods pursue their hasty thaw.
 Our thaw was mild, the cold not chased away, 135
 But lost in kindly heat of lengthen'd day.
 Heaven would no bargain for its blessings drive,
 But what we could not pay for, freely give.
 The Prince of Peace would like himself confer
 A gift unhop'd, without the price of war : 140
 Yet, as he knew his blessing's worth, took care
 That we should know it by repeated prayer ;
 Which storm'd the skies, and ravish'd Charles
 from thence,
 As heaven itself is took by violence.
 Booth's forward valour only served to show, 145
 He durst that duty pay we all did owe :
 The attempt was fair ; but heaven's prefix'd hour
 Not come : so like the watchful traveller
 That by the moon's mistaken light did rise,
 Lay down again, and closed his weary eyes. 150
 'Twas Monk, whom Providence design'd to loose
 Those real bonds false freedom did impose.

Ver. 145. *Booth's forward valour, &c.* In 1659, Sir George Booth assembled a considerable body of men for the king's service in Cheshire, and possessed himself of Chester, Chick Castle, and several other places, being joined by the Earl of Derby, Lord Kilmarney, Sir Thomas Middleton, Major-General Egerton, with other loyal gentlemen, who encountering with Lambert, general of the parliament's forces, were entirely routed at Winnington Bridge, near Northwich, in Cheshire, and most of the principal people made prisoners. DERRICK.

Ver. 151. *'Twas Monk, &c.* General George Monk had the command of the parliament's army in Scotland at the death of Cromwell, whose son Richard he caused to be proclaimed Protector, in compliance with their order. He shortly afterwards marched with his forces towards London, where he managed matters so well as to bring about the restoration of the king, without the least bloodshed ; for which good service he honoured him with the order of the Garter, created him Duke of Albemarle, &c. &c., on account of his being descended on the mother's side from Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Albemarle and Warwick.
 In 1666 he was united with the Duke of York, in command of the fleet that was sent against the Dutch. A dropsy carried him out of the world on the 3rd day of January, 1679, aged seventy-one years. His air was majestic, his countenance grave ; he was equal in his proceedings ; solid, and intrepid in his conduct. He kept the army under strict discipline, and set a noble example of virtue to his soldiers, being an enemy to drunkenness, blasphemy, and incontinence. DERRICK.

The indefatigable perseverance, the impenetrable secrecy, the art of seizing the proper moment for action, enabled Monk to bring about the important event of the Restoration. He would not trust his own brother with his design. When Sir R. Grenville came to consult him on the subject. Not that any abilities alone could possibly have given him success, if the whole nation, tired and disgusted with the absurdities and the tyrannies of their rulers, had not been ripe for a change, and united in a wish to recal the heir to the crown ; so that Monk in reality, according to Mr. Walpole, only furnished a hand to the heart of the nation. Yet this general must have been a man of greater talents than are usually supposed. After his death, a thin folio volume was published, entitled, "Observations on Military and Political Affairs," written by the Most Honourable

The blessed saints that watch'd this turning scene,
 Did from their stars with joyful wonder lean,
 To see small clues draw vastest weights along, 135
 Not in their bulk but in their order strong.
 Thus pencils can by one slight touch restore
 Smiles to that changed face that wept before.
 With ease such fond chimeras we pursue,
 As fancy frames for fancy to subdue : 140
 But when ourselves to action we betake,
 It shuns the mint like gold that chemists make.
 How hard was then his task ! at once to be
 What in the body natural we see !
 Man's architect distinctly did ordain 145
 The charge of muscles, nerves, and of the brain,
 Through viewless conduits spirits to dispense ;
 The springs of motion from the seat of sense.
 'Twas not the hasty product of a day,
 But the well-ripen'd fruit of wise delay. 170
 He, like a patient angler, ere he strook,
 Would let him play a while upon the hook.
 Our healthful food the stomach labours thus,
 At first embracing what it straight doth crush.
 Wise leeches will not vain receipts obtrude, 175
 While growing pains pronounce the humours crude :

Deaf to complaints they wait upon the ill,
 Till some safe crisis authorise their skill.
 Nor could his acts too close a vizard wear,
 To 'scape their eyes whom guilt had taught to 180
 fear,

And guard with caution that polluted nest,
 Whence Legion twice before was dispossest :
 Once sacred house ; which when they enter'd in.
 They thought the place could sanctify a sin ;
 Like those that vainly hoped kind Heaven would 165
 wink,

While to excess on martyrs' tombs they drink.
 And as devout Turks first warn their souls
 To part, before they taste forbidden bowls :
 So these, when their black crimes they went about,
 First timely charm'd their useless conscience out.
 Religion's name against itself was made ; 171
 The shadow served the substance to invade :
 Like zealous missions, they did care pretend
 Of souls in show, but made the gold their end.
 Th' incensed powers beheld with scorn from high 195
 An heaven so far distant from the sky,
 Which durst, with horses' hoofs that beat the
 ground,

And martial brass, belie the thunder's sound.

'Twas hence at length just vengeance thought it fit
 To speed their ruin by their impious wit. 200

George Duke of Albemarle. He married a blacksmith's daughter, a woman of strong sense, who governed her husband as Sarah Duchess of Marlborough did the Duke, and who is said to have been instrumental in promoting the Restoration. Dr Johnson says, this passage down to verse 178, contains a cluster of thoughts unallied to each other, not to be elsewhere easily found. Dr J. WARTON.

Ver. 186. *While to excess on martyrs' tombs, &c.* This passage seems to allude to the extravagancies that are often committed by the vulgar Roman Catholics upon their pilgrimaging to the tombs of saints, where, after having performed the stated devotions, they too often launch into the most blameable excesses, as if they imagined they had now fully expiated their former offences, and were at liberty to begin a new reckoning. DERRICK.

Ver. 187. *And as devout Turks, &c.* The Khoran having prohibited the use of wine, when a Turk has a mind to indulge himself with the juice of the grape, he warns his soul to retire to some safe corner of his body, where it may be secured from the contamination, and consequently not liable to the punishment. DERRICK.

Thus Sforza, cursed with a too fertile brain,
 Lost by his wiles the power his wit did gain.
 Henceforth their fougus must spend at lesser rate,
 Than in its flames to wrap a nation's fate.
 Suffer'd to live, they are like Helots set, 205
 A virtuous shame within us to beget.
 For by example most we sinn'd before,
 And glass-like clearness mix'd with frailty bore.
 But since reform'd by what we did amiss,
 We by our sufferings learn to prize our bliss: 210
 Like early lovers, whose unpractised hearts
 Were long the may-game of malicious arts,
 When once they find their jealousies were vain,
 With double heat renew their fires again.
 'Twas this produced the joy that hurried o'er 215
 Such swarms of English to the neighbouring shore,
 To fetch that prize, by which Batavia made
 So rich amends for our impoverish'd trade.
 Oh had you seen from Schevelin's barren shore,
 (Crowded with troops, and barren now no more),
 Afflicted Holland to his farewell bring 220
 True sorrow, Holland to regret a king!
 While waiting him his royal fleet did ride,
 And willing winds to their low'd sails denied.
 The war'ring streamers, flags, and standart out, 225
 The merry seamen's rude but cheerful shout;
 And last the cannons' voice that shook the skies,
 And, as it fares in sudden ecstasies,
 At once bereft us both of ears and eyes.
 The Naseby, now no longer England's shame, 230
 But better to be lost in Charles his name,
 (Like some unequal bride in nobler sheets)
 Receives her lord: the joyful London meets
 The princely York, himself alone a freight;
 The Swift-sure groans beneath great Gloster's
 weight: 235
 Secure as when the halcyon breeds, with these,
 He that was born to drown might cross the seas.
 Heaven could not own a Providence and take
 The wealth three nations ventured at a stake.
 The same indulgence Charles his voyage bless'd, 241
 Which in his right had miracles confess'd.
 The winds that never moderation knew,
 Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blew:

Ver. 205. — *they are like Helots, &c.* The Spartans, to deter their youth from intemperance, exposed their slaves, whom they called Helots, intoxicated with liquor, as public objects of derision. They were called Helots from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town, which being taken by the Spartans, they made all the inhabitants prisoners of war, and reduced them to the condition of slaves. DEARCE.

Ver. 207. *For by example most we sinn'd before, And glass-like clearness mix'd with frailty bore.* This is another conceit too curious to be omitted without censure. JOHNSON, Life of Dryden.

Ver. 215.] To Dryden's flattery to Charles II. restored, we may apply the words of Tacitus:—"Lestatis, ut ferme ad nova imperia, ut gratiam viresque apud novum principem pararet."—Tacit. iii. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 224. *And willing winds to their low'd sails denied.* Original edition. TOOP.

Ver. 225. — *flags, and standart out,* Original edition. TOOP.

Ver. 231. — *Charles his name,* Original edition. TOOP.

Ver. 235. *The Swift-sure groans beneath great Gloster's weight:* From Virgil:

"simul accipit alveo
 Ingentem Æneam, gemuit sub pondere cymba
 Suttilis."—Æneid. vi. 412. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 242. *The winds that never moderation knew, Afraid to blow too much, too faintly blew: Or, out of breath with joy, could not enlarge Their straiten'd lungs, or conscious of their charge.*

Or, out of breath with joy, could not enlarge
 Their straiten'd lungs, or conscious of their
 charge. 245

The British Amphitrite, smooth and clear,
 In richer azure never did appear;
 Proud her returning Prince to entertain
 With the submitted fasses of the main.

AND welcome now, great monarch, to your own;
 Behold th' approaching cliffs of Albion: 251
 It is no longer motion cheats your view,
 As you meet it, the land approacheth you.
 The land returns, and, in the white it wears,
 The marks of penitence and sorrow bears. 255
 But you, whose goodness your descent doth show,
 Your heavenly parentage and earthly too;

How far he was yet from thinking it necessary to found his sentiments on nature, appears from the extravagance of his fictions and hyperboles.—JOHNSON. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 244. *Or, out of breath* Can Dryden have written so contemptible a line? Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 246. *The British Amphitrite, smooth and clear, In richer azure never did appear;* Here he has his eye on his favourite Virgil, Æneid. lib. viii. line 86.

"Thybris æ fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem
 Lenti, et taciti refluens ita substat undæ,
 Mitis ut in mænem stagni placideque paludis
 Sternere sequor aquas, remo ut luctamen abesset."

JOHN WARTON.
 Ver. 250. *And welcome now,* "Charles might have been restored on any terms, or under any limitations. Instead of this, he came in almost without conditions. He obtained the most unlimited confidence, before he had taken one step to deserve it; and he lived to acquire as absolute an authority as his unhappy father had ever possessed—he lived to govern w^out Parliaments. To point out particularly what might have been, or ought to have been done on this occasion, might be an invidious task, and would far exceed the limits of this discourse. But most certainly our ancestors should not have been content with less than was actually obtained in a later period; should have attempted, at least, to prevent a return of the calamities they had suffered; and to form an establishment, which might secure them in the most effectual manner, both from tyranny and faction. By neglecting to obtain this security, the men who placed Charles on the throne, exposed both church and state to the utmost danger. The returning monarch, void of every religious and every moral principle, was ready to sacrifice the fate of Europe to the caprice or the cunning of a mistress; and studied to subvert the liberties of his people, not from any reputable principle of ambition or honour, but that he might, without difficulty, and without opposition, employ the hands and purses of his loving subjects in ministering to his royal pleasures. It was not indeed long before his subjects were awakened from their dream of happiness, but it had like to have been too late. Never was the whole machinery of opposition put in motion with more art and address, and (to say the truth) with less restraint from principles of justice and honour. Yet all this was found too little. Charles, though obliged to give way for a time, was able at last to surmount the utmost efforts of his enemies; and had either his life been prolonged, or had his successor trodden in the same steps, the liberties of Britain were no more."
 No apology shall be made for the length of this passage, so pregnant with solid sense and knowledge of the true constitution of Great Britain, which is taken from the discourses of a man far above the narrow views of any party; of an enlarged mind and manly spirit, enriched with a variety of solid learning, which he always imparted in a style pure and energetic. Need I name Dr. Baiguy? Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 252. *It is no longer motion cheats your view, As you meet it, the land approacheth you. The land returns, and, in the white it wears, The marks of penitence and sorrow bears.*

"I know not whether this fancy, however little be its value, was not borrowed. A French poet read to Malherbe some verses, in which he represents France as rising out of its place to receive the King. 'Though this,' said Malherbe, 'was in my time, I do not remember it.'—JOHNSON
 JOHN WARTON.

By that same mildness, which your father's crown
Before did ravish, shall secure your own. 260
Not tied to rules of policy, you find,
Revenge less sweet than a forgiving mind.
Thus, when the Almighty would to Moses give
A sight of all he could behold and live;
A voice before his entry did proclaim
Long-suffering, goodness, mercy, in his name. 265
Your power to justice doth submit your cause,
Your goodness only is above the laws;
Whose rigid letter, while pronounced by you,
Is softer made. So winds that tempests brew,
When through Arabian groves they take their
flight, 270
Made wanton with rich odours, lose their spite.
And as those lees, that trouble it, refine
The agitated soul of generous wine:
So tears of joy, for your returning, spilt,
Work out, and expiate our former guilt. 275
Methinks I see those crowds on Dover's strand,
Who, in their haste to welcome you to land,
Choked up the beach with their still growing store,
And made a wilder torrent on the shore:
While, spurr'd with eager thoughts of past de-
light, 280
Those, who had seen you, court a second sight;
Preventing still your steps, and making haste
To meet you often, whereso'er you pass'd.

Ver. 281. *Those, who had seen you,*] Among the many characters drawn of this prince, that given us by the Duke of Buckingham, who knew him well, seems to be drawn with accuracy and spirit, with a few sprinklings of partiality.

"His understanding was quick and lively in little things, and sometimes would soar high enough in great ones, but unable to keep it up with any long attention or application. Witty in all sorts of conversation, and telling a story so well, that not out of flattery, but for the pleasure of hearing it, we used to seem ignorant of what he had repeated to us ten times before, as a good comedy will bear the being seen often. Of a wonderful mixture, losing all his time, and, till of late, setting his whole heart on the fair sex; yet neither angry with rivals, nor in the least nice as to the being beloved; and while he sacrificed all things to his mistresses, he would use to grudge and be uneasy at their losing a little of it again at play, though never so necessary for their diversion; nor would he venture five pounds at tennis to those servants, who might obtain as many thousands, either before he came thither, or as soon as he left off. Not false to his word, but full of dissimulation, and very *adroit* at it; yet no man easier to be imposed on, for his great dexterity was in cozening himself, by gaining a little one way, while it cost him ten times as much another; and by crossing those persons most who had deluded him the oftenest, and yet the quickest in the world at spying such a ridicule in another. Familiar, easy, and good-natured, but for great offences severe and inflexible, also in one week's absence quite forgetting those servants to whose faces he could scarcely deny anything. In the midst of all his remissness, so industrious and indefatigable on some particular occasions, that no man would either toll longer, or be able to manage it better. He was so liberal as to ruin his affairs by it; for want in a King of *England* turns things just upside down, and exposes a prince to his people's mercy. It did yet worse in him, for it forced him also to depend on his great neighbour of *France*. He had so natural an aversion to all formality, that with as much wit as most kings ever had, and with as majestic a mien, yet he could not on premeditation act the part of a King for a moment, either at Parliament or Council, either in words or gestures, which carried him into the other extreme, more inconvenient of the two, of letting all distinction and ceremony fall to the ground as useless and foolish. His temper, both of body and mind, was admirable; which made him an easy generous lover, a civil obliging husband, a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good-natured master. If he had been as solicitous about improving the faculties of his mind, as he was in the management of his bodily health, though, alas! the one proved unable to make his life long, the other had not failed to have made it famous." Dr. J. WATSON.

How shall I speak of that triumphant day,
When you renew'd th' expiring pomp of May! 285
(A month that owns an interest in your name:
You and the flowers are its peculiar claim.)
That star that at your birth shone out so bright,
It stain'd the duller sun's meridian light,
Did once again its potent fires renew, 290
Guiding our eyes to find and worship you.
And now Time's whiter series is begun,
Which in soft centuries shall smoothly run:
Those clouds, that overcast your morn, shall fly,
Dispell'd to farthest corners of the sky. 295
Our nation with united interest blest,
Not now content to poize, shall sway the rest.
Abroad your empire shall no limits know,
But, like the sea, in boundless circles flow.
Your much-loved fleet shall, with a wide command,
Besiege the petty monarchs of the land: 301
And as old Time his offspring swallow'd down,
Our ocean in its depths all seas shall drown.
Their wealthy trade from pirates' rapine free,
Our merchants shall no more adventurers be: 305
Nor in the farthest east those dangers fear,
Which humble Holland must dissemble here.
Spain to your gift alone her Indies owes;
For what the powerful takes not he bestows:
And France, that did an exile's presence fear, 311
May justly apprehend you still too near.

At home the hateful names of parties cease,
And factious souls are wearied into peace.
The discontented now are only they,
Whose crimes before did your just cause betray:
Of those your edicts some reclaim from sins, 316
But most your life and blest example wins.
Oh happy prince, whom Heaven hath taught the
way

By paying vows to have more vows to pay!
Oh happy age! Oh times like those alone, 320
By fate reserved for great Augustus' throne!
When the joint growth of arms and art foreshew
The world a monarch, and that monarch you.

Ver. 316. — *from sins,*] Original edition. In Derrick's edition, — *from sin.* Todd.

Ver. 317. — *example wins,*] Original edition. In Derrick's edition, — *example win.* Todd.

Ver. 320. *Oh happy age!*] But these days of felicity and joy lasted not long. Discontents arose, and many writers against the Court appeared. Among the rest was a man of a great fund of wit and learning, of a severe and sarcastic turn, and of irreproachable life and conversation. This man was *Andrew Marvel*, who wrote equally well in prose and in verse. Swift has done justice to his Rehearsal transposed, from which in truth Swift borrowed largely. His satires in verse were numerous, particularly, *To the King, Nostradamus's Prophecy, Clarendon's House-Warming, Royal Resolutions, Dialogue between two Horses, Oceana and Britannia*. Though he certainly cannot, as a poet, be in general compared with Dryden, particularly in point of numbers, which are harsh and rough, yet in all these pieces, strong thinking, and strong painting, and capital strokes of satire, appear. The story of his refusing a pension, offer'd him in a polite manner by Lord Danby, who waited on him in person, is well known. If he was grossly abused by Parker in his Latin commentaries, yet amends were made him by an elegant compliment in his *Ode to Independency*. Indeed it was honour enough to Marvel to be joint Latin Secretary with Milton, and to be his confidential friend. Marvel certainly wrote those fine six Latin lines addressed to Christina, Queen of Sweden, printed in the second volume of Milton. Dr. J. WATSON.

I think that Milton, and not Marvel, wrote the verses to Christina. Nor am I singular in this opinion. See the note on the lines in the sixth volume of the edition of Milton, published in 1801, and in the seventh of that in 1809. Todd.

TO HIS SACRED MAJESTY.

A PANEGYRIC ON HIS CORONATION.

IN that wild deluge where the world was drown'd,
When life and sin one common tomb had found,
The first small prospect of a rising hill
With various notes of joy the ark did fill :
Yet when that flood in its own depths was drown'd,
It left behind it false and slippery ground ;
And the more solemn pomp was still deferr'd,
Till new-born nature in fresh looks appear'd.
Thus, royal sir, to see you landed here,
Was cause enough of triumph for a year :
Nor would your care those glorious joys repeat,
Till they at once might be secure and great :
Till your kind beams, by their continued stay,
Had warm'd the ground, and call'd the damps
away.

Such vapours, while your powerful influence dries,
Then soonest vanish when they highest rise.
Had greater haste these sacred rites prepared,
Some guilty months had in your triumphs shared :
But this untainted year is all your own ;
Your glories may without our crimes be shown.
We had not yet exhausted all our store,
When you refresh'd our joys by adding more :
As heaven, of old, dispensed celestial dew,
You gave us manna, and still give us new.

Now our sad ruins are removed from sight,
The season too comes fraught with new delight :
Time seems not now beneath his years to stoop,
Nor do his wings with sickly feathers droop :
Soft western winds waft o'er the gaudy spring,
And open'd scenes of flowers and blossoms bring,
To grace this happy day, while you appear,
Not king of us alone, but of the year.
All eyes you draw, and with the eyes the heart :
Of your own pomp yourself the greatest part :
Loud shouts the nation's happiness proclaim,
And heaven this day is feasted with your name.
Your cavalcade the fair spectators view,
From their high standings, yet look up to you.
From your brave train each singles out a prey,
And longs to date a conquest from your day.
Now charged with blessings while you seek repose,
Officious slumbers haste your eyes to close ;

Ver. 1. *In that wild deluge where the world was drown'd,* His poem on the Coronation has a more uniform tenor of thought, says the great Johnson. It is in truth an uninterrupted series of flattery.

Flumina tum lactic, tum flumina nectaris ibant.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 34. Thomas, Lord Fairfax, wrote a copy of verses on the horse upon which Charles II. rode at his Coronation, bred and presented by him to the King, notwithstanding Fairfax's former conduct. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 41. *Now charg'd with blessings while you seek repose,* &c.] "As many odorous bodies are observed to diffuse perfumes from year to year, without sensible diminution of their bulk or weight; he appears never to have impoverished his mint of flattery by his expenses, however lavish. He had all the forms of excellence, intellectual and moral, combined in his mind, with endless variation; and when he had scattered on the hero of the day the golden shower of wit and virtue, he had ready for him, whom he wished to court on the morrow, new wit and virtue of another stamp. Of this kind of meanness he never seems to decline the practice, or lament the necessity: he considers the great as entitled to encomiastic homage, and brings praise rather as a tribute than a gift,—more de-

And glorious dreams stand ready to restore
The pleasing shapes of all you saw before.
Next to the sacred temple you are led,
Where waits a crown for your more sacred head :
How justly from the Church that crown is due,
Preserved from ruin, and restored by you !
The grateful choir their harmony employ,
Not to make greater, but more solemn joy.
Wrapt soft and warm your name is sent on high,
As flames do on the wings of incense fly :
Music herself is lost, in vain she brings
Her choicest notes to praise the best of kings :
Her melting strains in you a tomb have found,
And lie like bees in their own sweetness drown'd.
He that brought peace, all discord could atone,
His name is music of itself alone.
Now, while the sacred oil anoints your head,
And fragrant scents, begun from you, are spread
Through the large dome, the people's joyful sound,
Sent back, is still preserved in hallow'd ground ;
Which, in one blessing mix'd, descends on you ;
As heighten'd spirits fall in richer dew.
Not that our wishes do increase your store,
Full of yourself, you can admit no more,
We add not to your glory, but employ
Our time, like angels, in expressing joy.
Nor is it duty, or our hopes alone,
Create that joy, but full fruition :
We know those blessings, which we must possess,
And judge of future by past happiness.
No promise can oblige a prince so much
Still to be good, as long to have been such.
A noble emulation heats your breast,
And your own fame now robs you of your rest.
Good actions still must be maintain'd with good,
As bodies nourish'd with resembling food.
You have already quench'd sedition's brand ;
And zeal, which burnt it, only warms the land
The jealous sects, that dare not trust their cause,
So far from their own will as to the laws,
You for their umpire and their synod take,
And their appeal alone to Caesar make.
Kind Heaven so rare a temper did provide,
That guilt, repenting, might in it confide.
Among our crimes oblivion may be set ;
But 'tis our king's perfection to forget.
Virtues unknown to these rough northern climes
From milder heavens you bring without their
crimes.

Your calmness does no after-storms provide,
Nor seeming patience mortal anger hide.
When empire first from families did spring,
Then every father govern'd as a king :
But you, that are a sovereign prince, allay
Imperial power with your paternal sway.
From those great cares when ease your soul
unbends,

Your pleasures are design'd to noble ends :
Born to command the mistress of the seas,
Your thoughts themselves in that blue empire
please.

lighted with the fertility of his invention than mortified by the prostitution of his judgment."—Johnson's Life of Dryden. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 81. *The jealous sects,* It is finely and acutely observed by Des Cartes, in *Dissertatione de Methodo*, that the Spartan commonwealth flourished so eminently not so much because it was governed by a body of laws, that were good in themselves, but because "ab uno tantum legislatore condita, sibi omnes consentiant, atque in eundem scopum collineabant." Dr. J. WARTON.

Hither in summer evenings you repair
To taste the fraicheur of the purer air :
Undaunted here you ride, when winter raves,
With Cæsar's heart that rose above the waves.
More I could sing, but fear my numbers stays ;¹⁰⁵
No loyal subject dares that courage praise.
In stately frigates most delight you find,
Where well-drawn battles fire your martial mind.
What to your cares we owe, is learnt from hence,
When even your pleasures serve for our defence.
Beyond your court flows in th' admitted tide,¹¹¹
Where in new depths the wondering fishes glide :
Here in a royal bed the waters sleep ;
When, tired at sea, within this bay they creep.¹¹⁵
Here the mistrustful fowl no harm suspects,
So safe are all things which our king protects.
From your loved Thames a blessing yet is due,
Second alone to that it brought in you ;
A queen, near whose chaste womb, ordain'd by
fate,

The souls of kings unborn for bodies wait.¹²⁰
It was your love before made discord cease :
Your love is destined to your country's peace.
Both Indies, rivals in your bed, provide
With gold or jewels to adorn your bride.
This to a mighty king presents rich ore,¹²⁵
While that with incense does a god implore.
Two kingdoms wait your doom, and, as you choose,
This must receive a crown, or that must lose.
Thus, from your royal oak, like Jove's of old,
Are answers sought, and destinies foretold :¹³⁰
Propitious oracles are begg'd with vows,
And crowns that grow upon the sacred boughs.
Your subjects, while you weigh the nation's fate,
Suspend to both their doubtful love or hate :
Choose only, sir, that so they may possess,¹³³
With their own peace their children's happiness.

Ver. 102. *To taste the fraicheur of the purer air.*] "Dryden had a vanity unworthy of his abilities ; to shew, as may be suspected, the rank of the company with whom he lived, by the use of French words, which had then crept into conversation ; such as *fraicheur for coolness, jougue for turbulence*, and a few more, none of which the language has incorporated or retained. They continue only where they stood first, perpetual warnings to future innovators." —Johnson's *Life of Dryden*. JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 104. *With Cæsar's heart that rose, &c.*] Cæsar, when in some danger on board ship, observing the mariners affrighted, bade them remember they carried Cæsar and his fortune. DERRICK.

Ver. 136. ——— *their children's*] What effect this poem might have on the public mind we know not ; but the effect of another poem, the incomparable *Hudibras*, was deep, universal, and lasting. This work is original in our language, though the idea is evidently taken from *Don Quixote*. The wit of Butler is inexhaustible, and more new images are brought together than are to be found in any language. A want of *events and action* is the only blemish to be discerned. No writer has displayed such a fund of various learning, nor applied it with such dexterity. The measure, though blamed by Dryden, is exactly suited to the subject. It will remain an eternal disgrace to Charles II. not to have rewarded amply this singular genius, so useful to his cause and government. The *Satire Menippée*, published in France, 1597, had a similar effect in that country. The president Hénault, one of the most erudite and accurate of all their writers, informs us, p. 388, 4to, that *Le Roi*, canon of *Rouen*, was the sole author of the *Catholicon*. *Passerat* and *Rapin* composed the verse part ; *M. Gillot* composed the harangue of the Cardinal Legate ; *P. Pithou* that of M. d'Aubrai ; and *Rapin* that of the Archbishop of Lyons. "Perhaps," says Hénault, "the *Satire Menippée* was not of less use to Henry IV. than the battle of *Ivry*. Ridicule has more force than we can well imagine." Dr. J. WATSON.

TO
THE LORD CHANCELLOR HYDE.*

PRESENTED ON NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1662

MY LORD,

WHILE flattering crowds officiously appear,
To give themselves, not you, an happy year ;
And by the greatness of their presents prove
How much they hope, but not how well they
love ;

* Edward Earl of Clarendon, to whom this poem is addressed, having followed the fortune of the King, was appointed Secretary of State at Bruges, and constituted Lord High Chancellor of England on the demise of Sir Richard Lane. He was confirmed in this last post at the Restoration, when he was also chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in the room of the Duke of Somerset, and created Baron Hindon, Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon. He was too honest for a court ; his plain dealing and integrity ruined him. The King, abandoned to pleasure, was impatient of admonition, and Hyde was not sparing of it : this paved the way for his disgrace. He was prosecuted with great acrimony by the Earl of Bristol, who impeached him in the House of Peers. Finding his party too weak to support him, he retired to Homen, where he died in 1674. He is said to have been concerned in selling Dunkirk to the French. He was an able lawyer, a great statesman, and an elegant writer. DERRICK.

Ver. 1. *While flattering crowds*] Few pieces of biography are so interesting as the life of Lord Clarendon, written by himself, and published from his original manuscripts by the University of Oxford. In which is given, with openness and frankness, an account of his early habits and studies, and intimacy with the greatest men of that age, whose characters he has drawn with a masterly hand. His soon became eminent both at the bar and in Parliament ; and entering into the King's service at the commencement of the civil wars, soon rose to such a degree in his favour and friendship, that the King entrusted him to draw up several very important state papers, published in the King's own name, and supposed to be his own productions. He followed Charles II. into exile, shared all his fortunes, and continued his faithful adviser till the Restoration. Burnet, who did not love him, says he used to give his advice in too magisterial a manner ; and it is certain that Charles II. had always for him more veneration than affection. As he never degraded himself by flattering the Duchess of Portsmouth, and showed a marked contempt of the debauched parasites that surrounded his master, they employed every possible method of wit and ridicule to depreciate him in the eyes of his master, who, when Buckingham imitated the gait and air, and solemn step of the Chancellor, had the weakness to join in the laugh. But what chiefly alienated the King's regard for him, and in truth provoked a deep indignation, was, that Clarendon engaged the Duke of Richmond to marry the beautiful Mrs. Stuart, with whom the King was violently in love. So that when the Sectarists, the Catholics, and even some dis-appointed Royalists, all joined in enmity to Clarendon, and laid to his charge all the misfortunes that had befallen the kingdom—the bad payment of the seamen, the sale of Dunkirk, the disgrace at Chatham, and an unsuccessful war—the King, with matchless ingratitude, gave up into the hands of his enemies his old, able, and faithful counsellor, who was immediately impeached by both Houses of Parliament. He therefore thought proper to retire to France, where he lived privately for six years, and wrote his *History of the Civil Wars*, a work which, notwithstanding some (perhaps pardonable) partialities, will for ever be read with attention and applause ; and is in truth composed with a dignity, majesty, and strength of style, rarely to be found in modern history. The praises of twenty such poets as Dryden could not have conferred such lasting honour on Lord Clarendon as those words of the virtuous Earl of Southampton, at the Council Board : "This man," said he, "is a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman, and while he enjoys power, we are secure of our laws, liberties, and religion. I dread the consequences of his removal." Dr. J. WATSON.

The Muses, who your early courtship boast,⁵
 Though now your flames are with their beauty lost,
 Yet watch their time, that, if you have forgot
 They were your mistresses, the world may not:
 Decay'd by time and wars, they only prove
 Their former beauty by your former love;¹⁰
 And now present, as ancient ladies do,
 That, courted long, at length are forced to woo.
 For still they look on you with such kind eyes,
 As those that see the Church's sovereign rise;¹⁴
 From their own order chose, in whose high state,
 They think themselves the second choice of fate.
 When our great monarch into exile went,
 Wit and religion suffer'd banishment.
 Thus once, when Troy was wrapp'd in fire and
 smoke,¹⁹

The helpless gods their burning shrines forsook;
 They with the vanquish'd prince and party go,
 And leave their temples empty to the foe.
 At length the Muses stand, restored again
 To that great charge which nature did ordain;
 And their loved Druids seem revived by fate,²⁵
 While you dispense the laws, and guide the state.
 The nation's soul, our monarch, does dispense,
 Through you, to us his vital influence;
 You are the channel, where those spirits flow,
 And work them higher, as to us they go.³⁰

In open prospect nothing bounds our eye,
 Until the earth seems join'd unto the sky:
 So in this hemisphere our utmost view
 Is only bounded by our king and you:
 Our sight is limited where you are join'd,³⁵
 And beyond that no farther heaven can find.
 So well your virtues do with his agree,
 That, though your orbs of different greatness be,
 Yet both are for each other's use disposed,
 His to inclose, and yours to be inclosed.⁴⁰
 Nor could another in your room have been,
 Except an emptiness had come between.
 Well may he then to you his cares impart,
 And share his burden where he shares his heart.
 In you his sleep still wakes; his pleasures find⁴⁵
 Their share of business in your labouring mind.
 So when the weary sun his place resigns,
 He leaves his light, and by reflection shines.

Justice, that sits and frowns where public laws
 Exclude soft mercy from a private cause,⁵⁰

Ver. 20. *The helpless gods*] I will here offer part of Mer-
 rick's observation on a passage in his translation of Tryphidorus,
 p. 102.—“We learn from Æschylus (*Ævā in* 648. v. 223.) that it was a common opinion among the
 ancients that the tutelary gods of every city withdrew
 from it when it was going to be taken. The scholiast on
 Æschylus farther informs us, that Sophocles wrote a play
 called *Σαυρηδοί*, in which the gods of the Trojans were
 introduced retiring from the city, and carrying their
 images with them. What Tryphidorus feigns of Apollo's
 quitting Troy, just before its destruction, is related by
 Virgil concerning the other deities of the Trojans, *Æn.* ii.
 361.

‘Excessare omnes, aditis arisque relictis,
 Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat.’

And Petronius Arbitr says,

‘Peritura Troja perdidit primum deos.’

Nor is this fiction to be found in the poets only, but is
 likewise preserved in some of the ancient historians.*
 See the whole note. TODD.

Ver. 48. *He leaves his light, and by reflection shines.*] The
 same sentiment is repeated in the *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 253.

“His beams he to his royal brother lent,
 And so shone still in his reflective light.”

TODD.

In your tribunal most herself does please;
 There only smiles because she lives at ease;
 And, like young David, finds her strength the more.
 When disencumber'd from those arms she wore.
 Heaven would our royal master should exceed⁵⁵
 Most in that virtue, which we most did need;
 And his mild father (who too late did find
 All mercy vain but what with power was join'd)
 His fatal goodness left to fitter times,
 Not to increase, but to absolve, our crimes:⁶⁰
 But when the heir of this vast treasure knew
 How large a legacy was left to you,
 (Too great for any subject to retain)
 He wisely tied it to the crown again:⁶⁴
 Yet, passing through your hands, it gathers more,
 As streams, through mines, bear tincture of their
 ore.

While empiric politicians use deceit,
 Hide what they give, and cure but by a cheat;
 You boldly show that skill which they pretend,
 And work by means as noble as your end;⁷⁰
 Which should you veil, we might unwind the clue,
 As men do nature, till we came to you.
 And as the Indies were not found, before
 Those rich perfumes, which, from the happy shore,
 The winds upon their balmy wings convey'd,⁷⁵
 Whose guilty sweetness first their world betray'd;
 So by your counsels we are brought to view
 A rich and undiscover'd world in you.

By you our monarch does that fame assure,
 Which kings must have, or cannot live secure:⁸⁰
 For prosperous princes gain their subjects' heart,
 Who love that praise in which themselves have part.
 By you he fits those subjects to obey,
 As heaven's eternal monarch does convey
 His power unseen, and man, to his designs⁸⁵
 By his bright ministers the stars, inclines.

Our setting sun, from his declining seat,
 Shot beams of kindness on you, not of heat:
 And, when his love was bounded in a few,
 That were unhappy that they might be true,⁹⁰
 Made you the favourite of his last sad times,
 That is a sufferer in his subjects' crimes:
 Thus those first favours you received, were sent,
 Like heaven's rewards in earthly punishment.

Yet fortune, conscious of your destiny,⁹⁵
 E'en then took care to lay you softly by;
 And wrapp'd your fate among her precious things,
 Kept fresh to be unfolded with your king's.
 Shown all at once you dazzled so our eyes,
 As new-born Pallas did the gods surprise:¹⁰⁰
 When, springing forth from Jove's new closing
 wound,

She struck the warlike spear into the ground;
 Which sprouting leaves did suddenly inclose,
 And peaceful olives shaded as they rose.

Ver. 86. *As streams, through mines, bear tincture of their
 ore.*] So Milton of the river Tamar in Cornwall. Epi-
 taph. Damon.

—“fusca metallis
 Tamara.”

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 67. *While empiric*] Our knowledge in politics, says
 Hume, is even yet imperfect; we know not to what de-
 grees human virtue or vice may be carried. Even Ma-
 chiavel is an imperfect and mistaken politician. Modern
 monarchies, he adds, are grown mild and improved; but
 this is owing to manners, and to the progress of sense and
 philosophy. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 87. *Our setting sun.*] Charles I. employed him in
 writing some of his declarations. Dr. J. WARTON.

How strangely active are the arts of peace, 105
 Whose restless motions less than war's do cease !
 Peace is not freed from labour but from noise ;
 And war more force, but not more pains employs :
 Such is the mighty swiftness of your mind,
 That, like the earth, it leaves our sense behind, 110
 While you so smoothly turn and roll our sphere,
 That rapid motion does but rest appear.
 For, as in nature's swiftness, with the throng
 Of flying orbs while ours is borne along,
 All seems at rest to the deluded eye, 115
 Moved by the soul of the same harmony,
 So, carried on by your unwearied care,
 We rest in peace and yet in motion share.
 Let envy then those crimes within you see,
 From which the happy never must be free ; 120
 Envy, that does with misery reside,
 The joy and the revenge of ruin'd pride.
 Think it not hard, if at so cheap a rate
 You can secure the constancy of fate,
 Whose kindness sent what does their malice seem,
 By lesser ills the greater to redeem. 125
 Nor can we this weak shower a tempest call,
 But drops of heat, that in the sunshine fall.
 You have already wearied fortune so,
 She cannot farther be your friend or foe ; 130
 But sits all breathless, and admires to feel
 A fate so weighty, that it stops our wheel.
 In all things else above our humble fate,
 Your equal mind yet swells not into state,
 But, like some mountain in those happy isles, 135
 Where in perpetual spring young nature smiles,
 Your greatness shows : no horror to affright,
 But trees for shade, and flowers to court the sight :
 Sometimes the hill submits itself a while
 In small descents, which do its height beguile ; 140
 And sometimes mounts, but so as billows play,
 Whose rise not hinders but makes short our way.
 Your brow which does no fear of thunder know,
 Sees rolling tempests vainly beat below ;
 And, like Olympus' top, th' impression wears 145
 Of love and friendship writ in former years.
 Yet, unimpair'd with labours, or with time,
 Your age but seems to a new youth to climb.
 Thus heavenly bodies do our time beget,
 And measure change, but share no part of it. 150

Ver. 109. *Such is the mighty* ! " In this comparison," Dr. Johnson says, " the mind perceives enough to be delighted, and readily forgives its obscurity for its magnificence." I own I think its obscurity so gross that it cannot be forgiven, and its magnificence lost by its no-meaning. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 119. *Let envy then* ! Great ministers, in all ages and countries, have ever been attacked by satirical wits. Above one hundred and fifty-nine severe invectives were written against Cardinal Mazarin, many of them by Scarron and Sandrion, which have been collected and called the *Mazarinades*. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 139. *Sometimes the hill submits itself a while
 In small descents,*
*"quæ se subducere colles
 Incipiunt, mollique jugum demittere clivo."*
 Virgil, *Ecl. ix. 8.*
 JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 143. *Your brow, which does no fear of thunder know,
 Sees rolling tempests vainly beat below ;*
 I cannot readily turn either to the passage or author of the following reflection :—" Great men ought not to listen to, or even hear, the mean cries of envy. Atlas, who supports the heavens, hears not from his height the roaring and beating of the waves of the sea at his feet." JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 149. *Thus heavenly* ! Dr. Johnson is of opinion that " in this poem he seems to have collected all his powers."

And still it shall without a weight increase,
 Like this new-year, whose motions never cease.
 For since the glorious course you have begun
 Is led by Charles, as that is by the sun,
 It must both weightless and immortal prove, 138
 Because the centre of it is above.

SATIRE ON THE DUTCH.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1662.*

As needy gallants, in the scrivener's hands,
 Court the rich knaves that gripe their mortgaged
 lands ;

The first fat buck of all the season's sent,
 And keeper takes no fee in compliment ;
 The dotage of some Englishmen is such, 5
 To fawn on those, who ruin them, the Dutch.
 They shall have all, rather than make a war
 With those, who of the same religion are.
 The Straits, the Guiney-trade, the herrings too ;
 Nay, to keep friendship, they shall pickle you. 10
 Some are resolved not to find out the cheat,
 But, cuckold-like, love them that do the feat.
 What injuries soe'er upon us fall,
 Yet still the same religion answers all.
 Religion wheedled us to civil war, 15
 Drew English blood, and Dutchmen's now would
 spare.

Be gull'd no longer ; for you'll find it true,
 They have no more religion, faith ! than you.
 Interest's the god they worship in their state,
 And we, I take it, have not much of that. 20
 Well monarchies may own religion's name,
 But states are atheists in their very frame.
 They share a sin ; and such proportions fall,
 That, like a stink, 'tis nothing to them all.
 Think on their rapine, falsehood, cruelty, 25
 And that what once they were, they still would be.
 To one well-born the affront is worse and more,
 When he's abused and baffled by a boor.
 With an ill grace the Dutch their mischiefs do ;
 They've both ill nature and ill manners too. 30
 Well may they boast themselves an ancient
 nation ;

For they were bred ere manners were in fashion :
 And their new commonwealth has set them free
 Only from honour and civility.

Venetians do not more uncouthly ride, 35
 Than did their lubber state mankind bestride.
 Their sway became them with as ill a mien,
 As their own paunches swell above their chin.
 Yet is their empire no true growth but humour,
 And only two kings' touch can cure the tumour.

I should lament if this were true. But then he adds, " He has concluded with lines of which I think not myself obliged to tell the meaning." Dr. J. WATSON.

* This poem is no more than a prologue, a little altered, prefixed to our author's tragedy of *Amboyna*. DERRICK.

Ver. 35. *Venetians do not more uncouthly ride* ! Horses are almost useless in Venice from its situation, there being canals in every street, so that it cannot be thought the Venetians are expert jockies ; besides, " To ride as badly as a grandee of Venice," is become a proverb all over Italy. DERRICK.

As Cato, fruits of Afric did display;
 Let us before our eyes their Indies lay:
 All loyal English will like him conclude;
 Let Cæsar live, and Carthage be subdued.

TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS.*

On the Memorable Victory gained by the Duke over the Hollanders,
 June 3, 1665, and on her Journey afterwards into the North.

MADAM,

WHEN for our sakes, your hero you resign'd
 To swelling seas, and every faithless wind;
 When you released his courage, and set free
 A valour fatal to the enemy;
 You lodged your country's cares within your
 breast,

(The mansion where soft love should only rest :)
 And, ere our foes abroad were overcome,
 The noblest conquest you had gain'd at home.
 Ah, what concerns did both your souls divide!
 Your honour gave us what your love denied: 10
 And 'twas for him much easier to subdue
 Those foes he fought with, than to part from you.
 That glorious day, which two such navies saw,
 As each unmatched might to the world gave law.
 Neptune, yet doubtful whom he should obey, 15
 Held to them both the trident of the sea:
 The winds were hush'd, the waves in ranks were
 cast,

As awfully as when God's people past:
 Those, yet uncertain on whose sails to blow, 19
 These, where the wealth of nations ought to flow.
 Then with the duke your highness ruled the day:
 While all the brave did his command obey,
 The fair and pious under you did pray.
 How powerful are chaste vows! the wind and
 tide

You bled to combat on the English side. 25

Ver. 41. *As Cato, &c.* Compare the *Annus Mirabilis*
 stan. 173.

"As once old Cato in the Roman fight,
 The tempting fruits of Afric did unfold."

TODD

Ver. 44. — *and Carthage* The very words and allusion
 by Lord Shaftesbury in his famous speech against
 the Dutch.

* The lady to whom our author addresses this poem was
 daughter to the great Earl of Clarendon. The Duke of
 York had been some time married to her before the affair
 was known either to the King his brother, or to her
 father. She died in March, 1671, leaving issue one son,
 named Edgar, and three daughters, Katherine, Mary, and
 Ann. The two latter lived to sit on the British throne;
 the two former survived their mother but a short time.
 Bishop Burnet tells us, that she was a woman of know-

Thus to your much-loved lord you did convey
 An unknown succour, sent the nearest way.
 New vigour to his wearied arms you brought,
 (So Moses was upheld while Israel fought)
 While, from afar, we heard the cannon play, 30
 Like distant thunder on a shiny day.
 For absent friends we were ashamed to fear,
 When we consider'd what you ventured there.
 Ships, men, and arms, our country might restore.
 But such a leader could supply no more. 35
 With generous thoughts of conquest he did
 burn,

Yet fought not more to vanquish than return.
 Fortune and victory he did pursue,
 To bring them as his slaves to wait on you.
 Thus beauty ravish'd the rewards of fame, 40
 And the fair triumph'd when the brave o'er-
 came.

Then, as you meant to spread another way,
 By land your conquests, far as his by sea,
 Leaving our southern clime, you march'd along
 The stubborn North, ten thousand Cupids strong.
 Like commons the nobility resort, 46
 In crowding heaps, to fill your moving court:
 To welcome your approach the vulgar run,
 Like some new envoy from the distant sun,
 And country beauties by their lovers go, 50
 Blessing themselves, and wondering at the show.
 So when the new-born Phoenix first is seen,
 Her feather'd subjects all adore their queen,
 And while she makes her progress through the
 East,

From every grove her numerous train's increased:
 Each poet of the air her glory sings, 56
 And round him the pleased audience clap their
 wings.

ledge and penetration, friendly and generous, but severe
 in her resentments. DERBICK.

Ver. 28. — *your much-loved lord* James, notwith-
 standing, had many mistresses. Lady Dorchester, says
 Lord Orford, vol. iv. p. 319, 4th, said wittily, she wondered
 for what James II. chose his mistresses. "We are none of
 us handsome, and if we had wit, he has not enough to
 discover it." And once meeting the Duchess of Ports-
 mouth and Lady Orkney, the favourites of King William,
 at the drawing-room of George I. she exclaimed, "Good
 God! who would have thought that we three whores should
 have met together here!" Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 56. — *her glory sings* The Duchess of York,
 says Burnet, was an extraordinary woman. She had great
 knowledge, and a lively sense of things, but took state
 on her rather too much. She wrote well, and had begun
 the Duke's Life, of which she showed me a volume. She
 was bred to great strictness in religion, practised secret
 confession, and Morley was her confessor. Dr. JOSEPH
 WARTON.

Ver. 57 *And round him the pleased audience clap their
 wings* Hence Pope, Pastoral i. ver. 16.

"And all th' aerial audience clap their wings."

This escaped the observation of the acute Mr. Wakefield,
 to whom, as my reader will perceive, I owe many obli-
 gations, and who seldom suffers a parallel passage to
 escape him. JOHN WARTON.

ANNUS MIRABILIS; THE YEAR OF WONDERS, 1666.

AN HISTORICAL POEM.

TO

THE METROPOLIS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

THE MOST RENOWNED AND LATE FLOURISHING CITY OF LONDON

IN ITS REPRESENTATIVES THE LORD MAYOR AND COURT OF ALDERMEN, THE SHERIFFS,
AND COMMON COUNCIL OF IT.*

As perhaps I am the first who ever presented a work of this nature to the metropolis of any nation, so it is likewise consonant to justice, that he who was to give the first example of such a dedication should begin it with that city which has set a pattern to all others of true loyalty, invincible courage, and unshaken constancy. Other cities have been praised for the same virtues, but I am much deceived if any have so dearly purchased their reputation; their fame has been won them by cheaper trials than an expensive, though necessary war, a consuming pestilence, and a more consuming fire. To submit yourselves with that humility to the judgments of Heaven, and at the same time to raise yourselves with that vigour above all human enemies; to be combated at once from above and from below; to be struck down and to triumph: I know not whether such trials have been ever paralleled in any nation: the resolution and successes of them never can be. Never had prince or people more mutual reason to love each other, if suffering for each other can endear affection. You have come together a pair of matchless lovers, through many difficulties; he, through a long exile, various traverses of fortune, and the interposition of many rivals, who violently ravished and withheld you from him; and certainly you have had your share in sufferings. But Providence has cast upon you want of trade, that you might appear bountiful to your country's necessities; and the rest of your afflictions are not more the effects of God's displeasure (frequent examples of them having been in the reign of the most excellent princes) than occasions for the manifesting of your Christian and civil virtues. To you, therefore, this year of wonders is justly dedicated, because you have made it so. You, who are to stand a wonder to all years and ages, and who have built yourselves an immortal monument on your own ruins. You are now a Phoenix in her ashes, and, as far as humanity can approach, a great emblem of the suffering Deity; but Heaven never made so much piety and virtue to leave it miserable. I have heard, indeed, of some virtuous persons who have ended unfortunately, but never of any virtuous nation. Providence is engaged too deeply when the cause becomes so general; and I cannot imagine it has resolved the ruin of that people at home which it has blessed abroad with such successes. I am therefore to conclude that your sufferings are at an end; and that one part of my poem has not been more an history of your destruction than the other a prophecy of your restoration; the accomplishment of which happiness, as it is the wish of all true Englishmen, so is it by none more passionately desired than by

The greatest of your admirers,

And most humble of your Servants,

JOHN DRYDEN.

* This dedication has been left out in all editions of the poem but the first. To me there appears in it an honest unfeigned warmth and a love for the King, which compensates for any thing that may have dropped from our author's pen in his verses on Cromwell's death. However, we submit this opinion, under correction, to the judicious reader.
DERICK.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ENSUING POEM,

IN

A LETTER TO THE HON. SIR ROBERT HOWARD.

SIR,

I AM so many ways obliged to you, and so little able to return your favours, that, like those who owe too much, I can only live by getting farther into your debt. You have not only been careful of my fortune, which was the effect of your nobleness, but you have been solicitous of my reputation, which is that of your kindness. It is not long since I gave you the trouble of perusing a play for me, and now, instead of an acknowledgment, I have given you a greater, in the correction of a poem. But since you are to bear this persecution, I will at least give you the encouragement of a martyr; you could never suffer in a nobler cause. For I have chosen the most heroic subject which any poet could desire: I have taken upon me to describe the motives, the beginning, progress, and successes of a most just and necessary war: in it, the care, management, and prudence of our king; the conduct and valour of a royal admiral, and of two incomparable generals; the invincible courage of our captains and seamen; and three glorious victories, the result of all. After this, I have in the *Fire* the most deplorable, but withal the greatest, argument that can be imagined: the destruction being so swift, so sudden, so vast, and miserable, as nothing can parallel in story. The former part of this poem relating to the war, is but a due expiation for my not serving my king and country in it. All gentlemen are almost obliged to it; and I know no reason we should give that advantage to the commonalty of England, to be foremost in brave actions, which the noblesse of France would never suffer in their peasants. I should not have written this but to a person who has been ever forward to appear in all employments, whither his honour and generosity have called him. The latter part of my poem, which describes the *Fire*, I owe, first to the piety and fatherly affection of our monarch to his suffering subjects; and, in the second place, to the courage, loyalty, and magnanimity of the city; both which were so conspicuous, that I have wanted words to celebrate them as they deserve. I have called my poem historical, not epic, though both the actions and actors are as much heroic as any poem can contain. But since the action is not properly one, nor that accomplished in the last successes, I have judged it too bold a title for a few stanzas, which are little more in number than a single *Iliad*, or the longest of the *Æneids*. For this reason (I mean not of length, but broken action, tied too severely to the laws of history) I am apt to agree with those who rank *Lucan* rather among historians in verse, than epic poets: in whose room, if I am not deceived, *Silius Italicus*, though a worse writer, may more justly be admitted. I have chosen to write my poem in quatrains, or stanzas of four in alternate rhyme, because I have ever judged them more noble, and of greater dignity, both for the sound and number, than any other verse in use amongst us; in which I am sure I have your approbation.* The learned languages have certainly a great advantage of us, in not being tied to the slavery of any rhyme; and were less constrained in the quantity of every syllable, which they might vary with spondees or dactyls, besides so many other helps of grammatical figures, for the lengthening or abbreviation of them, than the modern are in the close of that one syllable, which often confines, and more often corrupts, the sense of all the rest. But in this necessity of our rhymes, I have always found the couplet verse most easy, though not so proper for this occasion: for there the work is sooner at an end, every two lines concluding the labour of the poet; but in quatrains he

* Dryden certainly soon changed his opinion, since he never after practised the manner of versification he has here praised; but we shall find it always his way to assure us, that his present mode of writing is best. Conscious of his own importance, he soared above control; and when he composed a poem, he set it up as a standard of imitation, deducting from it rules of criticism, the practice of which he endeavoured to enforce, till either through interest or fancy he was induced to change his opinion. DERRICK.

is to carry it farther on, and not only so, but to bear along in his head the troublesome sense of four lines together. For those who write correctly in this kind, must needs acknowledge, that the last line of the stanza is to be considered in the composition of the first. Neither can we give ourselves the liberty of making any part of a verse for the sake of rhyme, or concluding with a word which is not current English, or using the variety of female rhymes; all which our fathers practised: and for the female rhymes, they are still in use amongst other nations; with the Italian in every line, with the Spaniard promiscuously, with the French alternately; as those who have read the *Alarique*, the *Pucelle*, or any of their later poems, will agree with me. And besides this, they write in Alexandrines, or verses of six feet; such as amongst us is the old translation of Homer by Chapman; all which, by lengthening of their chain, makes the sphere of their activity the larger. I have dwelt too long upon the choice of my stanza, which you may remember is much better defended in the preface to *Gondibert*; and therefore I will hasten to acquaint you with my endeavours in the writing. In general I will only say, I have never yet seen the description of any naval fight in the proper terms which are used at sea; and if there be any such, in another language, as that of Lucan in the third of his *Pharsalia*, yet I could not avail myself of it in the English; the terms of art in every tongue bearing more of the idiom of it than any other words. We hear indeed among our poets, of the thundering of guns, the smoke, the disorder, and the slaughter; but all these are common notions. And certainly, as those who, in a logical dispute, keep in general terms, would hide a fallacy, so those, who do it in any poetical description, would veil their ignorance.

Descriptas servare vices operumque colores,
Cur ego, si nequeo ignoroque, Poeta salutor?

For my own part, if I had little knowledge of the sea, yet I have thought it no shame to learn; and if I have made some few mistakes, 'tis only, as you can bear me witness, because I have wanted opportunity to correct them; the whole poem being first written, and now sent you from a place, where I have not so much as the converse of any seaman. Yet though the trouble I had in writing it was great, it was more than recompensed by the pleasure. I found myself so warm in celebrating the praises of military men, two such especially as the Prince and General, that it is no wonder if they inspired me with thoughts above my ordinary level. And I am well satisfied, that, as they are incomparably the best subject I ever had, excepting only the Royal Family, so also, that this I have written of them is much better than what I have performed on any other. I have been forced to help out other arguments; but this has been bountiful to me: they have been low and barren of praise, and I have exalted them, and made them fruitful; but here—*Omnia sponte sua reddit justissima tellus*. I have had a large, a fair, and a pleasant field; so fertile, that, without my cultivating, it has given me two harvests in a summer, and in both oppressed the reaper. All other greatness in subjects is only counterfeit; it will not endure the test of danger; the greatness of arms is only real; other greatness burdens a nation with its weight, this supports it with its strength. And as it is the happiness of the age, so it is the peculiar goodness of the best of kings, that we may praise his subjects without offending him. Doubtless it proceeds from a just confidence of his own virtue, which the lustre of no other can be so great as to darken in him; for the good or the valiant are never safely praised under a bad or a degenerate prince. But to return from this digression to a farther account of my poem; I must crave leave to tell you, that as I have endeavoured to adorn it with noble thoughts, so much more to express those thoughts with elocution. The composition of all poems is, or ought to be, of wit; and wit in the poet, or wit-writing (if you will give me leave to use a school distinction) is no other than the faculty of imagination in the writer, which, like a nimble spaniel, beats over and ranges through the field of memory, till it springs the quarry it hunted after; or, without metaphor, which searches over all the memory for the species or ideas of those things which it designs to represent. Wit written is that which is well defined, the happy result of thought, or product of imagination. But to proceed from wit, in the general notion of it, to the proper wit of an heroic or historical poem, I judge it chiefly to consist in the delightful imaging of persons, actions, passions, or things. 'Tis not the jerk or sting of an epigram, nor the seeming contradiction of a poor antithesis, (the delight of an ill-judging audience in a play of rhyme) nor the gingle of a more poor Paronomasia; neither is it so much the morality of a grave sentence, affected by Lucan, but more sparingly used by Virgil; but it is some lively and apt description, dressed in such colours of speech, that it sets before your eyes the absent object, as perfectly and more delightfully than nature. So

then the first happiness of the poet's imagination is properly invention or finding of the thought ; the second is fancy, or the variation, deriving or moulding of that thought as the judgment represents it proper to the subject ; the third is elocution, or the art of clothing and adorning that thought, so sound and varied, in apt, significant, and sounding words : the quickness of the imagination is seen in the invention, the fertility in the fancy, and the accuracy in the expression. For the two first of these, Ovid is famous amongst the poets, for the latter, Virgil. Ovid images more often the movements and affections of the mind, either combating between two contrary passions, or extremely discomposed by one. His words therefore are the least part of his care, for he pictures nature in disorder, with which the study and choice of words is inconsistent. This is the proper wit of dialogue or discourse, and consequently of the drama, where all that is said is to be supposed the effect of sudden thought ; which, though it excludes not the quickness of wit in repartees, yet admits not a too curious election of words, too frequent allusions, or use of tropes, or in fine any thing that shows remoteness of thought or labour in the writer. On the other side, Virgil speaks not so often to us in the person of another, like Ovid, but in his own : he relates almost all things as from himself, and thereby gains more liberty than the other, to express his thoughts with all the graces of elocution, to write more figuratively, and to confess as well the labour, as the force of his imagination. Though he describes his Dido well and naturally, in the violence of her passions, yet he must yield in that to the Myrrha, the Biblis, the Althea, of Ovid ; for as great an admirer of him as I am, I must acknowledge, that if I see not more of their souls than I see of Dido's, at least I have a greater concernment for them : and that convinces me, that Ovid has touched those tender strokes more delicately than Virgil could. But when action or persons are to be described, when any such image is to be set before us, how bold, how masterly are the strokes of Virgil !—We see the objects he presents us with in their native figures, in their proper motions ; but so we see them, as our own eyes could never have beheld them so beautiful in themselves. We see the soul of the poet, like that universal one of which he speaks, informing and moving through all his pictures :

—— Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

We behold him embellishing his images, as he makes Venus breathing beauty upon her son Æneas.

—— lumenque juvenis
Purpureum, et letos oculis afflrat honores :
Quale manus addunt ebori decus, aut ubi favo
Argentum Parlusve lapis circumdatur auro.

See his Tempest, his Funeral Sports, his Combat of Turnus and Æneas ; and in his Georgics, which I esteem the divinest part of all his writings, the Plague, the Country, the Battle of the Bulls, the Labour of the Bees, and those many other excellent images of nature, most of which are neither great in themselves nor have any natural ornament to bear them up ; but the words wherewith he describes them are so excellent, that it might be well applied to him, which was said by Ovid, *Materiam superabat opus*. The very sound of his words has often somewhat that is connatural to the subject ; and while we read him, we sit, as in a play, beholding the scenes of what he represents. To perform this, he made frequent use of tropes, which you know change the nature of a known word, by applying it to some other signification ; and this is it which Horace verbs in his epistle to the Pisces :

Dixeris egregiè, notum si callida verbum
Reddidit junctura novum——

But I am sensible I have presumed too far to entertain you with a rude discourse of that art which you both know so well, and put into practice with so much happiness. Yet before I leave Virgil, I must own the vanity to tell you, and by you the world, that he has been my master in this poem. I have followed him everywhere, I know not with what success, but I am sure with diligence enough ; my images are many of them copied from him, and the rest are imitations of him. My expressions, also, are as near as the idioms of the two languages would admit of in translation. And this, sir, I have done with that boldness for which I will stand accountable to any of our little critics, who, perhaps, are no better acquainted with him than I am. Upon your first perusal of this poem, you have taken notice of some words which I have innovated (if it be too bold for me to say refined) upon his Latin ;

which, as I offer not to introduce into English prose, so I hope they are neither improper nor altogether inelegant in verse; and in this Horace will again defend me.

Et nova, fictaque nuper, habebunt verba fidem, si
Grecæ fonte cadunt, parçæ detorta——

The inference is exceeding plain; for if a Roman poet might have liberty to coin a word, supposing only that it was derived from the Greek, was put into a Latin termination, and that he used this liberty but seldom, and with modesty; how much more justly may I challenge that privilege to do it with the same prerequisites, from the best and most judicious of Latin writers! In some places, where either the fancy or the words were his, or any other's, I have noted, it in the margin, that I might not seem a plagiarist; in others I have neglected it, to avoid as well tediousness as the affectation of doing it too often. Such descriptions or images well wrought, which I promise not for mine, are, as I have said, the adequate delight of heroic poesy; for they beget admiration, which is its proper object; as the images of the burlesque, which is contrary to this, by the same reason beget laughter: for the one shows nature beautified, as in the picture of a fair woman, which we all admire; the other shows her deformed, as in that of a lazar, or of a fool with distorted face and antic gestures, at which we cannot forbear to laugh, because it is a deviation from nature. But though the same images serve equally for the Epic poesy, and for the Historic and Panegyric, which are branches of it, yet a several sort of sculpture is to be used in them. If some of them are to be like those of Juvenal, *Stantes in curribus Æmilianis*, heroes drawn in their triumphal chariots, and in their full proportion; others are to be like that of Virgil, *Spirantia mollius æra*: there is somewhat more of softness and tenderness to be shown in them. You will soon find I write not this without concern. Some, who have seen a paper of verses, which I wrote last year to her Highness the Duchess, have accused them of that only thing I could defend in them. They said, I did *humi serpere*, that I wanted not only height of fancy but dignity of words to set it off. I might well answer with that of Horace, *Nunc non erat his locus*; I knew I addressed them to a lady, and, accordingly, I affected the softness of expression and the smoothness of measure, rather than the height of thought; and in what I did endeavour, it is no vanity to say I have succeeded. I detest arrogance; but there is some difference betwixt that and a just defence. But I will not farther bribe your candour or the reader's. I leave them to speak for me; and, if they can, to make out that character, not pretending to a greater, which I have given them.*

And now, sir, 'tis time I should relieve you from the tedious length of this account. You have better and more profitable employment for your hours, and I wrong the public to detain you longer. In conclusion, I must leave my poem to you with all its faults, which I hope to find fewer in the printing by your emendations. I know you are not of the number of those of whom the younger Pliny speaks: *Nec sunt parùm multi, qui carpere amicos suos judicium vocant*: I am rather too secure of you on that side. Your candour in pardoning my errors may make you more remiss in correcting them; if you will not withal consider that they come into the world with your approbation and through your hands. I beg from you the greatest favour you can confer upon an absent person, since I repose upon your management what is dearest to me, my fame and reputation; and therefore I hope it will stir you up to make my poem fairer by many of your blots; if not, you know the story of the gamester who married the rich man's daughter, and when her father denied the portion, christened all his children by his surname, that if, in conclusion, they must beg, they should do so by one name as well as by the other. But since the reproach of my faults will light on you, 'tis but reason I should do you that justice to the readers, to let them know that if there be anything tolerable in this poem, they owe the argument to your choice, the writing to your encouragement, the correction to your judgment, and the care of it to your friendship, to which he must ever acknowledge himself to owe all things, who is,

Sir,

The most obedient and most faithful of your Servants,

JOHN DRYDEN.

FROM CHARLTON, IN WILTSHIRE,
Nov. 10, 1686.

* See the preceding poem, which, in the original edition of the *Annus Mirabilis*, occurs in this place. JOHN WARTON.

ANNUS MIRABILIS;

THE YEAR OF WONDERS, 1666.*

I.

In thriving arts long time had Holland grown,
Crouching at home and cruel when abroad :
Scarce leaving us the means to claim our own ;
Our king they courted, and our merchants
awed.

II.

Trade, which like blood should circularly flow, ⁵
Stopp'd in their channels, found its freedom lost :
Thither the wealth of all the world did go,
And seem'd but shipwreck'd on so base a coast.

III.

For them alone the heavens had kindly heat ;
In eastern quarries ripening precious dew : ¹⁰
For them the Idumean balm did sweat,
And in hot Ceylon spicy forests grew.

IV.

The sun but seem'd the labourer of their year ;
Each waxing moon supplied her watery store,
To swell those tides, which from the line did bear ¹⁵
Their brim-full vessels to the Belgian shore.

* "This poem is written with great diligence, yet does not fully answer the expectation raised by such subjects, and such a writer. With the stanza of Davenant, he has sometimes his vein of parenthesis, and incidental disquisition, and stops his narrative for a wise remark. The general fault is, that he affords more sentiment than description, and does not so much impress scenes upon the fancy, as deduce consequences, and make comparisons."—Johnson's Life of Dryden. JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 1.] "The initial stanzas have rather too much resemblance to the first lines of Waller's poem on the war with Spain; perhaps such a beginning is natural, and could not be avoided without affectation. Both Waller and Dryden might take their hint from the poem on the civil war of Rome. *Orbem jam totum*," &c.—Johnson's Life of Dryden. JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 5. *Trade, which like blood should circularly flow*,] With equal liberty Cowper:

"—The band of commerce was design'd
To associate all the branches of mankind;
And, if a boundless plenty be the robe,
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe."

JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 10. *In eastern quarries, &c.*] Precious stones at first are dew, condensed and hardened by the warmth of the sun, or subterranean fires. Original edition, 1667.

Ver. 11. *For them the Idumean balm did sweat*] Pope had his eye on this passage, where, describing the effects of commerce, he says,

"For me the balm shall bleed, and amber flow," &c.
Windsor Forest, line 393.
JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 13. ——— *their year*,] Corrected from the original edition. 12mo, 1667. Derrick has the year. TODD.

Ver. 14. *Each waxing, &c.*] According to their opinion, who think that great heap of waters under the line is depressed into tides by the moon, towards the poles. Original edition.

Ibid. ——— *waxing*] Original edition. Derrick, *waxing*. TODD.

Ver. 15. ——— *those tides*,] Original edition. Derrick, most probably by an error of the press, has *tide*. TODD.

V.

Thus, mighty in her ships, stood Carthage long,
And swept the riches of the world from far ;
Yet stoop'd to Rome, less wealthy, but more
strong :
And this may prove our second Punic war. ²⁰

VI.

What peace can be, where both to one pretend ?
(But they more diligent, and we more strong)
Or if a peace, it soon must have an end ;
For they would grow too powerful were it long.

VII.

Behold two nations then, engaged so far, ²⁵
That each seven years the fit must shake each
land :

Where France will side to weaken us by war,
Who only can his vast designs withstand.

VIII.

See how he feeds th' Iberian with delays,
To render us his timely friendship vain : ³⁰
And while his secret soul on Flanders preys,
He rocks the cradle of the babe of Spain.

IX.

Such deep designs of empire does he lay
O'er them, whose cause he seems to take in
hand ;
And prudently would make them lords at sea, ³⁵
To whom with ease he can give laws by land.

X.

This saw our king ; and long within his breast
His pensive counsels balanced to and fro :
He grieved the land he freed should be oppress'd,
And he less for it than usurpers do. ⁴⁰

XI.

His generous mind the fair ideas drew
Of fame and honour, which in dangers lay ;
Where wealth, like fruit on precipices, grew,
Not to be gather'd but by birds of prey.

XII.

The loss and gain each fatally were great ; ⁴⁵
And still his subjects call'd aloud for war ;
But peaceful kings, o'er martial people set,
Each other's poise and counterbalance are.

Ver. 19. ——— *stoop'd to Rome*,] The President Hénault, after so much has been said of the Romans, has made this fine and new reflection :—"Is it not astonishing that this celebrated and extensive empire of Rome should have subsisted from the time of Romulus to that of Theodosius II.—that is to say, more than a thousand years—without ever having had a complete body of laws." Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 23. ——— *th' Iberian*] The *Spaniard*. Original edition.

XIII.

He first survey'd the charge with careful eyes,
Which none but mighty monarchs could maintain;

Yet judged, like vapours that from limbecs rise,
It would in richer showers descend again.

XIV.

At length resolved t' assert the watery ball,
He in himself did whole Armadas bring:
Him aged seamen might their master call,
And choose for general, were he not their king.

XV.

It seems as every ship their sovereign knows,
His awful summons they so soon obey;
So hear the scaly herd when Proteus blows,
And so to pasture follow through the sea.

XVI.

To see this fleet upon the ocean move,
Angels drew wide the curtains of the skies;
And heaven, as if there wanted lights above,
For tapers made two glaring comets rise.

Ver. 51. *Yet judged, like vapours that from limbecs rise,* Dryden's allusions to chemistry and chemical operations are frequent. JOHN WARREN.

Ver. 53. *At length resolved* It may be still doubted whether a naval engagement, though a magnificent object in itself, is yet a proper subject for heroic poetry. Boileau boasted to his friend and commentator Brasselette, that he was the first of modern poets who had ventured to mention gunpowder in verse; which he did in his 4th Epistle, addressed to Louis XIV., at line 121:

"De salspetre en fureur l'air s'échauffe et s'allume."

Also at line 123:

"Deja du plomb mortel."

And again in his 8th Satire, line 153; in his 4th Epistle, lines 54 and 121; and in his Ode on Namur:

"Et les bombes dans les airs."

Most undoubtedly the first time that ever bombs were introduced into lyric poetry. But the example even of Boileau will not justify the use of these images, because they do not lose that familiarity which produces disgust. As to technical terms, and sea language, the epic muse should certainly disdain to utter them. Our author has been lavish of them indeed, and sullied his piece by talking frequently like a boatswain. How can we defend such expressions as the following:—"Old oakum—calking—iron—boiling pitch—rattling mallet—chase-guns—his lee-season'd timber—seams instops—sharp-keel'd—shrouds—tarpawling." Dr. J. WARREN.

Ver. 59. *So hear the scaly herd* The first edition erroneously has *here*.

Ibid. — *when Proteus blows,*

"Cæruleus Proteus immania ponti
Armenta, et magnas pascit sub gurgite phocas."—Virg.
Original edition.

Ver. 60. *And so to pasture follow, &c.* For Proteus was the shepherd of Neptune, and hence Milton gives him a hook, Comus, v. 872.

"By the Carpathian wizard's hook."

Compare Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 395.

— "immania cujus
Armenta, et turpes pascit sub gurgite phocas." TODD.

Ver. 62. *Angels drew wide the curtains of the skies* This line seems indebted to Sir P. Sidney's *Astrophel* and Stella:

"Phœbus drew wide the curtains of the skies."
TODD.

Ver. 64. — *two glaring comets* A very improper and absurd image; as also at verse 62. Dr. J. WARREN.

Ibid. — *two glaring comets rise,* A comet was seen first on the 14th of December, 1684, which lasted almost three months; and another the 6th of April, 1685, which was visible to us fourteen days.—*Appendix to Sherburn's Translation of Manilius*, p. 211. DERBICK.

XVII.

Whether they unctuous exhalations are,
Fired by the sun, or seeming so alone:
Or each some more remote and slippery star,
Which loses footing when to mortals shown.

XVIII.

Or one, that bright companion of the sun,
Whose glorious aspect seal'd our new-born king;
And now, a round of greater years begun,
New influence from his walks of light did bring.

XIX.

Victorious York did first with famed success,
To his known valour make the Dutch give place:
Thus Heaven our monarch's fortune did confess,
Beginning conquest from his royal race.

XX.

But since it was decreed, auspicious king,
In Britain's right that thou shouldst wed the main,
Heaven, as a gage, would cast some precious thing,
And therefore doom'd that Lawson should be slain.

XXI.

Lawson amongst the foremost met his fate,
Whom sea-green Sirens from the rocks lament:
Thus as an offering for the Grecian state,
He first was kill'd who first to battle went.

XXII.

Their chief blown up in air, not waves, expired,
To which his pride presumed to give the law:
The Dutch confess'd Heaven present, and retired,
And all was Britain the wide ocean saw.

XXIII.

To nearest ports their shatter'd ships repair,
Where by our dreadful cannon they lay awed;

Ver. 69. — *that bright companion of the sun,*
Whose glorious aspect seal'd our new-born king.

A new star appeared in the open day about the time of King Charles the Second's birth; a fact which Lilly, the famous astronomer, denied, affirming it to be only the planet Venus, which may be often seen by day-light, as has been experienced by all curious people again in 1757. DERBICK.

Ver. 71. *And now, a round of greater years begun,*

"Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."—Virg.
JOHN WARREN.

Ver. 80. *And therefore doom'd, &c.* Sir John Lawson was born at Hull of but mean parentage, and bred to the sea; he was for some time employed in the merchant's service, which he left for that of the Parliament, in which he soon got a ship, and afterwards carried a flag under Monk; with him he co-operated in the restoration of the King; for which good reason he received the honour of knighthood at the Hague. He zealously supported our claim to the sovereignty of the sea, and quarrelled with De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, for being backward in acknowledging it, an accident that partly occasioned the Dutch war. In the action here celebrated, he was rear-admiral of the red, and acted immediately under his royal highness. His death was occasioned by a musket-ball, that wounded him in the knee, and he was not taken proper care of. We find him characterised honest, brave, loyal, and one of the most experienced seamen of his time. DERBICK.

Ver. 85. *Their chief* The admiral of Holland. Original edition.

So reverently men quit the open air,⁹¹
Where thunder speaks the angry gods abroad.

XXIV.

And now approach'd their fleet from India,
fraught*
With all the riches of the rising sun :
And precious sand from southern climates⁹⁶
brought,
The fatal regions where the war begun.

XXV.

Like hunted castors, conscious of their store,
Their way-laid wealth to Norway's coasts they
bring :
There first the North's cold bosom spices bore,
And winter brooded on the eastern spring.¹⁰⁰

XXVI.

By the rich scent we found our perfumed prey,
Which, flank'd with rocks, did close in covert
lie ;
And round about their murdering cannon lay,
At once to threaten and invite the eye.

XXVII.

Fiercer than cannon, and than rocks more hard,¹⁰⁵
The English undertake th' unequal war :
Seven ships alone, by which the port is barr'd,
Besiege the Indies, and all Denmark dare.

XXVIII.

These fight like husbands, but like lovers those :
These faint would keep, and those more fain
enjoy :¹¹⁰
And to such height their frantic passion grows,
That what both love, both hazard to destroy.

XXIX.

Amidst whole heaps of spices lights a ball,
And now their odours arm'd against them fly :
Some precious by shatter'd porcelain fall,¹¹⁵
And some by aromatic splinters die.

XXX.

And though by tempests of the prize bereft,
In heaven's inclemency some ease we find :
Our foes we vanquish'd by our valour left,
And only yielded to the seas and wind.¹²⁰

XXXI.

Nor wholly lost we so deserved a prey ;
For storms, repenting, part of it restored ;
Which as a tribute from the Baltic sea,
The British ocean sent her mighty lord.

XXXII.

Go, mortals, now, and vex yourselves in vain¹²⁵
For wealth, which so uncertainly must come :

Ver. 92. *So reverently men quit the open air,
Where thunder speaks, &c.]*

"The late Mr. James Ralph told Lord Macartney that he passed an evening with Dr. Young at Lord Melcombe's (then Mr. Dodington) at Hammersmith. The Doctor happening to go out into the garden, Mr. Dodington observed to him, on his return, that it was a dreadful night, as in truth it was, there being a violent storm of rain and wind. 'No, sir,' replied the Doctor, 'it is a very fine night—the Lord is abroad.'—Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. iv. p. 60. JOHN WARTON.

* The attempt at Berghen. Original edition.

Ver. 95. — southern climates] Guinea. Original edition.

When what was brought so far, and with such
pain,
Was only kept to lose it nearer home.

XXXIII.

The son, who, twice three months on th' ocean
toss'd,
Prepared to tell what he had pass'd before,¹³⁰
Now sees in English ships the Holland coast,
And parents' arms, in vain, stretch'd from the
shore.

XXXIV.

This careful husband had been long away,
Whom his chaste wife and little children
mourn ;
Who on their fingers learn'd to tell the day¹³⁵
On which their father promised to return.

XXXV.

Such are the proud designs of human-kind,
And so we suffer shipwreck everywhere !
Alas ! what port can such a pilot find,
Who in the night of fate must blindly steer !

XXXVI.

The undistinguish'd seeds of good and ill,¹⁴¹
Heaven, in his bosom, from our knowledge
hides :
And draws them in contempt of human skill,
Which oft for friends mistaken foes provides.

XXXVII.

Let Munster's prelate ever be accursed,¹⁴⁵
In whom we seek the German faith in vain :
Alas ! that he should teach the English first,
That fraud and avarice in the Church could
reign !

XXXVIII.

Happy, who never trust a stranger's will,
Whose friendship's in his interest understood !
Since money given but tempts him to be ill,¹⁵¹
When power is too remote to make him good.

Ver. 133.] Mr. Todd cites Thomson's natural and pathetic stroke :

"In vain for him th' officious wife prepares
The fire far-blazing and the vestment warm—
In vain his little children, peeping out
Into the mingling storm, demand their sire
With tears of artless innocence—alas !
Nor wife, nor children, more shall he behold ;
Nor friends nor sacred home."

— "Si sis

Omnia dixisset !"

In point of melody Dryden had in his eye Lucretius.

"At jam non dominus accipiet te letia, nec uxor
Optima, nec dulces occurrent oscula nati
Præterire, et taciti pectus dulcedine tangenti"

The latter part of the description is natural and his own.
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 137. *Such are, &c.]* From Petronius. "Si bene cal-
culum ponas, ubique fit naufragium." Original edition.

Ver. 141. *The undistinguish'd seeds of good and ill,]*

"Prudens futuri temporis, exitum
Calliginosa nocte permittit dens."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 145. *Let Munster's prelate, &c.]* The famous Ber-
nard Vaughan, Bishop of Munster, excited by Charles,
marched twenty thousand men into the province of Overys-
sell, under the dominion of the republic of Holland, where
he committed great outrages, acting rather like a captain
of banditti than the leader of an army. DENRICK.

Ver. 146. — the German faith.] Tacitus saith of
them, "Nullos mortalium fide aut armis ante Germanos
esse." Original edition.

XXXIX.

Till now, alone the mighty nations strove;
The rest, at gaze, without the lists did stand:
And threatening France, placed like a painted
Jove,
Kept idle thunder in his lifted hand.

XL.

That eunuch guardian of rich Holland's trade,
Who envies us what he wants power t' enjoy;
Whose noiseful valour does no foe invade,
And weak assistance will his friends destroy.

XLI.

Offended that we fought without his leave,
He takes this time his secret hate to show.*
Which Charles does with a mind so calm receive,
As one that neither seeks nor shuns his foe.

XLII.

With France, to aid the Dutch, the Danes
unite:
France as their tyrant, Denmark as their slave.
But when with one three nations join to fight,
They silently confess that one more brave.

XLIII.

Lewis had chased the English from his shore;
But Charles the French as subjects does in-
vite:
Would Heaven for each some Solomon restore,
Who, by their mercy, may decide their right!

XLIV.

Were subjects so but only by their choice,
And not from birth did forced dominion take,
Our prince alone would have the public voice;
And all his neighbours' realms would deserts
make.

XLV.

He without fear a dangerous war pursues,
Which without rashness he began before:
As honour made him first the danger choose,
So still he makes it good on virtue's score.

XLVI.

The doubled charge his subjects' love supplies,
Who, in that bounty, to themselves are kind:
So glad Egyptians see their Nilus rise,
And in his plenty their abundance find.

XLVII.

With equal power he does two chiefs create,†
Two such as each seem'd worthiest when
alone;
Each able to sustain a nation's fate,
Since both had found a greater in their own.

* War declared by France. Original edition.

Ver. 165. *With France, to aid*] Madame Charlotte Eliza-
beth of Bavaria says, in her memoirs, that Louis XIV.
afterwards attacked Holland with so much impetuosity
and injustice, merely from the jealousy of M. de Lionne
who urged him to this measure, against Prince William of
Furstenberg, who was in love with this minister's wife.
She adds, in another place, that Louis XIV. returned so
suddenly from his expedition against Holland, solely to
have an interview with Madame De Montespan. Dr. J.
WATSON.

† Prince Rupert and Duke of Albemarle, sent to sea.
Original edition.

XLVIII.

Both great in courage, conduct, and in fame,
Yet neither envious of the other's praise;
Their duty, faith, and interest too the same,
Like mighty partners equally they raise.

XLIX.

The prince long time had courted fortune's love,
But once possess'd did absolutely reign:
Thus with their Amazons the heroes strove,
And conquer'd first those beauties they would
gain.

L.

The duke beheld, like Scipio, with disdain,
That Carthage, which he ruin'd, rise once more;
And shook aloft the fasces of the main,
To fight those slaves with what they felt
before.

LI.

Together to the watery camp they haste,
Whom matrons passing to their children show:
Infants' first vows for them to heaven are cast,
And future people bless them as they go.

LII.

With them no riotous pomp, nor Asian train,
T' infect a navy with their gawdy fears;
To make slow fights, and victories but vain:
But war, severely, like itself, appears.

LIII.

Diffusive of themselves, where'er they pass,
They make that warmth in others they expect;
Their valour works like bodies on a glass,
And does its image on their men project.

LIV.

Our fleet divides, and straight the Dutch appear,
In number, and a famed commander, bold:
The narrow seas can scarce their navy bear,
Or crowded vessels can their soldiers hold.

LV.

The Duke, less numerous, but in courage more,
On wings of all the winds to combat flies:*
His murdering guns a loud defiance roar,
And bloody crosses on his flag-staffs rise.

LVI.

Both furl their sails, and strip them for the fight;
Their folded sheets dismiss the useless air
Th' Elean plains could boast no nobler fight.
When struggling champions did their bodies
bare.

LVII.

Borne each by other in a distant line,
The sea-built forts in dreadful order move:
So vast the noise, as if not fleets did join,
But lands unfix'd, and floating nations strove.

Ver. 204. — *future people*] "*Examina infantium
futurusque populus.*" Plin. Jun. in Pan. ad Traj. Origina
edition.

Ver. 205. *With them no riotous pomp.*] Dryden follows
his great master, Milton, in making *riotous* only two syl-
lables.—Again, in stanza 59, *elephant* is contracted in like
manner. Other examples of this kind occur. TOND.

* Duke of Albemarle's battle, first day. Original edition
Ver. 228. *Th' Elean, &c.*] Where the Olympic games
were celebrated. Original edition.

Ver. 228. — *lands unfix'd.*] From Virgil:
"— Credas innare revulsas
Cycladas," &c. Original edition

LVIII.

Now pass'd, on either side they nimbly tack;
Both strive to intercept and guide the wind:
And, in its eye, more closely they come back, ²³¹
To finish all the deaths they left behind.

LIX.

On high-raised decks the haughty Belgians ride,
Beneath whose shade our humble frigates go:
Such port the elephant bears, and so defied ²³⁵
By the rhinoceros her unequal foe.

LX.

And as the built, so different is the fight;
Their mounting shot is on our sails design'd:
Deep in their hulls our deadly bullets light,
And through the yielding planks a passage ²⁴⁰
find.

LXI.

Our dreaded admiral from far they threat,
Whose batter'd rigging their whole war re-
ceives:
All bare, like some old oak which tempests beat,
He stands and sees below his scatter'd leaves.

LXII.

Heroes of old, when wounded, shelter sought; ²⁴⁵
But he, who meets all danger with disdain,
Ev'n in their face his ship to anchor brought,
And steeple-high stood propt upon the main.

LXIII.

At this excess of courage, all amazed,
The foremost of his foes awhile withdraw: ²⁵⁰
With such respect in enter'd Rome they gazed,
Who on high chairs the god-like fathers saw.

LXIV.

And now, as where Patroclus' body lay,
Here Trojan chiefs advanced, and there the
Greek;
Ours o'er the Duke their pious wings display, ²⁵⁵
And theirs the noblest spoils of Britain seek.

Ver. 236. *By the rhinoceros, &c.*] The enmity between the elephant and rhinoceros is thus described in Franzius's *Historia Animalium*, &c. 12mo. Amst. 1665, p. 83.—*"Naturale est odium inter Elephantum et Rhinocerotem, ita ut invicem certent, et quidem in ipsa pugna rhinoceros unice dat operam, ut alvum Elephanti tanquam partem molliorem petat, sicut etiam tandem vincit Elephantum, contra quem suo cornu, quod in nari habet, audacissime pugnat. Tergum etiam habet scutulatum, et quasi variis clypeis munitum, unde etiam testumari potest fortitudo hujus bestie. Hec bellus paulo humilior est Elephantus, et altitudinem spectat," &c.* Thus we see the propriety of Dryden's simile—*her unequal foe, &c.* TODD.

Ver. 243. *All bare, like some old oak which tempests beat, He stands, and sees below his scatter'd leaves.*]

This is Virgil's simile compressed, Lib. iv. 441.

*"Ac velut annoso validam cum robore quereum
Alpini Boreæ, nunc him, nunc flatibus illinc,
Eruiere inter se certant; it stridor, et altæ
Consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes:
Ipsa heret scopulis."* JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 255. *Ours o'er the Duke*] Waller wrote a long poem on the victory obtained over the Dutch by the Duke of York, June 3, 1665, in imitation of a poem of Francesco Busenello, addressed to Pietro Liberti, instructing him to paint the famous sea-fight between the Turks and Venetians, near the Dardanelles, in the year 1666. The Duke of York urged the necessity of this war, not only because, as well as his brother, he hated the Dutch, but also because he wished for an opportunity of signalling him as an Admiral, as he well understood sea affairs. Clarendon and Southampton constantly opposed this war. The Dutch admiral's ship blew up just as he was closely engaged. DR. J. WATSON.

LXV.

Meantime his busy mariners he hastes,
His shatter'd sails with rigging to restore;
And willing pines ascend his broken masts,
Whose lofty heads rise higher than before. ²⁶⁰

LXVI.

Straight to the Dutch he turns his dreadful prow,
More fierce th' important quarrel to decide:
Like swans, in long array his vessels show,
Whose crests advancing do the waves divide.

LXVII.

They charge, recharge, and all along the sea ²⁶⁵
They drive, and squander the huge Belgian
fleet.

Berkley alone, who nearest danger lay,
Did a like fate with lost Cræusa meet.

LXVIII.

The night comes on, we eager to pursue ²⁷⁰
The combat still, and they ashamed to leave:
Till the last streaks of dying day withdrew,
And doubtful moon-light did our rage deceive.

LXIX.

In th' English fleet each ship resounds with joy
And loud applause of their great leader's fame:
In fiery dreams the Dutch they still destroy, ²⁷⁵
And, slumbering, smile at the imagined flame.

LXX.

Not so the Holland fleet, who, tired and done,
Stretch'd on their decks like weary oxen lie:
Faint sweats all down their mighty members run;
Vast bulks which little souls but ill supply. ²⁸⁰

LXXI.

In dreams they fearful precipices tread:
Or, shipwreck'd, labour to some distant shore:
Or in dark churches walk among the dead;
They wake with horror, and dare sleep no more.

LXXII.

The morn they look on with unwilling eyes, ²⁸⁵
Till from their main-top joyful news they hear

Ver. 267. *Berkley alone, &c.*] Among other remarkable passages in this engagement, the undaunted resolution of Vice-Admiral Berkley was particularly admired. He had many men killed on board him, and though no longer able to make resistance, yet would obstinately continue the fight, refusing quarter to the last. Being at length shot in the throat with a musket-ball, he retired to his cabin, where, stretching himself on a great table, he expired; and in that posture did the enemy, who afterwards took the ship, find the body covered with blood. DERRICK.

Ver. 269. *The night comes on.*] The four next stanzas are worth the reader's particular attention; and the contrast betwixt the feelings of the triumphant English and conquered Dutch strongly supported. The dreams in the 71st stanza are painted with true poetic energy and much propriety. DR. J. WATSON.

Ver. 280. *Vast bulks which little souls but ill supply.*] So Milton, in the spirited speech which he gives to Samson, as an answer to the cowardly language of the giant Harapha, *Sam. Agon.* ver. 1237.

"Go, baffled coward! lest I run upon thee.

*Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,
And with one buffet lay thy structure low,"* &c. TODD.

Ver. 281. *In dreams, &c.*] Probably alluding to Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 465.

"Agit ipse furentem

*In somnis ferus Æneas: semperque relinquit
Sola ubi, semper longam incoinitata videtur
Ire viam,"* &c. TODD.

* Second day's battle. Original edition.

Of ships, which by their mould bring new supplies,
And in their colours Belgian lions bear.

LXXXIII.

Our watchful general had discern'd from far
This mighty succour, which made glad the foe :
He sigh'd, but, like a father of the war,
His face spake hope, while deep his sorrows flow.

LXXXIV.

His wounded men he first sends off to shore,
Never, till now, unwilling to obey :
They not their wounds, but want of strength deplore,
And think them happy who with him can stay.

LXXXV.

Then to the rest, "Rejoice," said he, "to-day ;
In you the fortune of Great Britain lies :
Among so brave a people, you are they
Whom Heaven has chose to fight for such a prize.

LXXXVI.

If number English courages could quell,
We should at first have shunn'd, not met our foes :

Whose numerous sails the fearful only tell :
Courage from hearts, and not from numbers, grows."

LXXXVII.

He said, nor needed more to say : with haste
To their known stations cheerfully they go ;
And all at once, disdaining to be last,
Solicit every gale to meet the foe.

LXXXVIII.

Nor did th' encouraged Belgians long delay,
But bold in others, not themselves, they stood :
So thick, our navy scarce could steer their way,
But seem'd to wander in a moving wood.

LXXXIX.

Our little fleet was now engaged so far,
That, like the sword-fish in the whale, they fought :
The combat only seem'd a civil war,
Till through their bowels we our passage wrought.

LXXX.

Never had valour, nor not ours, before
Done ought like this upon the land or main,
Where not to be o'ercome was to do more
Than all the conquests former kings did gain.

LXXXI.

The mighty ghosts of our great Harries rose,
And armed Edwards look'd with anxious eyes,
To see this fleet among unequal foes,
By which fate promised them their Charles should rise.

Ver. 292. *His face, &c.*] "*Spem vultu simulat, præmit alto corde dolorem.*"—Virg. Original edition.

Ver. 312. *But seem'd to wander in a moving wood.*] Pindar, speaking of the many noble buildings with which Camarina had been embellished and enriched, uses a noble figure *εὐκλείας δαδύμων ἐνδύοντος ἄλσος*. A lofty forest of solid edifices. Pindar. Olymp. Od. 5th. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 321. *The mighty ghosts*] This is finely imagined. Dr. J. WARTON.

LXXXII.

Meantime the Belgians tack upon our rear,
And raking chase-guns through our sterns they send :

Close by, their fire-ships, like jackals, appear,
Who on their lions for the prey attend.

LXXXIII.

Silent in smoke of cannon they come on :
Such vapours once did fiery Cacus hide :
In these the height of pleased revenge is shown,
Who burn contented by another's side.

LXXXIV.

Sometimes from fighting squadrons of each fleet,
Deceived themselves, or to preserve some friend,

Two grappling Ætnas on the ocean meet,
And English fires with Belgian flames contend.

LXXXV.

Now, at each tack, our little fleet grows less ;
And, like main'd fowl, swim lagging on the main ;
Their greater loss their numbers scarce confess,
While they lose cheaper than the English gain.

LXXXVI.

Have you not seen, when, whistled from the fist,
Some falcon stoops at what her eye design'd,
And, with her eagerness the quarry miss'd,
Straight flies at check, and clips it down the wind ?

LXXXVII.

The dastard crow that to the wood made wing,
And sees the groves no shelter can afford,
With her loud caws her craven kind does bring,
Who, safe in numbers, cuff the noble bird.

LXXXVIII.

Among the Dutch thus Albemarle did fare :
He could not conquer, and disdain'd to fly ;
Past hope of safety, 'twas his latest care,
Like falling Cæsar, decently to die.

LXXXIX.

Yet pity did his manly spirit move,
To see those perish who so well had fought ;
And generously with his despair he strove,
Resolved to live till he their safety wrought.

XC.

Let other muses write his prosperous fate,
Of conquer'd nations tell, and kings restored :
But mine shall sing of his eclipsed estate,
Which, like the sun's, more wonders does afford.

XCI.

He drew his mighty frigates all before,
On which the foe his fruitless force employs :
His weak ones deep into his rear he bore
Remote from guns, as sick men from the noise.

XCII.

His fiery cannon did their passage guide,
And following smoke obscured them from the foe ;

Ver. 351. *Past hope of safety, 'twas his latest care, Like falling Cæsar, decently to die.*]

"Tunc quoque jam moriens, ne non proculat honestè Respicit; hæc etiam cura cadentis erat."—Ovid.

JOHN WARTON

Thus Israel safe from the Egyptian's pride,
By flaming pillars, and by clouds, did go.

XCIII.

Elsewhere the Belgian force we did defeat,
But here our courages did theirs subdue :
So Xenophon once led that famed retreat,
Which first the Asian empire overthrew.

XCIV.

The foe approach'd, and one for his bold sin
Was sunk ; as he that touch'd the ark was slain :
The wild waves master'd him and suck'd him in,
And smiling eddies dimpled on the main.

XCV.

This seen, the rest at awful distance stood :
As if they had been there as servants set
To stay, or to go on, as he thought good,
And not pursue but wait on his retreat.

XCVI.

So Libyan huntsmen, on some sandy plain,
From shady coverts roused, the lion chase :
The kingly beast roars out with loud disdain,
And slowly moves, unknowing to give place.

XCVII.

But if some one approach to dare his force,
He swings his tail, and swiftly turns him round ;
With one paw seizes on his trembling horse,
And with the other tears him to the ground.

XCVIII.

Amidst these toils succeeds the balmy night ;
Now hissing waters the quench'd guns restore ;
And weary waves, withdrawing from the fight,
Lie lull'd and panting on the silent shore.

XCIX.

The moon shone clear on the becalmed flood,
Where while her beams like glittering silver
play,
Upon the deck our careful general stood,
And deeply mused on the succeeding day.

Ver. 381. *So Libyan huntsmen,*] This simile is finely expressed, and with new and characteristic incidents, varying from the many similes of the kind in Homer and Virgil. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 384. *And slowly moves,*] The simile is Virgil's :
"— *Vestigia retro
Impropinata referit,*" &c. Orig. edit.

Ibid — *unknowing to give place.*] Horace's *Cedere* necesse, Ode 6, lib. 1, l. 6. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 386. *He swings his tail,*] The metre of this line, perhaps, introduced *swinges* instead of the more emphatic word *swinges*, applied to a lion enraged by Chapman, in his *Cæs. and Pompey*, 1607.

"And then his sides he *swindges* with his *sterne*."
And by Sylvester, *Du Bart.* p. 205, 4to. edit.

"Then often *swindging* with his sinewy traine," &c.
Milton, in a line of admirable effect, has applied the word to the old dragon, who,

"Wroth to see his kingdom fall,
Swindges the scaly horror of his folded tail."
Ode Nativ. st. 18.

Waller also describes the "tail's impetuous *swinge*" of the whale, *Batt. Summ.* Isl. c. iii. TODD.

Ver. 391. — *weary waves,*] From Statius *Sylis*.
"Nec trucibus fluvius idem sonus : occidit horror
Æquoris, antennis maria acclinata quiescent."
Original edition.

Ver. 396. — *succeeding day.*] The 3rd of June, famous for two former victories. Original edition.

C.

"That happy sun," said he, "will rise again,
Who twice victorious did our navy see :
And I alone must view him rise in vain,
Without one ray of all his star for me.

CI.

"Yet like an English general will I die,
And all the ocean make my spacious grave :
Women and cowards on the land may lie,
The sea's a tomb that's proper for the brave."

CII.

Restless he pass'd the remnants of the night,
Till the fresh air proclaim'd the morning nigh :
And burning ships, the martyrs of the fight,
With paler fires beheld the eastern sky.

CIII.

But now, his stores of ammunition spent,*
His naked valour is his only guard,
Rare thunders are from his dumb cannon sent,
And solitary guns are scarcely heard.

CIV.

Thus far had fortune power, here forced to stay,
Nor longer durst with virtue be at strife ;
This, as a ransom, Albemarle did pay
For all the glories of so great a life.

CV.

For now brave Rupert from afar appears,
Whose waving streamers the glad general knows :
With full-spread sails his eager navy steers,
And every ship in swift proportion grows.

CVI.

The anxious prince had heard the cannon long,
And from that length of time dire omens drew
Of English overmatch'd, and Dutch too strong,
Who never fought three days, but to pursue.

CVII.

Then, as an eagle, who, with pious care,
Was beating widely on the wing for prey,
To her now silent eyrie does repair,
And finds her callow infants forced away :

Ver. 401. *Yet like an English general will I die,
And all the ocean make my spacious grave :
Women and cowards on the land may lie,
The sea's a tomb that's proper for the brave.*]

This speech contains nearly the same words that the Duke of Albemarle spoke in a council the evening before the battle, in which he fought with amazing intrepidity, and all that determined resignation here implied. DERRICK

Ver. 405. — *the remnants of the night,*] Original edition. Derrick, remnant. TODD.

* Third day. Original edition.

Ver. 413. — *here forced to stay.*] Original edition This is certainly right; and Derrick's reading is wrong "he forced," &c. TODD.

Ver. 417

*For now brave Rupert from afar appears,
Whose waving streamers the glad general knows :
With full-spread sails his eager navy steers,
And every ship in swift proportion grows.*]

This last line gives us a picturesque and lively representation of a fleet approaching us, and gradually increasing in size and height.

Milton, of a distant fleet, says finely :

"As when far off at sea a fleet descried,
Hangs in the clouds, —" B. ii. 636.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 425. *Then, as an eagle,*] Another simile, worthy of our author, as also 440. Dr. J. WARTON.

CVIII.

Stung with her love, she stoops upon the plain,
The broken air loud whistling as she flies :⁴³⁰
She stops and listens, and shoots forth again,
And guides her pinions by her young ones' cries.

CIX.

With such kind passion hastes the prince to fight,
And spreads his flying canvas to the sound;
Him, whom no danger, were he there, could
fright,⁴³⁵
Now, absent, every little noise can wound.

CX.

As in a drought the thirsty creatures cry,
And gape upon the gather'd clouds for rain :
And first the martlet meets it in the sky,
And with wet wings joys all the feather'd
train.⁴⁴⁰

CXI.

With such glad hearts did our despairing men
Salute th' appearance of the prince's fleet :
And each ambitiously would claim the ken,
That with first eyes did distant safety meet.

CXII.

The Dutch, who came like greedy hinds before,⁴⁴⁵
To reap the harvest their ripe ears did yield :
Now look like those, when rolling thunders roar,
And sheets of lightning blast the standing field.

CXIII.

Full in the prince's passage, hills of sand
And dangerous flats in secret ambush lay,⁴⁵⁰
Where the false tides skim o'er the cover'd land,
And seamen with dissembled depths betray.

*Ibid. Then, as an eagle, who, with pious care,
Was beating widely on the wing for prey,
To her now silent eye it does repair,
And finds her callow infants forced away :
Stung with her love, she stoops upon the plain,
The broken air loud whistling as she flies :
She stops and listens, and shoots forth again,
And guides her pinions by her young ones' cries.]*

The expression, "to her now silent eye," reminds us of that pathetic stroke in Antipater's Greek epigram :

Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ μνηστὴρ κἀνταῦς πᾶς καλίστη.

As do the lines—

"She stops, she listens, and shoots forth again,
And guides her pinions by her young ones' cries"

of that description in Lucretius—

"At mater, virides saltus orbata peragrans,
Inquit humi pedibus vestigia pressa bisulcis,
Omnia convulsens oculis loca, si queat usquam
Conspectare antissimum festum : completique querelis
Fronddiferum nemus, assistens, et crebra revisit
Ad stabulum, desiderio perfixa juvenci."

Then follows a thought inexpressibly tender, yet never noticed when this passage is cited :

"Nec vitulorum alie species per pabula leta
Derivare queunt animum curaque levare :
Usque adeo quiddam proprium notuque requirit"

JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 435. *Him, whom no danger, were he there, could fright,
Now, absent, every little noise can wound.]*

"Et me quem dudum non ulla injecta movebant
Tela, neque adverso glomerati ex agmine Graii
Nunc omnes terrent aræ : sonus excitat omnis
Suspensum, et pariter comitque onerique iactem."

JOHN WATSON.

CXIV.

The wily Dutch, who, like fall'n angels, fear'd
This new Messiah's coming, there did wait,
And round the verge their braving vessels steer'd,
To tempt his courage with so fair a bait.⁴⁵⁶

CXV.

But he, unmoved, contemns their idle threat,
Secure of fame whene'er he please to fight :
His cold experience tempers all his heat,
And inbred worth does boasting valour slight.⁴⁶⁶

CXVI.

Heroic virtue did his actions guide,
And he the substance not th' appearance chose :
To rescue one such friend he took more pride,
Than to destroy whole thousands of such foes.

CXVII.

But when approach'd, in strict embraces bound,⁴⁶⁵
Rupert and Albemarle together grow ;
He joys to have his friend in safety found,
Which he to none but to that friend would owe.

CXVIII.

The cheerful soldiers, with new stores supplied,
Now long to execute their spleenful will ;⁴⁷¹
And, in revenge for those three days they tried,
Wish one, like Joshua's, when the sun stood
still.

CXIX.

Thus reinforced, against the adverse fleet,*
Still doubling ours, brave Rupert leads the way :
With the first blushes of the morn they meet,⁴⁷⁵
And bring night back upon the new-born day.

CXX.

His presence soon blows up the kindling fight,
And his loud guns speak thick like angry men.
It seem'd as slaughter had been breathed all night,
And death new pointed his dull dart again.⁴⁸¹

CXXI.

The Dutch too well his mighty conduct knew,
And matchless courage, since the former fight.
Whose navy like a stiff-stretch'd cord did show,
Till he bore in and bent them into flight.

CXXII.

The wind he shares, while half their fleet offends⁴⁸⁵
His open side, and high above him shows :
Upon the rest at pleasure he descends,
And, doubly harm'd, he double harms bestows.

CXXIII.

Behind, the general mends his weary pace,
And sullenly to his revenge he sails :⁴⁹⁰
So glides some trodden serpent on the grass,
And long behind his wounded volume trails.

Ver 454. — new Messiah's] Surely very profane
Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 460. — worth does boasting valour slight.] Original edition. Derrick puts "deth." Todd.

* Fourth day's battle. Original edition.

Ver. 481. *So glides, &c.]* From Virgil :

"Quum mediū nexūs extremæque agmina caudæ
Solventur, tardosque trahit sinus ultimus orbes."

Original edition.

*Ibid. So glides some trodden serpent on the grass,
And long behind his wounded volume trails.]*

In the fifth book of the Æneid, line 273, the application is precisely the same :

"Qualis sepe vis depressus in aggere serpens,
Ærea quem obliquum rota transit : aut gravis lecta

CXXIV.

Th' increasing sound is borne to either shore,
And for their stakes the throwing nations fear :
Their passions double with the cannons' roar, ⁴⁹⁵
And with warm wishes each man combats there.

CXXV.

Plied thick and close as when the fight begun,
Their huge unwieldy navy wastes away ;
So sick'n' waning moons too near the sun,
And blunt their crescents on the edge of day. ⁵⁰⁰

CXXVI.

And now reduced on equal terms to fight,
Their ships like wasted patrimonies show ;
Where the thin scattering trees admit the light,
And shun each other's shadows as they grow.

CXXVII.

The warlike prince had sever'd from the rest ⁵⁰⁵
Two giant ships, the pride of all the main ;
Which with his one so vigorously he press'd,
And flew so home they could not rise again.

CXXVIII.

Already batter'd, by his lee they lay,
In vain upon the passing winds they call : ⁵¹⁰
The passing winds through their torn canvas play,
And flagging sails on heartless sailors fall.

CXXIX.

Their open'd sides receive a gloomy light,
Dreadful as day let in to shades below ;
Without, grim death rides barefaced in their
sight, ⁵¹⁵
And urges entering billows as they flow.

CXXX.

When one dire shot, the last they could supply,
Close by the board the prince's main-mast bore :
All three now helpless by each other lie,
And this offends not, and those fear no more.

CXXXI.

So have I seen some fearful hare maintain ⁵²¹
A course, till tired before the dog she lay :
Who, stretch'd behind her, pants upon the plain,
Past power to kill, as she to get away.

CXXXII.

With his loll'd tongue he faintly licks his prey ; ⁵²⁵
His warm breath blows her flix up as she lies ;
She, trembling, creeps upon the ground away,
And looks back to him with beseeching eyes.

Seminecū hūit saxo lacerumque viator ;
Nēquicquam longos fugiens dat corpore tortus
Parte ferox, ardensque oculis ; et sibilā colla
Ardūm attollens ; pars vulnera clauda retentat
Nexantem nodis seque in sua membra plicantem :
Tail remigio navis se tarda movebat."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 495. *Their passions double*] The original edition incorrectly has *passion*. Todd.

Ver. 501. — *on equal terms*] The President *Henault* has observed, from *Madame de Sevigne*, that since the battle of Actium, no sea-fight has ever been decisive, or produced any important consequences. Is this an observation well founded? Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 513. *Their open'd sides received a gloomy light, Dreadful as day let into shades below :*

" — *trepidantque immisso lumine Manes.*"

An allusion to Virgil. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 514. — *as day let in to shades*] Original edition. This again is right, and Derrick's "let into" should, I think, be discarded. Todd

CXXXIII.

The prince unjustly does his stars accuse,
Which hinder'd him to push his fortune on ; ⁵³⁰
For what they to his courage did refuse,
By mortal valour never must be done.

CXXXIV.

This lucky hour the wise Batavian takes,
And warns his tatter'd fleet to follow home :
Proud to have so got off with equal stakes, ⁵³⁵
Where 'twas a triumph not to be o'ercome.

CXXXV.

The general's force, as kept alive by fight,
Now, not opposed, no longer can pursue :
Lasting till Heaven had done his courage right ;
When he had conquer'd he his weakness knew.

CXXXVI.

He casts a frown on the departing foe, ⁵⁴¹
And sighs to see him quit the watery field ;
His stern fix'd eyes no satisfaction show,
For all the glories which the fight did yield.

CXXXVII.

Though, as when fiends did miracles avow, ⁵⁴⁵
He stands confess'd ev'n by the boastful Dutch :
He only does his conquest disavow,
And thinks too little what they found too much.

CXXXVIII.

Return'd, he with the fleet resolved to stay ;
No tender thoughts of home his heart divide ;
Domestic joys and cares he puts away ; ⁵⁵¹
For realms are households which the great must guide.

CXXXIX.

As those who unripe veins in mines explore,
On the rich bed again the warm turf lay,
Till time digests the yet imperfect ore, ⁵⁵⁵
And know it will be gold another day :

CXL.

So looks our monarch on this early fight,
Th' essay and rudiments of great success :
Which all-maturing time must bring to light,
While he, like Heaven, does each day's labour bless. ⁵⁶⁰

CXLI.

Heaven ended not the first or second day,
Yet each was perfect to the work design'd :
God and kings work, when they their work survey,
And passive aptness in all subjects find.

CXLII.

In burden'd vessels first, with speedy care, ⁵⁶⁵
His plenteous stores do season'd timber send :
Thither the brawny carpenters repair,
And as the surgeons of maim'd ships attend.

Ver. 533. — *a triumph not to be o'ercome.*] From Horace:

" — quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus." Original edition.

Ver. 538.] The expression is Virgil's:

" Primitivæ juvenis misera, bellique propinqui
Dura rudimenta." JOHN WARTON.

* His majesty repairs the fleet. Original edition.

CLXIII.
With cord and canvas from rich Hamburg sent,
His navy's moulted wings he imps once more ;
Tall Norway fir, their masts in battle spent, 571
And English oak, sprung leaks and planks,
restore.

CLXIV.
All hands employ'd, the royal work grows warm :
Like labouring bees on a long summer's day,
Some sound the trumpet for the rest to swarm,
And some on bells of tasted lilies play. 575

CLXV.
With gluey wax some new foundation lay
Of virgin combs, which from the roof are hung :
Some arm'd within doors upon duty stay,
Or tend the sick, or educate the young. 580

CLXVI.
So here some pick out bullets from the sides,
Some drive old oakum through each seam and
rift :

Their left hand does the calking-iron guide,
The rattling mallet with the right they lift.

CLXVII.
With boiling pitch another near at hand, 585
From friendly Sweden brought, the seams
instops :

Which well paid o'er, the salt sea-waves withstand,
And shakes them from the rising beak in drops.

CLXVIII.
Some the gall'd ropes with dawby marling bind,
Or cere-cloth masts with strong tarpawling 590
coats :

To try new shrouds one mounts into the wind,
And one, below, their ease or stiffness notes.

CLXIX.
Our careful monarch stands in person by,
His new-cast cannons' firmness to explore :
The strength of big-corn'd powder loves to try, 595
And ball and cartrage sorts for every bore.

CL.
Each day brings fresh supplies of arms and men,
And ships which all last winter were abroad ;
And such as fitted since the fight had been,
Or new from stocks were fal'n into the road. 600

CLL.
The goodly London* in her gallant trim,
(The phoenix daughter of the vanish'd old,)

Ver. 570. — *wings he imps*] See Mr. Warton's note on Milton's 15th *Sonnet*, "to *imp* their serpent-wings;" where he observes that the expression occurs in poets much later than Milton. The latest, whom I have hitherto found using this old poetical expression, is Shadwell, by whom it is employed towards the end of his *Isabella*. Todd.

Ver. 573. *All hands*] This is a very elegant stanza. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ibid. — *the royal work grows warm* :] "Fervet opus;" the same similitude in Virgil. Original edition.

Ver. 577. — *some new foundation lay*] Original edition. Derrick, *Foundations*. Todd.

Ver. 589. — *with dawby marling*] Original edition. Derrick, *marlins*. Todd.

Ver. 596. — *ball and cartrage*] Original edition. Derrick, *cartrigs*. Todd.

* *Loyal London* described. Original edition.

Ver. 601. The goodly London in her gallant trim,] Gray has evidently copied this passage in *The Bard*, ver. 73.

"In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes." Todd.

Ver. 602. Derrick's reading and pointing of the second line of this stanza are absurd. He gives,
The Phoenix, daughter of the vanish'd old,
might incline some readers to imagine another

Like a rich bride does to the ocean swim,
And on her shadow rides in floating gold.

CLII.
Her flag aloft spread ruffling to the wind, 605
And sanguine streamers seem the flood to fire.
The weaver, charm'd with what his loom design'd,
Goes on to sea, and knows not to retire.

CLIII.
With roomy decks, her guns of mighty strength,
Whose low-land mouths each mounting billow 610
laves :

Deep in her draught, and warlike in her length,
She seems a sea-wasp flying on the waves.

CLIV.
This martial present, piously design'd,
The loyal city give their best-loved king :
And, with a bounty ample as the wind, 615
Built, fitted, and maintain'd, to aid him bring.

CLV.
By viewing nature, nature's handmaid, art
Makes mighty things from small beginnings grow ;
Thus fishes first to shipping did impart,
Their tail the rudder, and their head the prow.

CLVI.
Some leg perhaps upon the waters swam, 620
An useless drift, which rudely cut within,
And, hollow'd, first a floating trough became,
And 'cross some rivulet passage did begin.

CLVII.
In shipping such as this, the Irish kern, 625
And untaught Indian, on the stream did glide :
Ere sharp-keel'd boats to stem the flood did learn,
Or fin-like cars did spread from either side.

CLVIII.
Add but a sail, and Saturn so appear'd,
When from lost empire he to exile went, 630
And with the golden age to Tyber steer'd,
Where coin and first commerce he did invent.

CLIX.
Rude as their ships was navigation then ;
No useful compass or meridian known ;
Coasting, they kept the land within their ken, 635
And knew no North but when the Pole-star
shone.

CLX.
Of all who since have used the open sea,
Than the bold English none more fame have won :
Beyond the year, and out of heaven's high way,
They make discoveries where they see no sun.

ship here intended, especially as there is a comma after Phoenix, and no parenthesis, as in the original edition. Read and point thus, for the whole belongs to the London :

The goodly London in her gallant trim,
(The phoenix daughter of the vanish'd old,)
Like a rich bride, &c. &c. Todd.

Ver. 625. — the Irish kern,] Derrick says, that kern signifies a clown or peasant, and that in Spenser it is used for a foot-soldier. He should have added, that Spenser, in his *View of the state of Ireland*, has given a very minute description of the kern, "whom only" he says, "I take to be the proper Irish soldier;" &c. Todd.

Ver. 632. — coin and first commerce, &c.] Edit. 1667. I prefer this to Derrick's unauthorised *commerce first*, which I suppose he adopted for the sake of the more musical accent on the first syllable of *commerce*; forgetting, however, that "quick commerce" occurs in stanza 163, where he could not change the position of the word. Todd.

Ver. 639. *Beyond the year, and out of heaven's high way,]*
"Extra anni, solisque vias."—Virg.

Original edition

CCXVI.

Whoe'er would English monuments survey,
In other records may our courage know:
But let them hide the story of this day,
Whose fame was blemish'd by too base a foe.

CCXVII.

Or if too busily they will enquire 781
Into a victory, which we disdain;
Then let them know, the Belgians did retire
Before the patron saint of injured Spain.

CCXVIII.

Repenting England this revengeful day 785
To Philip's manes did an offering bring:
England, which first, by leading them astray,
Hatch'd up rebellion to destroy her king.

CCXIX.

Our fathers bent their baneful industry, 800
To check a monarchy that slowly grew;
But did not France or Holland's fate foresee,
Whose rising power to swift dominion flew.

CC.

In fortune's empire blindly thus we go, 804
And wander after pathless destiny;
Whose dark resorts since prudence cannot know,
In vain it would provide for what shall be.

CC.

But whate'er English to the blest shall go,
And the fourth Harry or first Orange meet;
Find him disowning of a Bourbon foe,
And him detesting a Batavian fleet. 810

CCII.

Now on their coasts our conquering navy rides,
Waylays their merchants, and their land besets;
Each day new wealth without their care provides;
They lie asleep with prizes in their nets.

CCIII.

So, close behind some promontory lie 815
The huge leviathans to attend their prey;
And give no chase, but swallow in the fry,
Which through their gaping jaws mistake the way.

Ver. 784. — *patron saint*] St. James, on whose day this victory was gained. Orig. ed.

Ibid. — *the Belgians did retire*
Before the patron saint of injured Spain.

This victory was completed on the twenty-fifth day of July, a day sacred to St. James the Great, patron of Spain, which nation our author calls "injured," inasmuch as the Hollanders had rebelled against King Philip II., being aided by Queen Elizabeth; and the next stanza refers to this transaction, for which the poet supposes us now to have atoned. The monarchy mentioned in the 199th stanza is Spain, with which Queen Elizabeth had been long at variance, when, in our author's opinion, we overlooked the growing power of France and Holland, which merited much more our attention. DERRICK.

Ver. 795. *Repining England*] Repent? What, of one of the most glorious and meritorious actions that Queen Elizabeth was ever engaged in, assisting the oppressed Hollanders against the execrable tyranny of Philip II.? I could wish to forget that our poet ever wrote lines of such an abject spirit, and so unworthy of a true Englishman. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 798. — *Philip's manes*] Philip II., of Spain, against whom the Hollanders rebelling, were aided by Queen Elizabeth. Orig. ed.

Ver. 815. *So, close behind*] This poem is overloaded with similes. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ibid. "Purpureus, late qui splendeat unus et alter
Assutur pannus." JOHN WARTON.

CCIV.*

Nor was this all; in ports and roads remote,
Destructive fires among whole fleets we send;
Triumphant flames upon the water float, 821
And out-bound ships at home their voyage end.

CCV.

Those various squadrons, variously design'd,
Each vessel freighted with a several load, 825
Each squadron waiting for a several wind,
All find but one, to burn them in the road.

CCVI.

Some bound for Guinea, golden sand to find,
Bore all the gawds the simple natives wear:
Some, for the pride of Turkish courts design'd,
For folded turbans finest Holland bear. 830

CCVII.

Some English wool, vex'd in a Belgian loom,
And into cloth of spongy softness made,
Did into France or colder Denmark doom,
To ruin with worse ware our staple trade.

CCVIII.

Our greedy seamen rummage every hold, 835
Smile on the booty of each wealthier chest;
And, as the priests who with their gods make bold,
Take what they like, and sacrifice the rest.

CCIX.†

But ah! how insincere are all our joys!
Which sent from heaven, like lightning make
no stay: 840
Their palling taste the journey's length destroys,
Or grief, sent post, o'ertakes them on the way.

CCX.

Swell'd with our late successes on the foe,
Which France and Holland wanted power to
cross,
We urge an unseen fate to lay us low, 845
And feed their envious eyes with English loss.

* Burning of the fleet in the *Fly*, by Sir Robert Holmes. Orig. ed.

Ver. 828. — *the gawds*] Toys, baubles. So in Shakespeare's *Mid. Night's Dream*, A. i. S. i.

"And stolen the impression of her fantasy
With bracelets of thy hair, rings, gawds, conceits," &c
Where see Mr. Steeven's note. TODD.

Ver. 830. — *folded turbans*] Orig. ed. Derrick reads, *turbans*. TODD.

† *Transitum* to the fire of London. Orig. ed.

Ver. 839. *But ah! how insincere*] Here he enters on the other part of his subject, the dreadful fire in London. Though the conflagration of a great city, with all its concomitant circumstances of distress, is one of the most striking objects imaginable for a great poet to describe, (witness the second, perhaps, most beautiful book of the *Æneid*), yet how lamentably has Dryden failed in raising any interest or emotion in the minds of the reader. And being unwilling to pass a censure, as I have thought myself obliged to do frequently, I shall adopt the words of a celebrated critic, who says, the "poet watches the flame coolly from street to street, with now a reflection and now a simile, till at last he meets the king, for whom he makes a speech, rather tedious in a time so busy; and then follows again the progress of the fire." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 842. *Or grief, sent post, &c.*] It is the same sentiment in Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, ver. 1538.

"For evil news rides post, while good news bates."
Milton's, however, is the closer imitation of Statius, as I have elsewhere observed:

"Spargitur in turmas solito pernicio index
Cum lugenda refert." TODD.

CXI.

Each element his dread command obeys,
Who makes or ruins with a smile or frown;
Who, as by one he did our nation raise,
So now he with another pulls us down. 850

CCXII.

Yet, London, empress of the northern clime,
By an high fate thou greatly didst expire;
Great as the world's, which at the death of time
Must fall, and rise a nobler frame by fire!

CCXIII.

As when some dire usurper heaven provides, 855
To scourge his country with a lawless sway;
His birth perhaps some petty village hides,
And sets his cradle out of fortune's way.

CCXIV.

Till fully ripe his swelling fate breaks out,
And hurries him to mighty mischiefs on; 860
His prince surprised at first no ill could doubt,
And wants the power to meet it when 'tis known.

CCXV.

Such was the rise of this prodigious fire,
Which, in mean buildings first obscurely bred,
From thence did soon to open streets aspire, 865
And straight to palaces and temples spread.

CCXVI.

The diligence of trades and noiseful gain,
And luxury more late, asleep were laid:
All was the night's; and in her silent reign
No sound the rest of nature did invade. 870

CCXVII.

In this deep quiet, from what source unknown,
Those seeds of fire their fatal birth disclose;
And first few scattering sparks about were blown,
Big with the flames that to our ruin rose.

CCXVIII.

Then in some close-pent room it crept along, 875
And smouldering as it went, in silence fed;
Till th' infant monster, with devouring strong,
Walk'd boldly upright with exalted head.

CCXIX.

Now like some rich or mighty murderer,
Too great for prison, which he breaks with gold;
Who fresher for new mischiefs does appear, 881
And dares the world to tax him with the old:

CCXX.

So 'scapes th' insulting fire his narrow jail,
And makes small outlets into open air:
There the fierce winds his tender force assail, 885
And beat him downward to his first repair.

Ver. 868. *Great as the world's, which at the death of time
Must fall, and rise a nobler frame by fire!*

"*Quam mare, quam tellus, corripitque regia celi,
Ardeat,"* &c.—Ovid. Orig. ed.

Ver. 871. — from what source unknown,] The fire might naturally have been accounted for, from the narrowness of the streets, from houses built entirely of timber, and a strong east wind that blew at the time. But it was ascribed by the rage of the people, either to the Republicans or the Catholics, especially the latter. An inscription on the monument, proscribed, we know by Pope,

CCXXI.

The winds, like crafty courtizans, withheld
His flames from burning, but to blow them
more:

And every fresh attempt he is repell'd
With faint denials weaker than before. 890

CCXXII.

And now, no longer letted of his prey,
He leaps up at it with enraged desire:
O'erlooks the neighbours with a wide survey,
And nods at every house his threatening fire.

CCXXIII.

The ghosts of traitors from the bridge descend,
With bold fanatick spectres to rejoice: 895
About the fire into a dance they bend,
And sing their sabbath notes with feeble voice.

CCXXIV.

Our guardian angel saw them where they sat
Above the palace of our slumbering king; 900
He sigh'd, abandoning his charge to fate,
And, drooping, oft look'd back upon the wing.

CCXXV.

At length the crackling noise and dreadful blaze
Call'd up some waking lover to the sight;
And long it was ere he the rest could raise, 905
Whose heavy eyelids yet were full of night.

CCXXVI.

The next to danger, hot pursued by fate,
Half-cloth'd, half-naked, hastily retire:
And frightened mothers strike their breasts too late,
For helpless infants left amidst the fire. 910

CCXXVII.

Their cries soon waken all the dwellers near;
Now murmuring noises rise in every street;
The more remote run stumbling with their fear,
And in the dark men jostle as they meet.

CCXXVIII.

So weary bees in little cells repose; 915
But if night-robbers lift the well-stored hive,
An humming through their waken city grows,
And out upon each other's wings they drive.

was intended to perpetuate this groundless suspicion. This inscription was erased by James II., but restored at the Revolution, and still remains. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 887. *The winds,*] In this stanza, and in the four following, our poet may be justly said "to tread upon the brink of meaning, where light and darkness begin to mingle; to approach the precipice of absurdity, and hover over the abyss of unideal vacancy." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ibid. — *like crafty, &c.*] *Hæc arte tractabat cupidum virum, ut illius animum inopia accenderet.* Orig. ed.

Ibid. — *like crafty courtizans,*] A vulgar and improper allusion! Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 897. *About the fire into a dance they bend,*] How inferior is this passage to Milton's animated description of the wild ceremonies of Moloch, which Dryden, however seems to have here had in mind.

"In vain with cymbals' ring
They call the grisly king,
In dismal dance about the furnace blow!"
Ode Nativ. st. 23. TODD.

Ver. 909. *And frightened mothers*] The orig. edit. has *mother*, incorrectly. TODD.

Ver. 914. *And in the dark, &c.*] If I mistake not, Lee has somewhere written a similar line—

"And gods meet gods, and justice in the dark."
Both are equally splendid! TODD.

CCXXXIX.

Now streets grow throng'd and busy as by day :
Some run for buckets to the hallow'd quire :⁹²⁰
Some cut the pipes, and some the engines play ;
And some more bold mount ladders to the fire.

CCXXX.

In vain : for from the East a Belgian wind
His hostile breath through the dry rafters sent ;
The flames impell'd soon left their foes behind,
And forward with a wanton fury went.⁹²⁵

CCXXXI.

A key of fire ran all along the shore,
And lighten'd all the river with a blaze :
The waken'd tides began again to roar,
And wondering fish in shining waters gaze.⁹³⁰

CCXXXII.

Old father Thames raised up his reverend head,
But fear'd the fate of Simois would return :
Deep in his ooze he sought his sedgy bed,
And shrunk his waters back into his urn.

CCXXXIII.

The fire, mean time, walks in a broader gross ;
To either hand his wings he opens wide :
He wades the streets, and straight he reaches
cross,
And plays his longing flames on th' other side.⁹³⁵

CCXXXIV.

At first they warm, then scorch, and then they
take ;
Now with long necks from side to side they
feed :⁹⁴⁰
At length, grown strong, their mother-fire forsake,
And a new colony of flames succeed.

CCXXXV.

To every nobler portion of the town
The curling billows roll their restless tide :
In parties now they struggle up and down,
As armies, unopposed, for prey divide.⁹⁴⁵

CCXXXVI.

One mighty squadron with a side-wind sped,
Through narrow lanes his cumber'd fire does
haste,
By powerful charms of gold and silver led,⁹⁴⁹
The Lombard bankers and the Change to waste.

CCXXXVII.

Another backward to the Tower would go,
And slowly eats his way against the wind :
But the main body of the marching foe
Against th' imperial palace is design'd.

CCXXXVIII.

Now day appears, and with the day the king,⁹⁵³
Whose early care had robb'd him of his rest :
Far off the cracks of falling houses ring,
And shrieks of subjects pierce his tender breast.

Ver. 928. And lighten'd all the river with a blaze :]
" *Sigae igni freta late refluunt.*"—Virg. Orig. ed.

Ver. 931. Old father Thames raised up his reverend head,
But fear'd the fate of Simois would return]

An evident allusion to the 21st book of Homer, where Ulysses dries up the allied streams of Simois and Scamander
JOHN WARTON.

CCXXXIX.

Near as he draws, thick harbingers of smoke
With gloomy pillars cover all the place ;⁹⁶⁰
Whose little intervals of night are broke
By sparks, that drive against his sacred face.

CCXL.

More than his guards his sorrows made him known,
And pious tears which down his cheeks did
shower :
The wretched in his grief forgot their own ;⁹⁶⁵
So much the pity of a king has power.

CCXLI.

He wept the flames of what he loved so well,
And what so well had merited his love :
For never prince in grace did more excel,
Or royal city more in duty strove.⁹⁷⁰

CCXLII.

Nor with an idle care did he behold :
Subjects may grieve, but monarchs must redress ;
He cheers the fearful and commends the bold,
And makes despairers hope for good success.

CCXLIII.

Himself directs what first is to be done,⁹⁷⁵
And orders all the succours which they bring :

Ver. 975.] Immediately after the fire of London, there was published, on a half sheet, "A true and exact Relation of the most dreadful and remarkable Fires, which have happened since the reign of King William the Conqueror to this present year, 1666, in the cities of London and Westminster, and other parts of England."

The following is the account of the fire in 1666:—"On Sunday, the second of September, this present year, 1666, about one o'clock in the morning, there happened a sad and deplorable fire in *Pudding-lane*, near *New Fish-street*, which, falling out in a part of the city so close built with wooden houses, propagated itself so far before day with such violence, that it bred such distraction and astonishment in the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was taken not to stop the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that this grievous fire in a short time became too big to be mastered by any engines, or working near it; and being fomented by the hand of God in a violent easterly wind, which kept it burning in such a raging manner all Sunday and Sunday night, spreading itself by Monday morning up *Gracechurch-street* to *Lombard-street*, and to *St. Dunstons church* in *Canon-street*, and downwards from *Canon-street* to the water-side as far as the *Three Cranes* in the *Vintny*, and eastward beyond *Billinggate*. The greatness and vastness of the fire was such, that made the amazed and distracted people take care only to preserve their own goods, and secure every man his particular concerns, making but slender attempts to extinguish the flame. In fine, it continued all Monday and Tuesday with such impetuosity, that it had, at ten of the clock on Tuesday night, westward, consumed houses and churches all the way to *St. Dunstons church*, in *Fleet-street*, at which time, by the favour of God, the wind slackened; and that night, by the vigilancy, industry, and indefatigable pains of his Majesty and his Royal Highness, calling upon all people, and encouraging them by their personal assistances, a stop was put to the fire in *Fleet-street*, the *Inner Temple*, and *Fetter-lane*, at *Holborn-bridge*, *Pet-corner*, *Aldersgate*, *Cripplegate*, near the lower end of *Coleman-street*, at the end of *Basinghall-street*, by the *Poetern*, at the upper end of *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Leadon-hall-street*, at the standard in *Cornhill*, at the church in *Finchchurch-street*, near *Clothworker's-hall* in *Muncing-lane*, at the middle of *Mark-lane*, and at the *Tower-dock*. But on Wednesday night it suddenly broke out afresh in the *Inner Temple*, which happened (as it is supposed) by flakes of fire falling into the gutters of the buildings. His Royal Highness in person fortunately watching there that night, by his care, diligence, great labour, and reasonable commands for the blowing up, with gunpowder, some of the said buildings, it was most happily before day extinguished, after it had laid level with the ground *Tanfield-court*, *Parson's-court*, and the buildings in the church-yard, and done some little damage to the church and hall." TOWN

The helpful and the good about him run,
And form an army worthy such a king.

CCXLIV.

He sees the dire contagion spread so fast,
That where it seizes, all relief is vain : 980
And therefore must unwillingly lay waste
That country, which would else the foe maintain.

CCXLV.

The powder blows up all before the fire :
Th' amazed flames stand gather'd on a heap ; 985
And from the precipice's brink retire,
Afraid to venture on so large a leap.

CCXLVI.

Thus fighting fires a while themselves consume,
But straight like Turks, forced on to win or die,
They first lay tender bridges of their fume,
And o'er the breach in unctuous vapours fly.

CCXLVII.

Part stays for passage, till a gust of wind 991
Ships o'er their forces in a shining sheet :
Part creeping under ground their journey blind,
And climbing from below their fellows meet.

CCXLVIII.

Thus to some desert plain, or old wood-side, 995
Dire night-hags come from far to dance their
round ;
And o'er broad rivers on their fiends they ride,
Or sweep in clouds above the blasted ground.

CCXLIX.

No help avails : for, hydra-like, the fire
Lifts up his hundred heads to aim his way :
And scarce the wealthy can one half retire, 1001
Before he rushes in to share the prey.

COL.

The rich grow suppliant, and the poor grow proud :
Those offer mighty gain, and these ask more :
So void of pity is th' ignoble crowd, 1005
When others' ruin may increase their store.

COLL.

As those, who live by shores, with joy behold
Some wealthy vessel split or stranded nigh ;
And from the rocks leap down for shipwreck'd
gold,
And seek the tempest which the others fly :

Ver. 988. *But straight like Turks, forced on, &c.* The Turks are not only predestinarians, but they also believe that every man who dies fighting against unbelievers, for so they call all who differ from them in religion, goes directly to Paradise. These tenets often encourage those to fight who have no great stomachs to it; and, in this sense, they may be said to be forced on. DERRICK.

Ver. 991. *Part stays for passage,* Original edition. Derrick has *stay*. TODD.

Ver. 1007. *As those, who live by shores, &c.* The gallant Sir Cloudesley Shovel was barbarously murdered on the coast of Cornwall, as he swam on shore, by a woman, who was incited to the barbarous act by the sight of a ring which he wore on his finger. This is related on the authority of the late Lord Peterborough, who told it to Sir John Mordaunt, who related it to the late Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1010. *And seek the tempest,* Thus the original edition. Derrick has *tempests*. TODD.

COLLII.

So these but wait the owner's last despair, 1011
And what's permitted to the flames invade ;
Ev'n from their jaws they hungry morsels tear,
And on their backs the spoils of Vulcan lade.

COLLIII.

The days were all in this lost labour spent ; 1015
And when the weary king gave place to night
His beams he to his royal brother lent,
And so shone still in his reflective light.

COLLIV.

Night came, but without darkness or repose, 1020
A dismal picture of the general doom ;
Where souls distracted when the trumpet blows,
And half unready with their bodies come.

COLLV.

Those who have homes, when home they do repair,
To a last lodging call their wandering friends :
Their short uneasy sleeps are broke with care, 1025
To look how near their own destruction tends.

COLLVI.

Those who have none, sit round where once it was,
And with full eyes each wonted room require :
Haunting the yet warm ashes of the place,
As murder'd men walk where they did expire.

COLLVII.

Some stir up coals and watch the vestal fire, 1031
Others in vain from sight of ruin run ;
And while through burning labyrinths they retire,
With loathing eyes repeat what they would shun.

COLLVIII.

The most in fields like herded beasts lie down,
To dews obnoxious on the grassy floor ; 1036
And while their babes in sleep their sorrows drown,
Sad parents watch the remnants of their store.

COLLIX.

While by the motion of the flames they guess
What streets are burning now, and what are 1040
near,
An infant waking to the paps would press,
And meets instead of milk, a falling tear.

Ver. 1016. *And when the weary king gave place to night,*
——— "*serre meminist decedere nocti*." Verg.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1028.

*And with full eyes each wonted room require :
Haunting the yet warm ashes of the place,*

A pathetic stroke, which reminds us of the lively representation of Livy :—"At prae ment obliti quid relinquerent, quid secum ferrent, deficientes consilio, rogantesque alii alios, nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas, ultimum illas visuri pervagarentur." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1041. *An infant waking to the paps would press,
And meets, instead of milk, a falling tear,*

A tender and pathetic stroke, which might have been derived from Pliny's description of the famous picture of Aristides the Theban :—"Hujus pictura est, oppido capto ad matris morientis e vulnere mamma adrepens infans : intelligiturque sentire mater, et timere, ne emortuo lacte sanguinem lambat."—Pliny. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1042.]

"Cold on Canadian hills, or Minden's plain,
Perhaps that parent mourn'd her soldier slain :

COLX.
No thought can ease them but their sovereign's
care,

Whose praise the afflicted as their comfort sing:
E'en those whom want might drive to just despair,
Think life a blessing under such a king. 1055

COLXI.
Meantime he sadly suffers in their grief,
Out-weeps an hermit, and out-prays a saint:
All the night long he studies their relief,
How they may be supplied, and he may want.

COLXII.
"O God," said he, "thou patron of my days,* 1051
Guide of my youth in exile and distress!
Who me unfriended brought by wond'rous ways,
The kingdom of my fathers to possess:

COLXIII.
"Be thou my judge, with what unwearied care 1055
I since have labour'd for my people's good;
To bind the bruises of a civil war,
And stop the issues of their wasting blood.

COLXIV.
"Thou, who hast taught me to forgive the ill,
And recompense, as friends, the good misdeed: 1061
If mercy be a precept of thy will,
Return that mercy on thy servant's head.

COLXV.
"Or if my heedless youth has stept astray,
Too soon forgetful of thy gracious hand;

Bent o'er her babe, her eye dissolved in dew,
The big drops mingling with the milk he drew,
Gave the sad presage of his future years,
The child of Misery baptised in tears!"
Apology for Vagrants. Anon. Knox's edit. vol. i. p. 523.
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1048. *Out-weeps an hermit, and out-prays a saint:*
All the long night he studies their relief,
How they may be supplied, and he may want.]
This reminds us of Cowper:

"When, Isaac like, the solitary saint
Walks forth to meditate at even tide,
And think on her, who thinks not for herself."
JOHN WARTON.

* King's prayer. Original edition.

Ver. 1051. "*O God," said he,]* One of the finest stanzas,
and onwards to verse 1086 worthy our author. Dr. J.
WARTON.

Ibid. "*O God," said he, "thou patron of my days,]* This,
which Dr. Johnson calls "a speech rather tedious in a
time so busy," I would rather, with due deference to so
great a man, call a solemn prayer. It may be no un-
pleasing task to my reader to compare with these admirable
lines the prayer of Henry the Fourth of France, cited by
Mr. Addison in the *Guardian*, vol. i. p. 79. "O Lord of
Hosts, who canst see through the thickest veil and closest
disguise, who viewest the bottom of my heart, and the
deepest designs of my enemies, who hast in thy hands, as
well as before thine eyes, all the events which concern
human life; if thou knowest that my reign will promote
thy glory, and the safety of thy people; if thou knowest
that I have no other ambition in my soul, but to advance
the honour of thy holy name, and the good of this state,
favour, O great God, the justice of my arms, and reduce
all the rebels to acknowledge him whom thy sacred decrees,
and the order of a lawful succession, have made their
sovereign; but if thy good Providence has ordered it
otherwise, and thou seest that I should prove one of those
kings whom thou givest in thine anger, take from me, O
merciful God, my life and my crown; make me this day a
sacrifice to thy will; let my death end the calamities of
France, and let my blood be the last that is spilt in this
quarrel." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1068. — *youth has stept astray,]* Original edit.
Derrick *stept*. TODD.

"On me alone thy just displeasure lay, 1065
But take thy judgments from this mourning
land.

COLXVI.
"We all have sinn'd, and thou hast laid us low,
As humble earth from whence at first we came:
Like flying shades before the clouds we show,
And shrink like parchment in consuming flame.

COLXVII.
"O let it be enough what thou hast done; 1071
When spotted deaths ran arm'd through every
street,
With poison'd darts which not the good could
shun,
The speedy could out-fly, or valiant meet.

COLXVIII.
"The living few, and frequent funerals then, 1075
Proclaim'd thy wrath on this forsaken place:
And now those few, who are return'd again,
Thy searching judgments to their dwellings
trace.

COLXIX.
"O pass not, Lord, an absolute decree, 1080
Or bind thy sentence unconditional:
But in thy sentence our remorse foresees,
And in that foresight this thy doom recal.

COLXX.
"Thy threatenings, Lord, as thine thou mayst 1085
revoke.
But, if immutable and fix'd they stand,
Continue still thyself to give the stroke,
And let not foreign foes oppress thy land."

COLXXI.
Th' Eternal heard, and from the heavenly quire
Chose out the cherub with the flaming sword;
And bade him swiftly drive th' approaching fire
From where our naval magazines were stored.

COLXXII.
The blessed minister his wings display'd, 1091
And like a shooting star he cleft the night:
He charged the flames, and those that disobey'd
He lash'd to duty with his sword of light.

Ver. 1069.
Like flying shades before the clouds we show,
And shrink like parchment in consuming flame.]

Two energetic lines founded on scriptural allusions, Psalm
cix. v. 22, "I go hence like the shadow that departeth."
This last image Dr. Glynn has transferred into his
Seatonian Prize Poem, "The Day of Judgment," with so
much felicity, that I must be pardoned for transcribing
the whole of the prayer with which he concludes his
spirited poem;

— "Power supreme,
O everlasting King, to thee I kneel,
To thee I lift my voice. With fervent heat
Melt all ye elements! and thou, high heaven,
Shrink like a shrivell'd scroll! but think, O Lord,
Think on the best, the noblest of thy works!
Think on thine own bright image! think on Him
Who died to save us from thy righteous wrath,
And 'midst the wreck of worlds remember Man!"
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1085. *Continue still thyself to give the stroke,*
And let not foreign foes oppress thy land.]

He imitates the pious submission of David:—"Let us
now fall into the hand of the Lord; for his mercies are
great; and let me not fall into the hand of man."—2 Sam.
xxiv. 14. JOHN WARTON.

CCLXXXIII.

The fugitive flames, chastised, went forth to prey
On pious structures, by our fathers rear'd; 1055
By which to heaven they did affect the way,
Ere faith in churchmen without works was
heard.

CCLXXXIV.

The wanting orphans saw with watery eyes
Their founders' charity in dust laid low; 1100
And sent to God their ever-answ'rd cries,
For he protects the poor who made them so.

CCLXXXV.

Nor could thy fabric, Paul's, defend thee long,
Though thou wert sacred to thy Maker's praise:
Though made immortal by a poet's song; 1105
And poets' songs the Theban walls could raise.

CCLXXXVI.

The daring flames peep'd in, and saw from far
The awful beauties of the sacred quire:
But, since it was profaned by civil war,
Heaven thought it fit to have it purged by fire.

CCLXXXVII.

Now down the narrow streets it swiftly came, 1111
And widely opening did on both sides prey:
This benefit we sadly owe the flame,
If only ruin must enlarge our way.

CCLXXXVIII.

And now four days the sun had seen our woes:
Four nights the moon beheld th' incessant fire:
It seem'd as if the stars more sickly rose, 1117
And farther from the feverish north retire.

CCLXXXIX.

In th' empyrean heaven, the bless'd abode,
The thrones and the dominions prostrate lie, 1121
Not daring to behold their angry God;
And an hush'd silence damps the tuneless sky.

CCLXXXX.

At length th' Almighty cast a pitying eye,
And mercy softly touch'd his melting breast:
He saw the town's one half in rubbish lie, 1125
And eager flames drive on to storm the rest.

Ver. 1086. *On pious structures, &c.* He here, I presume,
alludes to Christ's Hospital, &c. &c. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1087.

*By which to heaven they did affect the way,
Ere faith in churchmen without works was heard.]*

This passage is a sarcasm upon those who reduce all principles of religion to the single article of faith, which, according to some, is sufficient for salvation, exclusive of every other tenet. DERRICK.

Ver. 1107. — *James peep'd in.* In censuring some seeming blemishes in this place, such as the above lines, I should be mortified to be placed among those idle and petty objectors who mistake cavilling for criticising; such as *he who blamed These for making Erminie cut off her hair, to bind up Tancréd's wounds, with a sword, as a sword will not cut hair; or he who thought Raphael had made the boat too little to receive the miraculous capture of fish; or he who objected to the figure of Laocœon being represented as naked when he was in the act of sacrificing.* I shall for ever read the *Seasons of Thomson* with delight and admiration, though I cannot forbear objecting to the two last as a conceit, alluding to his subject:

"The storms of wintry Time will quickly pass,
And one unbounded Spring encircle all."

The verse below about God's taking an *extinguisher* is an absurdity of the most glaring kind. (Verse 1129.) Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1126. *And eager flames drive on* The original edition erroneously reads *give*. TONN.

CCLXXXXI.

An hollow crystal pyramid he takes,
In firmamental waters dipt above;
Of it a broad extinguisher he makes,
And hoods the flames that to their quarry 1130
drove.

CCLXXXXII.

The vanquish'd fires withdraw from every place,
Or full with feeding sink into a sleep:
Each household genius shows again his face,
And from the earth the little lares creep.

CCLXXXXIII.

Our king this more than natural change beholds;
With sober joy his heart and eyes abound: 1136
To the All-good his lifted hands he folds,
And thanks him low on his redeemed ground.

CCLXXXXIV.

As when sharp frosts had long constrain'd the
earth,
A kindly thaw unlocks it with mild rain; 1140
And first the tender blade peeps up to birth,
And straight the green fields laugh with pro-
mised grain:

CCLXXXXV.

By such degrees the spreading gladness grew
In every heart which fear had froze before:
The standing streets with so much joy they view
That with less grief the perish'd they deplore. 1146

CCLXXXXVI.

The father of the people open'd wide
His stores, and all the poor with plenty fed;
Thus God's anointed God's own place supplied, 1150
And fill'd the empty with his daily bread.

CCLXXXXVII.

This royal bounty brought its own reward,
And in their minds so deep did print the sense,
That if their ruins sadly they regard,
'Tis but with fear the sight might drive him
thence.

CCLXXXXVIII.

But so may he live long, that town to sway, 1156
Which by his auspices they will nobler make,
As he will hatch their ashes by his stay,
And not their humble ruins now forsake.*

CCLXXXXIX.

They have not lost their loyalty by fire;
Nor is their courage or their wealth so low, 1160

Ver. 1140. *A kindly thaw unlocks it with mild rain.* Original edition. Certainly the genuine reading. Derrick's "cold rain" must be discarded. TONN.

Ver. 1147. *The father of the people open'd wide*

His stores, and all the poor with plenty fed;]

The poor people that were burned out built huts and sheds of boards for shelter in Moorfields, and other outlets of the city; and the King was often seen among them, inquiring into their wants, and doing every thing in his power to comfort them. He moreover ordered the justices of the peace to see them supplied with food, and to be careful of preventing forestalkers from taking advantage of their distresses; besides which, he commanded that the biscuits and other provisions, laid up in the Tower for the use of his army and navy, should be carried out and distributed among them. Enjoying such benefits from his royal presence, we are not to wonder at the citizens begging him not to leave them, when it was supposed he was going into the country. *Fide stanzas 268. DERRICK.*

* City's request to the King not to leave them. Original edition.

That from his wars they poorly would retire,
Or beg the pity of a vanquish'd foe.

CCXC.

Not with more constancy the Jews of old,
By Cyrus from rewarded exile sent,
Their royal city did in dust behold, 1165
Or with more vigour to rebuild it went.

CCXCI.

The utmost malice of their stars is past,
And two dire comets, which have scourged the
town,
In their own plague and fire have breath'd the last,
Or dimly in their sinking sockets frown. 1170

CCXCII.

Now frequent trines the happier lights among,
And high-raised Jove, from his dark prison freed,
Those weights took off that on his planet hung,
Will gloriously the new-laid work succeed.

CCXCIII.

Methinks already, from his chymic flame, 1175
I see a city of more precious mould:
Rich as the town* which gives the Indies name,
With silver paved, and all divine with gold.

CCXCIV.

Already, labouring with a mighty fate,
She shakes the rubbish from her mounting
brow, 1180
And seems to have renew'd her charter's date,
Which heaven will to the death of time allow.

CCXCV.

More great than human now, and more august,
Now deified she from her fires does rise: 1184
Her widening streets on new foundations trust,
And, opening, into larger parts she flies.

CCXCVI.

Before, she like some shepherdess did show,
Who sat to bathe her by a river's side;
Not answering to her fame, but rude and low,
Nor taught the beauteous arts of modern pride.

Ver. 1187. — *malice of their stars*] Original edition.
In Derrick it is "the stars." Todd.

Ver. 1174. — *the new-laid work succeed*] Original
edition. Derrick has "works." Todd.

Ver. 1175. *Methinks already*] A prophecy most fortunately
fulfilled! No city was ever more improved by the wide-
ness and commodiousness, and consequent healthiness,
and cleanliness, of its streets, and magnificence of its buildings,
than London after this calamitous fire.

"*Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit!*"

And of later years more attention has been paid to the
circumstances above mentioned than in any metropolis of
Europe. The stanzas 295, 296, 297, are beautiful. The
298th stanza concludes with a puerile conceit. Dr. J.
WARTON.

* Mexico. Original edition.

Ver. 1183 — *august*] *Augusta*, the old name of
London. Original edition

CCXCVII.

Now, like a maiden queen, she will behold, 1191
From her high turrets, hourly suitors come:
The East with incense, and the West with gold,
Will stand, like suppliants, to receive her doom.

CCXCVIII.

The silver Thames, her own domestic flood, 1195
Shall bear her vessels like a sweeping train;
And often wind, as of his mistress proud,
With longing eyes to meet her face again.

CCXCIX.

The wealthy Tagus, and the wealthier Rhine, 1199
The glory of their towns no more shall boast,
And Seine, that would with Belgian rivers join,
Shall find her lustre stain'd, and traffic lost.

CCC.

The venturous merchant who design'd more far, 1204
And touches on our hospitable shore,
Charm'd with the splendour of this northern star,
Shall here unlade him, and depart no more.

CCCI.

Our powerful navy shall no longer meet,
The wealth of France or Holland to invade:
The beauty of this town, without a fleet, 1209
From all the world shall vindicate her trade.

CCCI.

And, while this famed emporium we prepare,
The British ocean shall such triumphs boast,
That those who now disdain our trade to share,
Shall rob like pirates on our wealthy coast.

CCCI.

Already we have conquer'd half the war, 1213
And the less dangerous part is left behind:
Our trouble now is but to make them dare,
And not so great to vanquish as to find.

CCCI.

Thus to the eastern wealth through storms we go,
But now, the Cape once doubled, fear no more:
A constant trade-wind will securely blow, 1221
And gently lay us on the spicy shore.

Ver. 1219. *Thus to the eastern*] If he had never written
any other poem than this *Annus Mirabilis*, he never could
have been ranked among our greatest English poets.
Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1220. — *the Cape once doubled, fear no more*:
A constant trade-wind will securely blow.]

Sailors generally imagine themselves out of danger on
an East-India voyage, when they double the Cape of Good
Hope, because then they get into the trade-winds, or mon-
soons, that always blow in a certain direction. DERRICK.

Ver. 1221. *A constant*] A frigid conceit drawn from the
nature of the trade-wind. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1222. *And gently lay us, &c.*] From these lines Pope
has formed one of his most melodious couplets:

"Ye gentle gales, beneath my body blow,
And softly lay me on the waves below." — Sappho to Phaon.
JOHN WARTON.

AN ESSAY UPON SATIRE,*

BY MR. DRYDEN AND THE EARL OF MULGRAVE.

How dull, and how insensible a beast
Is man, who yet would lord it o'er the rest?
Philosophers and poets vainly strove
In every age the lumpish mass to move:
But those were pedants, when compared with these,
Who know not only to instruct but please.
Poets alone found the delightful way,
Mysterious morals gently to convey
In charming numbers; so that as men grew
Pleased with their poems, they grew wiser too.
Satire has always shone among the rest,
And is the boldest way, if not the best,
To tell men freely of their foulest faults;
To laugh at their vain deeds, and vainer thoughts.
In satire too the wise took different ways,
To each deserving its peculiar praise.
Some did all folly with just sharpness blame,
Whilst others laugh'd and scorn'd them into shame.
But of these two, the last succeeded best,
As men aim rightest when they shoot in jest.
Yet, if we may presume to blame our guides,
And censure those who censure all besides;
In other things they justly are preferr'd;
In this alone methinks the ancients err'd;
Against the grossest follies they declaim;
Hard they pursue, but hunt ignoble game.
Nothing is easier than such blots to hit,
And 'tis the talent of each vulgar wit.
Besides 'tis labour lost; for who would preach
Morals to Armstrong, or dull Aston teach?

* This piece was written in 1679, and handed about in manuscript, some time before it made its appearance in print. It is supposed to have occasioned the beating Mr. Dryden received in Rose-street, Covent-garden, of which notice is taken in his Life. The Earl of Mulgrave's name has been always joined with Dryden's, as concerned in the composition; and that nobleman somewhere takes notice, that Dryden

"Was praised and beaten for another's rhymes."

It is not improbable that Rochester's character was drawn by his lordship, who held him in high contempt, after his behaving in a very dastardly manner when he challenged him. How, indeed, Lord Mulgrave came to subscribe to so disagreeable a picture of himself, is hard to divine. DERRICK.

Ver. 1. *How dull,* This satire is claimed by the Earl of Mulgrave, and perhaps ought not to have a place in our poet's works. But *quære?* Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 30. *Morals to Armstrong, or dull Aston teach.* Sir Thomas Armstrong had been knighted by King Charles II. for some services received from him during the protectorship, he having been sent over to his majesty, when in Holland, with a sum of money, raised among some of his faithful subjects, for his royal use. He afterwards bore a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the first troop of horse-guards, and was appointed gentleman of horse to the king. Being a man of a loose immoral character, and of no fixed principles, either in religion or politics, he joined in the Rye-house Plot, and then escaped into Holland. Five hundred pounds were offered as a reward for taking him. Louis XIV. out of compliment to King Charles, offered five hundred pounds to any one who should secure him in the dominions of France.

'Tis being devout at play, wise at a ball,
Or bringing wit and friendship to Whitehall.
But with sharp eyes those nicer faults to find,
Which lie obscurely in the wisest mind;
That little speck which all the rest does spoil,
To wash off that would be a noble toil;
Beyond the loose writ libels of this age,
Or the forced scenes of our declining stage;
Above all censure too, each little wit
Will be so glad to see the greater hit;
Who judging better, though concern'd the most
Of such correction will have cause to boast.
In such a satire all would seek a share,
And every fool will fancy he is there.
Old story-tellers too must pine and die,
To see their antiquated wit laid by;
Like her who miss'd her name in a lampoon,
And grieved to find herself decay'd so soon.
No common coxcomb must be mention'd here:
Nor the dull train of dancing sparks appear:
Nor fluttering officers who never fight;
Of such a wretched rabble who would write!
Much less half wits; that's more against our rules;
For they are fops, the others are but fools.
Who would not be as silly as Dunbar?
As dull as Monmouth, rather than Sir Carr!

He was at length seized at Leyden, brought over to England, and condemned to die by Judge Jefferies, who treated him in a very unbecoming manner.

Bishop Burnet observes, that he died with great meekness and resignation, expressing a hearty repentance for his past profligate life. King Charles, about the time of Sir Thomas's execution, told several people, that he had been lately assured Sir Thomas had been suborned by Cromwell to take away his life, when he waited on him in Holland, but he found no opportunity of perpetrating his crime; for falling in which, the Protector imprisoned him on his return home. Though this story came from a royal mouth few people believed it; yet it is certain that Cromwell kept him a year in prison.

He was hanged at Tyburn, on the 20th of June, 1684: his head was fixed upon Westminster Hall, between those of Cromwell and Bradshaw, and his quarters upon Temple Bar, Aldgate, Aldersgate, and the town-wall of Stafford. It is said he was a native of Nimeguen, a city of Guelderland, and would have claimed from the States-General the protection of a native, if he had not been carried away as soon as he was arrested.

I find, in Wood's Fasti, mention made of one James Aston, a divine, of whom no more is said than that he was a zealous loyalist, and about this time well benefited. It is not unlikely, that it is the same person whom we find here celebrated for dulness; for, had he excelled in anything else, Wood would not have failed to remark it. DERRICK.

Ver. 55. *Who would not be as silly as Dunbar?*
As dull as Monmouth, rather than Sir Carr?

"There was a Lord Viscount Dunbar, and a colonel of the same name, about this time, at court; but to which to apply this character I cannot tell, as I never met with any of their private history.

Monmouth is said to have been brave, soft, gentle, and sincere, open to the grossest adulation, and strongly

The cunning courtier should be slighted too,
 Who with dull knavery makes so much ado;
 Till the shrewd fool, by thriving too too fast,
 Like *Æsop's* fox becomes a prey at last.
 Nor shall the royal mistresses be named,
 Too ugly, or too easy to be blamed;
 With whom each rhyming fool keeps such a
 potter,
 They are as common that way as the other:
 Yet sauntering Charles between his beastly brace,
 Meets with dissembling still in either place,
 Affected humour or a painted face.
 In loyal libels we have often told him,
 How one has jilted him, the other sold him:
 How that affects to laugh, how this to weep;
 But who can rail so long as he can sleep?
 Was ever prince by two at once misled,
 False, foolish, old, ill-natured, and ill-bred?
 Earnely and Aylesbury, with all that race
 Of busy blockheads, shall have here no place;

addicted to his pleasures: he was, upon the whole, a man of very weak parts, graceful in his person, and of an endearing placid deportment.—See the notes upon *Absalom* and *Achitophel*.

Sir Carr Scrope is the third person in this verse: he was the son of Sir Adrian Scrope, a Lincolnshire knight, and bred at Oxford, where he took a master's degree, in 1664; and in 1666 he was created a baronet. He was intimate with the most celebrated geniuses of King Charles's court, had a very pretty turn for poetry, and was certainly something more than a half-wit. His translation of *Sappho* to *Phison*, among the epistles of *Ovid*, is in some estimation; and many loose satires, handed about in manuscript, were set down to his account. He is mentioned thus in the first volume of *State Poems*, p. 200:

"—— Sir Carr, that knight of wither'd face,
 Who, for reversion of a poet's place,
 Waits on *Melpomene*, and soothes her grace.
 That angry miss alone he strives to please,
 For fear the rest should teach him wit and ease,
 And make him quit his loved laborious walks,
 When sad or silent o'er the room he stalks,
 And strives to write as wisely as he talks."

And again, in the third volume, Part I. p. 148:

"—— no man can compare
 For carriage, youth, and beauty, with Sir Carr."

He died at his house in St. Martin's-fields, Westminster, in the latter end of the year 1690. DERRICK.

Ver. 61. *Nor shall the royal mistresses be named.* About the time of the writing this poem, the king, if we may rely upon Bishop Burnet's authority, divided all his spare time between the Duchess of Portsmouth and Nell Gwin. DERRICK.

Ver. 74. *Earnely and Aylesbury, with all that race
 Of busy blockheads, shall have here no place;
 At council set as foils on Danby's score,*

Sir John Earnely was bred to the law: he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the year 1686, and made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, in the room of the Lord Treasurer Hyde, Earl of Rochester.

Robert, the first Earl of Aylesbury, was the son of Thomas Bruce, Earl of Elgin, in Scotland, and created, by King Charles, Lord Bruce, in England. In 1685 he succeeded the Earl of Arlington as Lord Chamberlain of the king's household, and died a few months afterwards. Wood gives him the character of a man of learning, a benefactor to the clergy, a great antiquarian, and says he was well skilled in the history of his own country.

Thomas, Earl of Danby, ancestor to the present Duke of Leeds, came out of Yorkshire, and was very zealous in forwarding the Restoration; for which special service he was made Treasurer of the Navy, then a Privy Counsellor, and, in 1673, Lord High Treasurer of England. He enjoyed a great share of the royal favour, which, perhaps, promoted his being impeached by the Commons, for monopoly and mismanagement. He was pardoned by the king, which occasioned much discontent; was zealous in procuring a match between the Prince of Orange and Lady Mary, afterwards king and queen of England; a principal actor in the Revolution, and chairman of that committee of the whole

At council set as foils on Danby's score,
 To make that great false jewel shine the more;
 Who all that while was thought exceeding wise,
 Only for taking pains and telling lies.

But there's no meddling with such nauseous men;
 Their very names have tired my lazy pen:
 'Tis time to quit their company, and choose
 Some fitter subject for a sharper muse.

First, let's behold the merriest man alive
 Against his careless genius vainly strive;
 Quit his dear ease some deep design to lay,
 'Gainst a set time, and then forget the day:
 Yet he will laugh at his best friends, and be
 Just as good company as Nokes and Lee.

But when he aims at reason or at rule,
 He turns himself the best to ridicule.
 Let him at business ne'er so earnest sit,
 Show him but mirth, and bait that mirth with
 wit;

That shadow of a jest shall be enjoy'd,
 Though he left all mankind to be destroy'd.
 So cat transform'd sat gravely and demure,
 Till mouse appear'd and thought himself secure;
 But soon the lady had him in her eye,
 And from her friend did just as oddly fly.

Reaching above our nature does no good;
 We must fall back to our old flesh and blood,
 As by our little Machiavel we find
 That nimblest creature of the busy kind,
 His limbs are crippled, and his body shakes;
 Yet his hard mind, which all this bustle makes,
 No pity of its poor companion takes.

What gravity can hold from laughing out,
 To see him drag his feeble legs about,
 Like hounds ill-coupled? Jowler lugs him still
 Through hedges, ditches, and through all that's ill.
 'Twere crime in any man but him alone,
 To use a body so, though 'tis one's own:
 Yet this false comfort never gives him o'er,
 That whilst he creeps his vigorous thoughts can
 soar:

Alas! that soaring to those few that know,
 Is but a busy groveling here below.

So men in rapture think they mount the sky,
 Whilst on the ground th' intranced wretches lie:
 So modern fops have fancied they could fly.

house, which, on King James's flight, voted an abdication, and advanced William to the throne; wherefore he was made President of the Council, and raised to the dignity of Marquis of Carmarthen and Duke of Leeds, about three years afterwards. He died in the year 1712, aged eighty-one. DERRICK.

Ver. 84. *First, let's behold the merriest man alive*! This character is so strongly and so justly marked, that it is impossible to mistake its being intended for Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury: "a man of little steadiness, but such uncommon talents, that he acquired great weight with every party he espoused: he was turbulent, restless, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising: he had conquered all sense of shame, was restrained by no fears, and influenced by no principles."—Smollett's History.

In the first volume of the *State Poems*, p. 140, he is mentioned thus:

"A little bobtail'd lord, urchin of state,
 A prate-god-bare-bone peer, whom all men hate;
 Amphibious animal—half fool, half knave." DERRICK.

Ver. 89. — as Nokes and Lee. These were two celebrated comedians in Charles the Second's reign. DERRICK.

Ver. 98. *So cat transform'd, &c.* Alluding to the fable of a cat's being turned into a woman, at the intercession of a young man that loved it; but, forgetting herself, she ran after a mouse, and was reduced to her pristine shape. DERRICK.

As the new earl with parts deserving praise, 120
And wit enough to laugh at his own ways;
Yet loses all soft days and sensual nights,
Kind nature checks and kinder fortune slights;
Striving against his quiet all he can,
For the fine notion of a busy man. 125
And what is that at best, but one, whose mind
Is made to tire himself and all mankind?
For Ireland he would go; faith, let him reign;
For if some odd fantastic lord would fain
Carry in trunks, and all my drudgery do, 130
I'll not only pay him, but admire him too.
But is there any other beast that lives,
Who his own harm so wittingly contrives?
Will any dog that has his teeth and stones,
Refinedly leave his bitches and his bones, 135
To turn a wheel? and bark to be employ'd,
While Venus is by rival dogs enjoy'd?
Yet this fond man, to get a statesman's name,
Forfeits his friends, his freedom, and his fame.
Though satire nicely writ with humour stings
But those who merit praise in other things; 141
Yet we must needs this one exception make,
And break our rules for silly Tropos' sake;
Who was too much despised to be accused,
And therefore scarce deserves to be abused; 145
Raised only by his mercenary tongue,
For railing smoothly, and for reasoning wrong.
As boys on holy-days let loose to play,
Lay waggish traps for girls that pass that way;

Ver. 120. *As the new earl with parts deserving praise,
And wit enough to laugh at his own ways;
Yet loses all, &c.*

This character was well known to be drawn for Arthur, Earl of Essex, son to the Lord Capel, who was put to death by the regicides; but wherefore he should be called the *new earl*, I cannot see, since we find in Collins's *Peagee* that he was created Earl of Essex in the year 1661, eighteen years before the publication of this piece. He was very fond of the Hierarchy of Ireland, which he had held from July, 1672, to 1677; and though the Duke of Ormond was much fitter for that important post, as being better acquainted with the genius and polity of the nation, and more agreeable to the people; yet he did every thing in his power to undermine that nobelman, with a view of again obtaining his government. He afterwards opposed the court, piqued perhaps because he was not gratified in all his desires, and perhaps from the republican principles which he seemed to cherish, though so different from those of his unfortunate father. He was taken into custody and committed to the Tower, for being concerned in the Rye-house Plot; and he was found in his apartment there, with his throat cut from ear to ear, on the very morning of Lord Russell's execution. Lord Essex was a man of indifferent abilities, but what the world calls cunning: his education had been neglected in the civil war, but he had a smattering of Latin, knew something of mathematics, and had a little knowledge of the law; he aspired at being something greater than either nature or education had fitted him for, and his disappointment perhaps gave him an atrabilious sourness, that ended in suicide, for which he was a professed advocate. DERRICK.

Ver. 143. — *for silly Tropos' sake.* Sir William Scroggs is meant by Tropos. He was Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and a violent prosecutor of the persons supposed to be concerned in the Popish plot; but when he found that Shaftesbury had, in reality, no interest at court, he quitted that party, and acted as much as possibly he could against it. This occasioned an accusation to be preferred against him by Oates and Bedloe, but it was never supported, his weight not being thought worth removing. He was resolute and penetrating, had a good deal of wit, and spoke fluently and boldly; but he often over-reached himself by being warm. He seems not to have been a man of much estimation, and Roger North, in his Examen, says his course of life was scandalous. DERRICK.

Then shout to see in dirt and deep distress 150
Some silly cit in her flower'd foolish dress:
So have I mighty satisfaction found,
To see his tinsel reason on the ground:
To see the florid fool despised, and know it, 154
By some who scarce have words enough to show it.
For sense sits silent, and condemns for weaker
The sinner, nay sometimes the wittiest speaker:
But 'tis prodigious so much eloquence
Should be acquired by such little sense;
For words and wit did anciently agree, 156
And Tully was no fool though this man be:
At bar abusive, on the bench unable,
Knave on the woollack, fop at council-table.
These are the grievances of such fools as would
Be rather wise than honest, great than good. 164
Some other kind of wits must be made known,
Whose harmless errors hurt themselves alone;
Excess of luxury they think can please,
And laziness call loving of their ease:
To live dissolved in pleasures still they feign, 170
Though their whole life's but intermitting pain:
So much of surfeits, headaches, claps are seen,
We scarce perceive the little time between:
Well-meaning men who make this gross mistake,
And pleasure lose only for pleasure's sake; 173
Each pleasure has its price, and when we pay
Too much of pain, we squander life away.
Thus Dorset, purring like a thoughtful cat,
Married, but wiser puss ne'er thought of that:

Ver. 178. *Thus Dorset, purring like, &c.* Charles, Earl of Dorset, about this time forty years of age, was one of the best bred men of his time. He was a lord of the bed-chamber, and sent several times with compliments, or on short embassies, to France, for the king could not bear to be long without him: he was a most magnificent patron; learning and genius were sure of his protection; and when our author was deprived of the bays, he allowed him the laureat's annual stipend out of his own private purse. Arthur Manwaring, Mr. Prior, and many other men of abilities, owed to him their being advanced and provided for. Nor was he less brave than polite and learned; for he attended the Duke of York as a volunteer in the first Dutch war, and by his coolness, courage, and conduct, showed himself a worthy representative of his many illustrious ancestors. The night before the famous battle in which the Dutch admiral Opdam was blown up, he made a celebrated song, with the greatest composure, beginning.

"To you fair ladies now at land,
We men at sea indite," &c.

No man had more ease or good-humour; his conversation was refined and sprightly; he had studied books; and men deeply, and to good purpose. He was an excellent critic and good poet, with a strong turn to satire, for which he is thus highly complimented in the *State Poems*, vol. i. p. 200.

"Dorset writes satire too, and writes so well,
O great Apollo! let him still rebel.
Pardon a muse which does, like his, excel,
Pardon a muse which does, with art, support
Some drowsy wit in our unthinking court."

He wrote with severity, but that severity was always justly pointed; and Lord Rochester calls him,

"The best good man, with the worst-natured muse."

His first wife, the Countess Dowager of Falmouth, had proved a barren wife. Of her having been a teeming widow I am ignorant. His second wife, whom he married in 1685, was daughter to the Earl of Northampton, and mother to the present Duke of Dorset. He was principally concerned in bringing about the Revolution; was Lord Chamberlain to King William and Queen Mary; chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1691, and several times appointed one of the regents, when the affairs of Europe demanded the absence of the king. He died at Bath in 1706, aged sixty-nine, lamented by every class of people, and the most opposite parties. Mr. Pope gives him these lines.

"Dorset, the grace of courts, the muse's pride,
Patron of arts, and judge of nature, died." DERRICK,

And first he worried her with railing rhyme,
Like Pembroke's mastiffs at his kindest time;
Then for one night sold all his slavish life,
A teeming widow, but a barren wife;
Swell'd by contact of such a fulsome toad,
He lugg'd about the matrimonial load;
Till fortune, blindly kind as well as he,
Has ill restored him to his liberty;
Which he would use in his old sneaking way,
Drinking all night and dozing all the day:
Dull as Ned Howard, whom his brisker times
Had famed for dullness in malicious rhymes.

Mulgrave had much ado to 'scape the snare,
Though learn'd in all those arts that cheat the
fair:

For after all his vulgar marriage mocks,
With beauty dazzled, Numps was in the stocks;
Deluded parents dried their weeping eyes,
To see him catch his Tartar for his prize:
Th' impatient town waited the wish'd-for change,
And cuckolds smiled in hopes of sweet revenge;
Till Petworth plot made us with sorrow see,
As his estate, his person too was free:
Him no soft thoughts, no gratitude could move;
To gold he fled from beauty and from love;
Yet failing there he keeps his freedom stall,
Forced to live happily against his will:
Tis not his fault, if too much wealth and power
Break not his boasted quiet every hour.

And little Sid, for simile renown'd,
Pleasure has always sought, but never found:
Though all his thoughts on wine and women fall,
His are so bad, sure he ne'er thinks at all.
The flesh he lives upon is rank and strong,
His meat and mistresses are kept too long.
But sure we all mistake this pious man,
Who mortifies his person all he can:
What we uncharitably take for sin,
Are only rules of this odd capuchin;
For never hermit, under grave pretence,
Has lived more contrary to common sense;

Ver. 190. *Dull as Ned Howard, whom his brisker times
Had famed for dullness in malicious rhymes.*

Edward Howard, Esq., a gentleman of the Berkshire family, consequently related to Sir Robert Howard. He wrote four plays, called, 1st. *The Man of Newmarket*, a comedy; 2nd. *Six Days' Adventure*, or the *New Utopia*, a comedy; 3rd. *The Usurper*, a tragedy; 4th. *Women's Conquest*, a tragi-comedy; but none of them succeeded on the stage, nor procured him any reputation. He also published an epic poem, called *The British Princes*, for which he was severely ridiculed by all the wits of his age: Lord Rochester, Lord Dorset, Mr. Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, Dr. Spratt, Lord Vaughan, published lampoons upon it, most of them printed in the six volumes of *Miscellanies* published by Dryden. DERRICK.

Ver. 208. *And little Sid, for simile renown'd,
Pleasure has always sought, but never found.*

This Sidney, brother of Algernon Sidney and the Earl of Leicester, was rather a man of pleasure than of business; his talents were great, but his indolence was greater; his appearance was graceful; he was a favourite with the ladies, had a turn for intrigue, and was of a disposition exactly fitted to Charles's court, easy, affable, and insinuating; free from any guile, and a friend to mankind. In 1679 he went envoy to the Hague, where he contracted an intimacy with the Prince of Orange, whose friends he heartily assisted in raising him to the throne, being himself a messenger from England to Holland upon that very business in 1688. He was raised to the dignity of Lord Sidney and Earl of Romney, in 1688; declared Secretary of State, Master of the Ordnance, and Lord-lieutenant of Ireland in 1689; and was removed from the latter post in 1693, it being thought that he held the reins of power with too slack a hand. DERRICK.

And 'tis a miracle we may suppose,
No nastiness offends his skilful nose;
Which from all stink can with peculiar art
Extract perfume and essence from a f—t:
Expecting supper is his great delight;
He toils all day but to be drunk at night;
Then o'er his cups this night-bird chirping sits,
Till he takes Hewet and Jack Hall for wits.
Rochester I despise for want of wit;
Though thought to have a tail and cloven feet;

Ver. 227. *Till he takes Hewet and Jack Hall for wits.* Sir George Hewet, a man of quality, famous for gallantry, and often named in the *State Poems*. Sir George Etheredge intended for him the celebrated character of Sir Fopling Flutter.

"Scarce will there greater grief pierce every heart,
Shall Sir George Hewet, or Sir Carr, depart.
Had it not better been, than thus to roam,
To stay and tie the cravat-string at home;
To strut, look big, shake Pantaloon, and swear,
With Hewit, damnee, there's no action there."

State Poems, vol. i. p. 155.

The above lines are addressed by Rochester to Lord Mulgrave, when bound for Tangier.

Jack Hall, a courtier, whom I take to be the same with Uzza in the second part of *Abesalom and Achitophel*, is thus mentioned in the *State Poems*, vol. ii. p. 135.

"Jack Hall ———— left town,

But first writ something he dare own,
Of prolocus 'awfully begotten,
And full nine months maturely thought on
Born with hard labour, and much pain,
Ousely was Dr. Chamberlain.
At length from stuff and rubbish pick'd,
As bear's cubs into shape are hick'd,
When Wharton, Etherage, and Soame,
To give it their last strokes were come,
Those critics differ'd in their doom.
Yet Swan says he admired it 'scap'd,
Since 'twas Jack Hall's, without being clapp'd."

Swan was a notorious punster. DERRICK.

Ver. 228. *Rochester I despise, &c.* Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, was naturally modest, till the court corrupted him. His wildness in it a brightness to which few could ever arrive. He gave himself up to all sorts of extravagance, and to the wildest frolics that a wanton wit could devise. He went about the streets as a beggar; made love as a porter; set up a stage as an Italian mountebank; was, for some years, always drunk, ever doing mischief. The king loved his company for the diversion it afforded, better than his person: and there was no love lost between them. He took his revenges in many libels; he found out a footman that knew all the court, whom he furnished with a red coat and a musket, as a sentinel, and kept him all the winter long, every night, at the doors of such ladies as he suspected of intrigues. In the court a sentinel is little minded, and is believed to be posted by a captain of the guards to hinder a combat; so this man saw who walked about and visited at forbidden hours. By this means Lord Rochester made many discoveries; and when he was well furnished with materials, he used to retire into the country for a month or two to write libels.

Once, being drunk, he intended to give the king a libel that he had wrote on some ladies; but, by a mistake, he gave him one written on himself, which brought him for that time into disgrace. He fell into an ill habit of body, and in several fits of sickness he had deep remorses, for he was guilty of much impiety, and of great immoralities; but as he recovered, he threw these off, and returned again to his former ill courses.

This is the account given of Lord Rochester by Bishop Burnet, who attended him in his illness; and who says he is sure he would have continued to live a regular religious life, in case he had survived.

He had served as a volunteer in the Dutch war, and behaved with such undaunted resolution, that it can scarcely be reconciled to his dastardly conduct afterwards in private life; for it is certain, that he was not only capable of satirising in the severest manner, but of sustaining the due reward of his abuse without resentment: so that he is said to have

"His own kickings notably contrived."

And we can only reconcile these contradictions in conduct

For while he mischief means to all mankind, 230
Himself alone the ill effects does find :
And so like witches justly suffers shame,
Whose harmless malice is so much the same.
False are his words, affected is his wit ;
So often he does aim, so seldom hit ; 235
To every face he cringes while he speaks,
But when the back is turn'd the head he breaks :
Mean in each action, lewd in every limb,
Manners themselves are mischievous in him :
A proof that chance alone makes every creature 240
A very Killigrew without good-nature. 241

by remembering his uninterrupted course of riot and debauchery, which had enervated all mental as well as corporeal faculties, and eradicated every virtue; besides, it is a just observation, that no two things can be more opposite than one and the same man at different times. He envied Dryden's great success, while he acknowledged his superior abilities, and supported Crown against him, whom he forsook, and opposed with equal virulence, when his Conquest of Jerusalem procured him some reputation. This is one reason for his being introduced here, in a light so very unpleasant, though not untrue; for the picture resembles him in everything but want of wit, which is a misrepresentation. As he was one of the lewdest writers of his time, several collections of obscene poems, many of which he never saw, have been published under his name.

He was looked upon to be master of so much insinuation, that no woman was seen talking to him three times without losing her reputation; and if he did not make himself master of her person, he scrupled not scandalising her to the world. Indeed, in his latter days, it was only talk; for his debaucheries had disabled him from action, and his inability was universally known. DERRICK.

Ver. 241. *A very Killigrew without good-nature.*] Thomas Killigrew, of whom we hear daily so many pleasant stories related, had good natural parts, but no regular education. He was brother to Sir William Killigrew, Vice-chamberlain to King Charles the Second's queen; had been some time page of honour to King Charles I., and was, after the Restoration, many years Master of the Revels and Groom of the Chamber to King Charles II., in whose exile he shared, being his resident at Venice in 1651.—During his travels abroad he wrote several plays, none of which are much talked of. His itch of writing, and his character as a wit and companion, occasioned this distich from Sir John Denham:

"Had Cowley ne'er spoke, Killigrew ne'er writ,
Combined in one they'd made a matchless wit."

The same knight wrote a ballad on him.

Killigrew was a most facetious companion. His wit was lively and spirited, and he had a manner of saying the bitterest things without provoking resentment; he tickled you while he made you smart, and you overlooked the

For what a Bessus has he always lived,
And his own kickings notably contrived ?
For there's the folly that's still mixt with fear ;
Cowards more blows than any hero bear ; 245
Of fighting sparks some may their pleasure say,
But 'tis a bolder thing to run away :
The world may well forgive him all his ill,
For every fault does prove his penance still :
Falsely he falls into some dangerous noose, 250
And then as meanly labours to get loose ;
A life so infamous is better quitting,
Spent in base injury and low submitting.
I'd like to have left out his poetry ;
Forgot by all almost as well as ma. 255
Sometimes he has some humour, never wit,
And if it rarely, very rarely, hit,
'Tis under so much nasty rubbish laid,
To find it out's the cinderwoman's trade ;
Who, for the wretched remnants of a fire, 260
Must toil all day in ashes and in mire.
So lewdly dull his idle works appear,
The wretched texts deserve no comments here ;
Where one poor thought sometimes, left all alone, 265
For a whole page of dulness must atone.

How vain a thing is man, and how unwise ?
E'en he, who would himself the most despise ?
I, who so wise and humble seem to be,
Now my own vanity and pride can't see ;
While the world's nonsense is so sharply shown
We pull down others but to raise our own ; 271
That we may angels seem, we paint them elves,
And are but satires to set up ourselves.
I, who have all this while been finding fault,
E'en with my master, who first satire taught ; 275
And did by that describe the task so hard,
It seems stupendous and above reward ;
Now labour with unequal force to climb
That lofty hill, unreach'd by former time :
'Tis just that I should to the bottom fall, 280
Learn to write well or not to write at all.

pain, charmed by the pleasure. He died at Whitehall in March, 1682, aged seventy-one, bewailed by his friends, and truly wept for by the poor. DERRICK.

Ver. 242. *For what a Bessus has he always lived.*] Bessus is a remarkably cowardly character in Beaumont and Fletcher. DERRICK.

ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL.

Part I.

— Si propius stes
Te capiet magis —

ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL: A POEM PUBLISHED 1681.

THE OCCASION OF IT EXPLAINED.

THE Earl of Shaftesbury seemed bent upon the ruin of the Duke of York. It was mostly through his influence in both houses, that those infamous witnesses, Oates, Tongue, Bedloe, &c., were so strenuously encouraged, and the Popish plot, if not schemed by him, was at least by him cherished and supported. He had been heard to say with some exultation, *I won't pretend to pronounce who started the game, but I am sure I have had the full hunting.* At this day that plot appears, to impartial and discerning eyes, to have been a forgery contrived to inflame the minds of the people against popery, a religion now professed by the duke, that the bill for excluding him from the throne might meet with more countenance and greater certainty of success; and it went very near having the desired effect.

The indiscreet zeal and imprudent conduct of the Roman Catholics, for some time past, had given too much room for suspicion; they having often openly, and in defiance of the established laws of the kingdom, shown a thorough contempt for the established religion of their country, propagated as much as possible their own tenets, loudly triumphed in their progress, and daily acquisition of proselytes among all ranks of people, without the least secrecy or caution. Hence was the nation ripe for alarm: when given, it spread like wildfire; and the Duke of York, as head of the party at which it was aimed, was obliged to withdraw to Brussels to avoid the impending storm.

The king being some time after taken ill, produced his highness's sudden return, before his enemies, and those in the opposition to the court-measures, could provide for his reception; so that their schemes were thus for a while disconcerted. Lest his presence might revive commotion, he returned again to Brussels, and was then permitted (previously) to retire to Scotland, having received the strongest assurances of his brother's affection, and resolution to secure him and his heirs the succession. He had before this the satisfaction of seeing the turbulent Earl of Shaftesbury removed from his seat and precedence in the privy council, as well as all share in the ministry; and now prevailed to have the Duke of Monmouth dismissed from all his posts, and sent into Holland.

Shaftesbury's views were to lift Monmouth to the throne, whose weaknesses he knew he could so effectually manage, as to have the reins of government in that case in his own hands. Monmouth was the eldest of the king's sons, by whom he was tenderly beloved. His mother was one Mrs. Lucy Walters, otherwise Barlow, a Pembrokeshire woman, who bore him at Rotterdam, in 1649 and between whom and his Majesty it was artfully reported, there had passed a contract of marriage. This report was narrowly examined into, and proved false, to the full satisfaction of the privy council, and of the people in general, though Shaftesbury did all in his power to support and establish a belief of its reality. The youth was educated at Paris, under the queen-mother, and brought over to England in 1662: soon after which time he was created Duke of Orkney, in Scotland, and Monmouth in England, or rather Wales; chosen a Knight of the Garter; appointed Master of Horse to his Majesty, General of the land forces, Colonel of the life-guard of horse, Lord-lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, Governor of Kingston-upon-Hull, Chief Justice in Eyre on the south of the

river Trent, Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, and Duke of Buccleugh, in right of his wife, who was daughter and heiress to a noble and wealthy earl, bearing that name; but he lost all those places of honour and fortune, together with his royal father's favour, by the insinuation and art of Shaftesbury, who poisoned him with illegal and ambitious notions, that ended in his destruction.

The partisans of this earl, and other malecontents, had long pointed out his Grace as a proper successor to the crown, instead of the Duke of York, in case of the king's demise; and he began to believe that he had a real right to be so. At the instigation of his old friend, Shaftesbury, he returned to England without his father's consent, who would not see him; and, instead of obeying the royal mandate to retire again, he and Shaftesbury jointly made a pompous parade through several counties in the west and north of England, scattering the seeds of discord and disaffection; so that their designs seemed to be levelled against the government, and a tempest was gathering at a distance, not unlike that which swept the royal martyr from his throne and life. Many people, who would not otherwise have taken part with the court, shuddering when they looked back upon the scenes of anarchy and confusion that had followed that melancholy catastrophe, in order to prevent the return of a similar storm, attached themselves to the King and the Duke of York, and the latter returned to court, where he kept his ground.

The kingdom was now in a high fermentation; the murmurs of each party broke out into altercation and declamatory abuse. Every day produced new libels and disloyal pamphlets. To answer and expose them, their partisans and abettors, several authors were retained by authority, but none came up to the purpose so well as Sir Roger l'Estrange, in the *Observer*; and the poet laureat, in the poem under inspection, the elegance and severity of which raised his character prodigiously, and showed the proceedings of Shaftesbury and his followers in a most severe light. These writings, according to Echard, in a great measure stemmed the tide of a popular current, that might have otherwise immersed the nation in ruin. His Grace the Duke of Monmouth afterwards engaged in the Rye-house Plot, and a reward was offered for the taking him, both by his father and Lewis XIV., whether in England or France. He obtained his pardon both of the king and duke, by two very submissive, nay abject, letters; and being admitted to the royal presence, seemed extremely sorry for his past offences, confessed his having engaged in a design for seizing the king's guards, and changing the government, but denied having any knowledge of a scheme for assassinating either his father or uncle, which it seems was set on foot by the inferior ministers of this conspiracy.

Presuming, however, upon the king's paternal affection, he soon recanted his confession, and consorted with his old followers; so that the king forbid him the court, and he retired to Holland, from whence he returned in 1685, raised a rebellion against his uncle, then on the throne, caused himself to be proclaimed king, and being defeated and taken prisoner, was beheaded on Tower-hill in his thirty-sixth year.—DERRICK.

TO THE READER.

'Tis not my intention to make an apology for my poem: some will think it needs no excuse, and others will receive none. The design I am sure is honest; but he who draws his pen for one party, must expect to make enemies of the other. For wit and fool are consequents of Whig and Tory; * and every man is a knave or an ass to the contrary side. There is a treasury of merits in the Fanatic Church, as well as in the Popish; and a pennyworth to be had of saintship, honesty, and poetry, for the lewd, the factious, and the blockheads: but the longest chapter in Deuteronomy has not

* It was now that the party-distinctions of Whig and Tory were first adopted; the courtiers were deridingly compared to the Irish banditti, who were called Tories; and they likened their opponents to Whigs, a denomination of reproach, formerly given the Scotch covenanters, who were supposed to live on a poor kind of buttermilk so called. These names still distinguish contending parties in England, though strangely varied from their original application. DERRICK.

curses enough for an Anti-Bromingham. My comfort is, their manifest prejudice to my cause will render their judgment of less authority against me. Yet if a poem have a genius, it will force its own reception in the world. For there's a sweetness in good verse, which tickles even while it hurts; and no man can be heartily angry with him who pleases him against his will. The commendation of adversaries is the greatest triumph of a writer, because it never comes unless extorted. But I can be satisfied on more easy terms: if I happen to please the more moderate sort, I shall be sure of an honest party, and, in all probability, of the best judges; for the least concerned are commonly the least corrupt. And I confess I have laid in for those, by rebating the satire (where justice would allow it), from carrying too sharp an edge. They, who can criticise so weakly as to imagine I have done my worst, may be convinced, at their own cost, that I can write severely, with more ease, than I can gently. I have but laughed at some men's follies, when I could have declaimed against their vices; and other men's virtues I have commended, as freely as I have taxed their crimes. And now, if you are a malicious reader, I expect you should return upon me that I affect to be thought more impartial than I am. But if men are not to be judged by their professions, God forgive you Commonwealth's-men for professing so plausibly for the government. You cannot be so unconscionable as to charge me for not subscribing of my name; for that would reflect too grossly upon your own party, who never dare, though they have the advantage of a jury to secure them. If you like not my poem, the fault may, possibly, be in my writing (though 'tis hard for an author to judge against himself). But, more probably, 'tis in your morals, which cannot bear the truth of it. The violent, on both sides, will condemn the character of Absalom, as either too favourably or too hardly drawn. But they are not the violent whom I desire to please. The fault on the right hand is to extenuate, palliate, and indulge; and, to confess freely, I have endeavoured to commit it. Besides the respect which I owe his birth, I have a greater for his heroic virtues; and David himself could not be more tender of the young man's life, than I would be of his reputation. But since the most excellent natures are always the most easy, and, as being such, are the soonest perverted by ill counsels, especially when baited with fame and glory; 'tis no more a wonder that he withstood not the temptations of Achitophel, than it was for Adam not to have resisted the two devils, the serpent and the woman. The conclusion of the story I purposely forebore to prosecute, because I could not obtain from myself to show Absalom unfortunate. The frame of it was cut out but for a picture to the waist; and if the draught be so far true, 'tis as much as I designed.

Were I the inventor, who am only the historian, I should certainly conclude the piece with the reconciliation of Absalom to David. And who knows but this may come to pass? Things were not brought to an extremity where I left the story: there seems yet to be room left for a composure; hereafter there may be only for pity. I have not so much as an uncharitable wish against Achitophel, but am content to be accused of a good-natured error, and to hope with Origen, that the devil himself may at last be saved. For which reason, in this poem, he is neither brought to set his house in order, nor to dispose of his person afterwards as he in his wisdom shall think fit. God is infinitely merciful; and his vicegerent is only not so, because he is not infinite.

The true end of satire is the amendment of vices by correction. And he who writes honestly, is no more an enemy to the offender, than the physician to the patient, when he prescribes harsh remedies to an inveterate disease; for those are only in order to prevent the chyrurgeon's work of an *Ense recidendum*, which I wish not to my very enemies. To conclude all; if the body politic have any analogy to the natural, in my weak judgment, an act of oblivion were as necessary in a not distempered state, as an opiate would be in a raging fever.

ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL.*

In pious times ere priestcraft did begin,
Before polygamy was made a sin;

* This poem is said to be one of the most perfect allegorical pieces that our language ever produced. It is carried on through the whole with equal strength and propriety. The veil is no where laid aside. There is a just similarity in the characters, which are exactly portrayed; the lineaments are well copied, the colouring is lively, the groupings show the hand of a master, and may serve to convince us, that Mr. Dryden knew his own power when he asserted, that he found it easier to write severely than gently. Many editions of this poem were sold in a very short time; the name of the author was, for some time, a secret, and the real merits of it were allowed, even by the enemies of the cause it was meant to assist. Dr. William Coward, a physician of Merton College, Oxford, published a Latin translation of it in 1682; as did also the celebrated Dr. Francis Atterbury, afterwards Bishop of Rochester. A piece of such reputation and service to a particular party could not appear without much censure and many answers; among the most remarkable of which we may reckon "Azariah and Hushai;" and "Absalom senior, or Achitophel transposed;" a poem, dedicated to the Tories, as this was to the Whigs. Here the satire is transferred to the Duke of York; and from the four following lines in the second part of Absalom and Achitophel, we are to suppose, that Elkanah Settle was the author of it, to whom also the other piece is attributed.

"Instinct he follows, and no farther knows,
For to write verse with him is to—transpose.
There's petty treason at his door to lay,
Who makes—heaven's lock a door to its own key."

Wood tells us, that the Duke of Buckingham printed a loose sheet of paper soon after the publication of this poem, intitled, "Reflections upon it," which contained nothing material and were sold very dear. The application of the story of Absalom to this part of King Charles II.'s reign, was first made by a clergyman in the pulpit, and his sermon was printed with the title of "Absalom and Achitophel." DEBRICK.

Ver. 1. *In pious times*] The application of Scripture stories, in the way of allegory, as in the piece before us, to modern and political events, has been practised by more than one eminent poet. *Racine* is supposed to have alluded to the situation of *Madame Maitenon* in his *Esther*. But the most striking example of this practice, is the *Samson Agonistes* of Milton, throughout which noble drama there is a constant reference to the case and condition of the great poet himself, exposed to the derision and insults of the debauched and dissolute Philistines of Charles II.'s court, and wishing to pull down the temple of *Dagon* on their heads. This is particularly visible in the chorus at verse 667. The very trials and the condemnations of Sir Henry Vane, his favourite, and of the other regicides, is plainly pointed out in these lines:

"Or to th' unjust tribunals, under change of times
And condemnation of th' ungrateful multitude."

And the following lines clearly relate to his own losses in the excise, and his severe fits of the gout:

"If these they scape, perhaps in poverty,
Painful diseases and deform'd;
Tho' not disordinate, yet canseless suffering
The punishment of dissolute days."

It is observed by my very ingenious friend, Mr. Hayley,

† Among the many answers to, and remarks on, this poem, the following are curious:—"Towser the Second a Bull-dog, or, A Short Reply to Absalom and Achitophel," folio, half sheet, London, 1681. "Absalom's IX. Worthies," a Poem, folio, half sheet, no date. "Poetical Reflections on Absalom and Achitophel," folio, s. d. "Absalom Senior," a Poem, folio, 1682. Todd.

When man on many multiplied his kind,
Ere one to one was cursedly confined;
When nature prompted, and no law denied
Promiscuous use of concubine and bride;
Then Israel's monarch after Heaven's own heart,
His vigorous warmth did variously impart
To wives and slaves; and wide as his command
Scatter'd his Maker's image through the land.
Michal, of royal blood, the crown did wear;
A soil ungrateful to the tiller's care:
Not so the rest, for several mothers bore
To god-like David several sons before.
But since like slaves his bed they did ascend,
No true succession could their seed attend.
Of all this numerous progeny was none
So beautiful, so brave, as Absalom:

who has certainly given us the most candid and exact life of Milton extant, that the lot of Milton had a marvellous coincidence with that of his hero Samson in three remarkable points: "First, he had been tormented by a beautiful but disaffectionate and disobedient wife; secondly, he had been the great champion of his country, and as such the idol of public admiration; lastly, he had fallen from that height of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the most humiliating reverse of fortune:

"His foe's derision, captive, poor, and blind."

In delineating the greater part of Samson's sensations under calamity, he had only to describe his own." I cannot forbear adding what the same candid writer has observed concerning Milton's political principles: "That had his life been extended long enough to witness the Revolution, he would probably have exulted as warmly as the staunchest friend of our present constitution can exult, in that temperate and happy reformation of monarchical enormities." Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 6. *Promiscuous use*] These lines are insufferably gross and offensive. It is curious to see how Atterbury, who, from a veneration for Tory principles, translated the whole poem, has rendered them.

"Cognovere plus nondum pia secula fraudes
Artu sacerdotum, nondum vetere maritis
Multiplex celebrare iugo convulsa luges,
Cum vir sponsarum numeraverat agmen, et uni
Non servare tuo, lato adversante, coactus
Plurima fertilius producit stentim a lumbis.
Cum scintillas natura daret nec legnibus ullis
Et sponse et lenae vetustum est commune cubile,
Tunc Israelis, cubo cedente, monarchia
Concubitu vario vernas nuptiasque fovebat."

The poem was so popular, that another Latin translation was also published, in 4to, 1682, at Oxford, by Dr. William Coward, a physician of Merton College. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 18. *So beautiful, so brave*] The Duke of Monmouth was young, exquisitely beautiful, brave, generous, affecting popularity, and tenderly beloved by his father, had been educated with one part of the flower of the English youth at Oxford, and served with another in the army; so that he had all the advantages of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Ross, a Scotchman, either from love to his pupil, or to gain importance to himself, was the first person who inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the King had been privately married to his mother. Ross went further, for he advised Cowards, Bishop of Durham, to write a certificate of the marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own house; making use of this argument, that, if the Duke of York should die

Whether inspired by some diviner lust,
 His father got him with a greater gust :
 Or that his conscious destiny made way,
 By manly beauty, to imperial sway,
 Early in foreign fields he won renown,
 With kings and states allied to Israel's crown :
 In peace the thoughts of war he could remove,
 And seem'd as he were only born for love.
 Whate'er he did, was done with so much ease,
 In him alone 'twas natural to please :
 His motions all accompanied with grace ;
 And paradise was open'd in his face.
 With secret joy indulgent David view'd
 His youthful image in his son renew'd :
 To all his wishes nothing he denied ;
 And made the charming Annabel his bride.
 What faults he had, (for who from faults is free ?)
 His father could not, or he would not see.
 Some warm excesses which the law forbore,
 Were construed youth that purged by boiling o'er,
 And Amnon's murder, by a specious name,
 Was call'd a just revenge for injured fame.
 Thus prais'd and loved, the noble youth remain'd,
 While David, undisturb'd, in Zion reign'd.
 But life can never be sincerely blest.
 Heaven punishes the bad, and proves the best.
 The Jews, a headstrong, moody, murmuring race,
 As ever tried the extent and stretch of grace ;
 God's pamper'd people, whom debauch'd with ease,
 No king could govern, nor no God could please ;
 (Gods they had tried of every shape and size,
 That god-smiths could produce, or priests devise :)
 These Adam-wits, too fortunately free,
 Began to dream they wanted liberty ;
 And when no rule, no precedent was found,
 Of men, by laws less circumscribed and bound ;
 They led their wild desires to woods and caves,
 And thought that all but savages were slaves.

converted from popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view ; and if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a papist from the throne ; circumstances which Couzens immediately communicated to the King, but which that prince disregarded, acquitting Mommouth and imputing them only to the petulance of his tutor. Yet Ross, after Couzens died, spread a report abroad, that he had left such a certificate behind him.
 Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 19. *Whether inspired*] How gross and indelicate must the taste of that age have been, when St. Evremont could quote these very filthy and abominable lines in a letter addressed to the celebrated Duchess of Mazarine!
 Dr. J. WARTON.

Ibid. — *inspired by some diviner lust,*] Inspired with some diviner lust. First edition.

Ver. 30. *And paradise was open'd in his face*] Pope's Eloisa, in her compliment to Abelard on his founding the Paraclete, is certainly indebted to this personal description; and the ingenuity of the poet, in the local adaptation, is truly admirable :

"You rais'd these hallow'd walls; the desert smiled,
 And paradise was open'd in the wild." TORD.

Ver. 51. *These Adam-wits, &c.*] Persons discontented in happy circumstances are not unluckily called *Adam-wits*, from a remembrance of Adam's weakness in Paradise, who, aiming at being happier than the happiest, by persuasion of Eve, eat of the forbidden fruit, and thereby forfeited the divine favour, and was excluded the garden of Eden.
 DERRICK.

Ver. 65. *They led their wild desires to woods and caves, And thought that all but savages were slaves.*] Pope, whose eye was perpetually on his master, adopted this rhyme :

"Cities laid waste, they storm'd the woods and caves,
 (For wiser brutes were backward to be slaves.)"
 Windsor Forest, ver. 49.

They who, when Saul was dead, without a blow,
 Made foolish Ishbosheth the crown forego :
 Who banish'd David did from Hebron bring,
 And with a general shout proclaim'd him king :
 Those very Jews, who, at their very best,
 Their humour more than loyalty express'd,
 Now wonder'd why so long they had obey'd
 An idol monarch, which their hands had made ;
 Thought they might ruin him they could create,
 Or melt him to that golden calf a state.
 But these were random bolts : no form'd design,
 Nor interest made the factious crowd to join :
 The sober part of Israel, free from stain,
 Well knew the value of a peaceful reign ;
 And, looking backward with a wise affright,
 Saw seams of wounds dishonest to the sight :
 In contemplation of whose ugly scars,
 They cursed the memory of civil wars.
 The moderate sort of men thus qualified,
 Inclined the balance to the better side ;
 And David's mildness managed it so well,
 The bad found no occasion to rebel.
 But when to sin our blass'd nature leans,
 The careful devil is still at hand with means ;
 And providently pimps for ill desires :
 The good old cause revived a plot requires.
 Plots, true or false, are necessary things,
 To raise up commonwealths, and ruin kings.

The inhabitants of old Jerusalem
 Were Jebusites, the town so call'd from them ;
 And theirs the native right —
 But when the chosen people grew more strong,
 The rightful cause at length became the wrong ;
 And every loss the men of Jebus bore,
 They still were thought God's enemies the more.
 Thus worn or weaken'd, well or ill content,
 Submit they must to David's government :
 Impoverish'd and deprived of all command,
 Their taxes doubled as they lost their land ;
 And what was harder yet to flesh and blood,
 Their gods disgraced, and burnt like common wood.

This set the heathen priesthood in a flame ;
 For priests of all religions are the same.
 Of whatsoever descent their godhead be,
 Stock, stone, or other homely pedigree,
 In his defence his servants are as bold,
 As if he had been born of beaten gold.

Altering the original :

"From towns laid waste, to dens and caves they ran,
 (For who first stoop'd to be a slave was man.)"
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 92. *Thus worn or weaken'd,*] First edition: worn and weaken'd.

Ver. 99. *For priests of all*] It is not my intention to add anything to the many just censures that have been passed on this sweeping, indiscriminating piece of satire of the priesthood, which by vulgar use is become almost proverbial. But I cannot forbear adding an extraordinary passage from Mr. Hume's Essays:—"It is a trite, but not altogether a false maxim, that priests of all religions are the same; and though the character of the profession will not, in every instance, prevail over the personal character, yet it is sure always to predominate with the greater number." He has added a long note, in which he says, page 547, &c. that "this profession leads to dissimulation and hypocrisy, to ambition, to self-conceit, to pride and arrogance, to impatience of contradiction, to intolerance, and to revenge." He afterwards softens these sarcastical strokes, and adds, "Whoever possesses the other noble virtues of humanity, meekness, and moderation, as very many of them, no doubt, do, is beholden for them to nature and reflection, not to the genius of his calling." Dr. J. WARTON.

The Jewish rabbins, though their enemies,
In this conclude them honest men and wise : 105
For 'twas their duty, all the learned think.
T' espouse his cause, by whom they eat and drink.
From hence began that plot, the nation's curse,
Bad in itself, but represented worse ;
Raised in extremes, and in extremes decried ; 110
With oaths affirm'd, with dying vows denied ;
Not weigh'd nor winnow'd by the multitude ;
But swallow'd in the mass, unchew'd and crude.
Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with
lies,

To please the fools, and puzzle all the wise. 115
Succeeding times did equal folly call,
Believing nothing, or believing all.
Th' Egyptian rites the Jebusites embraced ;
Where gods were recommended by their taste.
Such savoury deities must needs be good. 120
As served at once for worship and for food.
By force they could not introduce these gods ;
For ten to one in former days was odds.
So fraud was used, the sacrificer's trade :
Fools are more hard to conquer than persuade.
Their busy teachers mingled with the Jews, 125
And raked for converts even the court and stews :
Which Hebrew priests the more unkindly took,
Because the fleece accompanies the flock.
Some thought they God's anointed meant to slay
By guns, invented since full many a day : 131
Our author swears it not ; but who can know
How far the devil and Jebusites may go !
This plot, which fail'd for want of common sense,
Had yet a deep and dangerous consequence : 135
For as when raging fevers boil the blood,
The standing lake soon floats into a flood,
And every hostile humour, which before
Slept quiet in its channels, bubbles o'er ;
So several factions from this first ferment, 140
Work up to foam, and threat the government.
Some by their friends, more by themselves thought
wise,

Opposed the power to which they could not rise.
Some had in courts been great, and thrown from
thence,

Like fiends were hurlen'd in impenitence. 145
Some, by their monarch's fatal mercy, grown
From pardon'd rebels kinsmen to the throne,
Were raised in power and public office high ;
Strong bands, if bands ungrateful men could tie.

Of these the false Achitophel was first ; 150
A name to all succeeding ages cursed :

Ver. 110. *Raised in extremes*] There are many vigorous lines, and some bold truths, in this account of a plot that disgraces the annals of this country, and produced so much cruelty, perjury, injustice, fraud, and revenge. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 112. *Not weigh'd nor winnow'd*] First edition, incorrectly: Not weigh'd, or winnow'd.

Ver. 121. *As served at once for worship and for food*] And served at once for worship and for food. First edition.

Ver. 150. *Of these the false*] This is the introduction of the chief hero of this piece, the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, under the name of Achitophel. A man, unassuming, imposing in private, eloquent, daring in public, full of resources in both ; who had been bred up in the schools of civil commotion, in the long parliament, in Cromwell's revolutions, and in those which followed Cromwell's death ; and who, from that education, knew well the power of popular rumours, at times when popular passions are in ferment ; framed the fiction of the Popish plot, in the year 1678, in order to bury the Duke, and perhaps the King, under the weight of the national fear and hatred of Popery. Shaftes-

For close designs, and crooked counsels fit ;
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit ;

Ver. 152. *For close designs and crooked counsels fit*] First edition: For close designs, and crooked counsels fit

bury was stimulated, too, by offences, both given and received : for the King having said to him,—" Shaftesbury, thou art the greatest rogue in the kingdom," he answered, bowing,—“ Of a subject, Sir, I believe I am.” And the Duke rated him in passionate terms for one of his speeches in Parliament. “ I am glad,” said he, “ your Royal Highness has not called me Papist and coward.” The account of this plot, in which was involved the assassination of Charles and his brother, an invasion, the conflagration of the city, and a massacre of the Protestants, was calculated, in its great lines, to gain the attention of the higher ranks of the nation, and, by the familiarity and detail of its circumstances, to catch the credulity of the meanest of the populace. By making the Duke one of the objects of the pretended assassination, it prevented the suspicion of its being directed against him ; and, by accusing the Queen, whom the King did not love, it gave a chance for separating the interests of the brothers. The information, as soon as given, flew instantly abroad. Even the marvellousness of the story gave credit to what it was almost impossible to believe human fiction could have invented. Accident after accident, arising in a manner unparalleled in history, concurred to maintain the delusion. Coleman's letters were seized, which discovered that the Duke had been carrying on a correspondence with France, against the religion of his country and its interests. Danby's correspondence with France for money to the King was betrayed, which made Charles a sharer in his brother's disgrace ; but above all, the murder of Godfrey, who, in his character of a magistrate, had made public the plot, caused almost every Protestant to imagine he felt the dagger in his breast. Shaftesbury knew too well the nature of the human mind, not to improve upon this last accident. He suggested to his faction to bring the eye in aid of the imagination, in order to complete the terror of the people. The dead body, ghastly, and with the sword fixed in it, and lying on a bier, was exposed during two days in the public street. It was carried in procession through the city of London to the grave, as the remains of a martyr to the Protestant religion ; seventy-two clergymen walking before, near a thousand persons of condition behind, innumerable crowds in a long silent order, an expression of passion more dangerous than that of clamour and confusion, bringing up the rear.

Such is the character given by my amiable and ingenious friend, Sir John Dalrymple, of this celebrated politician ; which character having been censured as unjust and severe, the author, with that candour and liberality that endears him to his acquaintance, made the following apology in his second volume of *Memoirs*, p. 225 : “ It has been a misfortune to Lord Shaftesbury's memory, that every thing has been written against him, and nothing for him ; upon which account, I am happy to bear, that his family have thoughts of endeavouring to vindicate his memory in public. Far from the intention to injure it, I flatter myself that the papers published in this Appendix will set his character, in several respects, in a new light in the world. They will show that he had no hand in the *Duchess of Orleans's* treaty made at Dover for the interests of popery ; that Charles first broke the ties of honour with him, by deceiving and betraying him into the second treaty with France, in the year 1671, while he concealed from him the first, which had been made in the year 1670 ; and that Shaftesbury took no money from France, at a time when most of his friends of the popular party were doing it.”

It is painful and difficult to bring one's mind to conceive, that a man, totally pious, and unprincipled, could have been so much respected and beloved, as he was, by such a man as Mr. Locke, and could have been one of the most upright, able, irreproachable, popular Lord Chancellors, that ever adorned that high station, to which Dryden himself bears testimony in the strongest manner, in six lines, beginning *Line 128*. It is to be lamented that Locke never finished the memoirs he began of Lord Shaftesbury's life. A very curious and long extract is given from Locke's papers, by Le Clerc, in the seventh volume of the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, from page 147 to page 169, well worthy the attentive perusal of the impartial reader. Locke dwells much on the attentiveness of his wit, and his deep and close penetration into the human heart : of which among others, he gives a remarkable instance. Having dined at Lord Clarendon's with Lord Southampton, he said,

Restless, unfix'd in principles and place;
 In power unpleased, impatient of disgrace : 155
 A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
 Fretted the pigmy-body to decay,
 And o'er-inform'd the tenement of clay.
 A daring pilot in extremity;
 Pleas'd with the danger, when the waves went
 high 160
 He sought the storms ; but for a calm unfit,
 Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.
 Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
 And thin partitions do their bounds divide ;
 Else why should he, with wealth and honour
 blest, 165
 Refuse his age the needful hours of rest ?
 Punish a body which he could not please ;
 Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease ?

on their return to the latter, "Miss Anne Hyde, whom we have just left, is certainly married to one of the royal brothers. A certain secret respect, a studied and supprest attention and complaisance, paid to her by the mother, in her voice, looks, and gestures, and even in the manner in which she offered her every thing at the table, renders this suspicion of mine indisputable." Lord Southampton laughed at the time at the improbability of this conjecture, but was soon afterwards convinced of its truth. In these Memoirs is preserved a spirited letter to the Duke of York from Shaftesbury, when he was confined in the tower, in the year 1676. A saying of this sharp-sighted nobleman deserves to be remembered : "That wisdom lay in the heart, not in the head ; and that it was not the want of knowledge, but the perverseness of the will, that filled men's actions with folly, and their lives with disorder." Dr. J. WATSON.

Ibid. — the false Achitophel—
A name to all succeeding ages curst.—]

was Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, raised to the degree of a baron at the Restoration, and afterwards created Earl of Shaftesbury. His first remarkable appearance was in the royal interest, 1642, being then in his twenty-first year. He soon deserted it in disgust, and joined the Parliament, cutting a notable figure during the interregnum, there being nothing of any consequence transacted, but what he had a hand in, the King's death excepted, of which he kept clear. He conceived a dislike to Cromwell, on being refused one of his daughters, and though he had before struck in with all his measures, he now endeavoured to throw many difficulties in his way, but with so much caution, that he was not called to any account for so doing.

Being nourished by variety, and fond of change, and having, at the same time, always an eye to his own advantage, he assisted, privately, Sir George Booth's designs in the West in behalf of the King, which he denied with solemn imprecations, when charged therewith by the Rump Parliament. At the Restoration, in which he aided, he was one of the twelve members that were sent on that occasion to compliment the King at the Hague, when his wit and vivacity recommended him to much notice. It was at this time he received a hurt in his side, by being overturned in a chaise, which was attended with bad consequences ; being some years after cut for it, an issue remained open. His enemies thence took occasion to ridicule him, by calling him Tapeki. Independent of politics, we have no great room to think highly of his moral character ; for King Charles, in one of his social hours, told him, "Shaftesbury, I believe you are one of the wickedest fellows in the kingdom." "Of a subject, sir," answered he smartly, "it may be." In 1672 he was removed from the exchequer, of which he was chancellor and under-treasurer, to be one of the five commissioners appointed to execute the office of lord high chancellor of England. He was also one of the privy-council, and a member of that famous *cabal* which engrossed the King's entire confidence. DERRICK.

Ver. 154. *Restless, unfix'd in principles and place.*] First edition : *Restless, unfix'd in principle and place.*

Ver. 158. — *the tenement of clay.*] So Milton, *ODE NATIV. ST. 2.*—

"And chose with us a darksome house of mortal clay."
 TORD.

And all to leave what with his toil he won,
 To that unfeather'd two-legg'd thing, a son ; 170
 Got, while his soul did huddled notions try ;
 And born a shapeless lump, like anarchy.
 In friendship false, implacable in hate ;
 Resolved to run or to rule the state.
 To compass this the triple bond he broke ; 175
 The pillars of the public safety shook ;
 And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke :
 Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,
 Usurp'd a patriot's all-atoning name.
 So easy still it proves, in factious times, 180
 With public zeal to cancel private crimes.
 How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,
 Where none can sin against the people's will !
 Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,
 Since in another's guilt they find their own ! 185
 Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge ;
 The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.

Ver. 175. — *the triple bond he broke ;*] In the year 1667, a triple alliance was entered into between England, Sweden, and Holland, which was dissolved by the second Dutch war, to which and a closer connection with France, Lord Shaftesbury contributed his advice, and thereby

— *fitted Israel for a foreign yoke.*

The remaining lines allude to his having changed his opinion, when he found it unpopular, as we have observed above, down to

*Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge ;
 The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge.*

With all his failings it is on every hand allowed, that the business of the chancery was never transacted with more care and exactness than when Lord Shaftesbury presided in that court. His expedition was unparalleled ; he made it his study to bring matters to a speedy issue ; and his speeches from the bench were so strong and conclusive, so fraught with knowledge, and so happily expressed, that his meaning was plain to the most indifferent conception. The poet shows himself truly impartial, in thus rendering him his due ; and, like a masterly painter, he has thereby thrown a strong light over a piece that cannot be viewed to great advantage, nor placed in a clear situation.

He had in his younger days been of Lincoln's-Inn, where he studied the law with great attention ; but his paternal inheritance was so considerable, that he thought the practice of it superfluous, except in this elevated station, the dignity of which he carefully and judiciously observed. He proceeded every day from Exeter-house in the Strand, where he then lived, with vast solemnity, to Westminster ; for he said the credit of all great offices should be maintained with state and ceremony. He altered nothing of his common garb, while he was lord-chancellor, only added an ash-coloured gown, thrown over his clothes, richly laced with gold. How amiable does the character, drawn of him in the passage now before us, represent him ! and who, without grief, can see it so unhappily contrasted in almost all the rest of his life ? DERRICK.

Ver. 179. *Usurp'd a patriot's all-atoning name.*] The first edition reads : *Assumed a patriot's all-atoning name.* This last variation, evidently a typographical error, seems to have been discovered and corrected while the poem was going through the press. There is, in the library of Stion College, a copy of the first edition, which reads : *Assumed a patriot's all-atoning name.*

Ver. 180—191.] These twelve lines were added in the second edition.

Ver. 187. *The statesman we abhor, but praise the judge, &c.*] In a brief account, published in 1684, of many memorable passages of the life and death of the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose juridical character is described in this and the four following lines by Dryden, it is related, that the Earl being made lord chancellor of England, he executed the office "with the greatest judgment and equity unacquainted." Granger, in his discrimination of this nobleman's various conduct, bestows an eulogium on this part of his character with more than his usual strength of diction, and in the very sentiments of the poet—"When we consider him as sitting in the highest tribunal in the kingdom, explaining and correcting the laws, detecting fraud, and

In Israel's courts ne'er sat an Abethdin
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean,
Unbrub'd, unsought, the wretched to redress, 190
Swift of dispatch, and easy of access
Oh ! had he been content to serve the crown,
With virtues only proper to the gown ;
Or had the rankness of the soil been freed
From cockle, that oppress'd the noble seed ; 195
David for him his tuneful harp had strung,
And heaven had wanted one immortal song.
But wild Ambition loves to slide, not stand,
And Fortune's ice prefers to Virtue's land.
Achitophel, grown weary to possess 200
A lawful fame, and lazy happiness,
Disdain'd the golden fruit to gather free,
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.
Now, manifest of crimes contriv'd long since,
He stood at bold defiance with his prince ; 205
Held up the buckler of the people's cause
Against the crown, and sculk'd behind the laws.
The wish'd occasion of the plot he takes ;
Some circumstances finds, but more he makes.
By buzzing emissaries fills the ears 210
Of listening crowds with jealousies and fears
Of arbitrary counsels brought to light,
And proves the king himself a Jebusite.
Weak arguments ! which yet he knew full well,
Were strong with people easy to rebel. 215
For, govern'd by the moon, the giddy Jews
Tread the same track when she the prime renews ;
And once in twenty years, their scribes record,
By natural instinct they change their lord.
Achitophel still wants a chief, and none 220
Was found so fit as warlike Absalom.
Not that he wish'd his greatness to create,
For politicians neither love nor hate :
But, for he knew his title not allow'd,
Would keep him still depending on the crowd : 225

exerting all the powers of his eloquence on the side of justice ; we admire the able lawyer, the commanding orator, and the upright judge. But when he enters into all the iniquitous measures of the Cabal, when he prostitutes his eloquence to enslave his country, and becomes the factious leader, and the popular incendiary, we regard him with an equal mixture of horror and regret."—Biog. Hist. vol. iii. p. 362, second edit. Topp.

Ver 198 *But wild Ambition loves to slide, not stand,
And Fortune's ice prefers to Virtue's land*]

Quere : Whether from Seneca ? Thyestes.

"Stat, quicunque volet, potens
Aulæ culmine lubrico." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 205 *He stood at bold defiance*] The particular circumstance that drove Shaftesbury into a sudden opposition to the court, was, that the King, alarmed at the strong remonstrances of the Commons against Popery, and a dispensing power, and breaking with his own hands the seal annexed to the declaration of indulgence, and granting all the Commons desired, was guilty himself of a breach of promise to his new ministers, and exposed them to the vengeance of the people. "To escape which vengeance, the *Cabal* made the same sudden turn with their master ; so that on this occasion Shaftesbury said, "The prince who forsook himself, deserved to be forsaken." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 223 *For politicians*] The faults and merits of ministers and politicians are, in all governments, especially those that are free perpetually exaggerated and exaggerated to an extreme. Deep laid schemes that never entered their thoughts are ascribed to them, and they are frequently accused of a full design to introduce an arbitrary power when their sole view and aim has been merely to keep themselves in office. The line above insinuates, in it as soon as they become ministers, they cease to be men, an insinuation founded on fiction, false zeal and ignorance of human nature. Dr. J. WARTON.

That kingly power, thus ebbing out, might be
Drawn to the diegs of a democracy.

Him he attempts with studied arts to please,
And sheds his venom in such words as these.

Auspicious prince, at whose nativity 230
Some royal planet ruled the southern sky ;
Thy longing country's darling and desire ;
Their cloudy pillar and their guardian fire :
Their second Moses, whose extended wand
Divides the seas, and shows the promised land :
Whose dawning day in every distant age 235
Has exercised the sacred prophet's rage :
The people's prayer, the glad diviner's theme,
The young men's vision, and the old men's dream !
Thee, Saviour, thee the nation's vows confess, 240
And, never satisfied with seeing, bless :
Swift unspoken pomps thy steps proclaim,
And stammering babes are taught to lisp thy name.
How long wilt thou the general joy detain,
Starve and defraud the people of thy reign ! 245
Content ingloriously to pass thy days,
Like one of virtue's fools that feed on praise :
Till thy fresh glories, which now shine so bright,
Grow stale, and tarnish with our daily sight !
Believe me, royal youth, thy fruit must be 250
Or gather'd ripe, or rot upon the tree.
Heaven has to all allotted, soon or late,
Some lucky revolution of their fate :
Whose mutations if we watch and guide with skill,
(For human good depends on human will,) 255
Our fortune rolls as from a smooth descent,
And from the first impression takes the bent :
But, if unseized, she glides away like wind,
And leaves repenting fully far behind.
Now, now she meets you with a glorious prize, 260
And spreads her locks before her as she flies.
Had thus old David, from whose loins you spring,
Not dared when fortune call'd him to be king,
As Gath an exile he might still remain,
And Heaven's anointing oil had been in vain. 265

Ver. 227. *Drawn to the diegs of a democracy.*] To this alliteration we may not unaptly apply the observation of the acute Dr. Clarke, in an alliterative passage in Homer :—

Κύρτε χυρτί χυρδίε Rem turpem consilii verborum
κατακτά depingit. Ita Virgilius, belli civilis horrorem ;

"Non patriæ validas in viscera vertite vires."

Æn. vi. 838.

He uses this line again in *The Hind and Panther*, ver. 211. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 230. *Auspicious prince.*] All the most powerful topics that could be urged to kindle the latent sparks of ambition in a vain, young, spirited, unprincipled prince, are here brought together, placed in the most striking light, and so placed as each to strengthen the foregoing one with matchless dexterity and art, so that here appears what Dr. Johnson calls the predominant talent of our poet, Elocution. In line 233, Dr. Warton, like a true, acute, and powerful critic, thought he depreciated the doctrine of a *lunatic moon*, by putting a commendation of it in the mouth of Shaftesbury. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 234. — *whose ext nd d wand
Divides the seas, and shows the promised land.*]

First edition :—

— whose extended wand
Splits up the seas, and shows the promised land.

Ver 361. *And spreads her locks before her as she flies.*]

First edition. Derrick incorrectly has—

And spreads her locks before you as she flies

Let his successful youth your hopes engage ;
 But shun the example of declining age .
 Behold him setting in his western skies,
 The shadows lengthening as the vapours rise.
 He is not now, as when on Jordan's sand 270
 The joyful people throng'd to see him land,
 Covering the beach, and blackening all the strand ;
 But, like the prince of angels, from his height
 Comes tumbling downward with diminish'd light:
 Betray'd by one poor plot to public scorn : 275
 (Our only blessing since his cursed return ;)
 Those heaps of people which one sheaf did bind,
 Blown off and scatter'd by a puff of wind,
 What strength can he to your designs oppose,
 Naked of friends and round beset with foes ? 280
 If Pharaoh's doubtful succour he should use,
 A foreign aid would more incense the Jews ;
 Proud Egypt would dissembled friendship bring ;
 Foment the war, but not support the king :
 Nor would the royal party e'er unite 285
 With Pharaoh's arms to assist the Jebusite ;
 Or if they should, their interest soon would break,
 And with such odious aid make David weak.
 All sorts of men by my successful arts,
 Abhorring kings, estrange their alter'd hearts 290
 From David's rule : and 'tis their general cry,
 Religion, commonwealth, and liberty.
 If you, as champion of the public good,
 Add to their arms a chief of royal blood,
 What may not Israel hope, and what applause 295
 Might such a general gain by such a cause ?
 Not barren praise alone, that gaudy flower
 Fair only to the sight, but solid power :
 And nobler is a limited command,
 Given by the love of all your native land, 300
 Than a successive title, long and dark,
 Drawn from the mouldy rolls of Noah's ark.
 What cannot praise effect in mighty minds,
 When flattery soothes, and when ambition blinds ? 305
 Desire of power, on earth a vicious weed,
 Yet sprung from high is of celestial seed :
 In God 'tis glory ; and when men aspire,
 'Tis but a spark too much of heavenly fire.
 The ambitious youth too covetous of fame,
 Too full of angel's mettle in his frame, 310
 Unwarily was led from virtue's ways,
 Made drunk with honour, and debauch'd with
 praise.
 Half loth, and half consenting to the ill,
 For royal blood within him struggled still,
 He thus replied.—And what pretence have I 315
 To take up arms for public liberty ?

Ver. 272. *Covering the beach, and blackening all the strand ;*
 This latter expression Pope has adopted :

"While the long funerals blacken all the way."
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 291. ——— *and 'tis their general cry,* First edition :
 and 'tis the general cry.

Ver. 314. *For royal blood* First edition : *loyal*.

Ver. 315. ——— *And what pretence have I* The seeming
 reluctance of Monmouth, not yet totally depraved, to
 comply with the dangerous advice of his seducer, his pro-
 fessions of affection, loyalty, and respect for his father, to
 whom he fondly ascribes many virtues and excellencies, and
 gratitude for favours received from him, all these circum-
 stances are ally and judiciously painted, and the break in
 his speech at line 347, where he comes to mention the
 Duke of York as successor to the crown, is particularly
 awful. As is the wish at line 363, that fate had given his
 mind another turn, and fortune made him either greater
 or meaner. Dr. J. WARTON.

My father governs with unquestion'd right ;
 The fath's defender, and mankind's delight ;
 Good, gracious, just, observant of the laws , 319
 And Heaven by wonders has espoused his cause.
 Whom has he wrong'd in all his peaceful reign ?
 Who sues for justice to his throne in vain ?
 What millions has he pardon'd of his foes,
 Whom just revenge did to his wrath expose !
 Mild, easy, humble, studious of our good ; 325
 Inclined to mercy, and averse from blood.
 If mildness ill with stubborn Israel suit,
 His crime is God's beloved attribute.
 What could he gain his people to betray,
 Or change his right for arbitrary sway ? 330
 Let haughty Pharaoh curse with such a reign
 His fruitful Nile, and yoke a servile team.
 If David's rule Jerusalem displease,
 The dog-star heats their brains to this disease 335
 Why then should I, encouraging the bad,
 Turn rebel and run popularly mad ?
 Were he a tyrant, who by lawless might
 Oppress'd the Jews and raised the Jebusite,
 Well might I mourn ; but nature's holy bands
 Would curb my spirits and restrain my hands . 340
 The people might assert their liberty ;
 But what was right in them were crime in me.
 His favour leaves me nothing to require,
 Prevents my wishes, and out-runs desire ;
 What more can I expect while David lives ? 345
 All but his kingly diadem he gives :
 And that—but there he paused ; then sighing,
 said—

Is justly destined for a worthier head.
 For when my father from his toils shall rest,
 And late augment the number of the blest, 350
 His lawful issue shall the throne ascend,
 Or the collateral line, where that shall end.
 His brother, though oppress'd with vulgar spite,
 Yet dauntless, and secure of native right,
 Of every royal virtue stands possess'd ; 355
 Still dear to all the bravest and the best.
 His courage foes, his friends his truth proclaim ;
 His loyalty the king, the world his fame.
 His mercy e'en the offending crowd will find ;
 For sure he comes of a forgiving kind. 360
 Why should I then repine at Heaven's decree,
 Which gives me no pretence to royalty ?
 Yet oh that fate, propitiously inclined,
 Had raised my birth, or had debas'd my mind ;
 To my large soul not all her treasure lent, 365
 And then betray'd it to a mean descent !
 I find, I find my mounting spirits bold,
 And David's part disdains my mother's mold.
 Why am I scanted by a niggard birth ?
 My soul disclaims the kindred of her earth ; 370
 And, made for empire, whispers me within,
 Desire of greatness is a god-like sin.
 Him staggering so, when hell's dire agent found,
 While fainting virtue scarce maintain'd her ground,
 He pours fresh forces in, and thus replies : 375
 The eternal God, supremely good and wise,

Ver. 367. *I find, I find my mounting spirits bold,* He
 had his eye on Virgil's Nisus and Euryalus.

"— aliquid jam dudum invadere magnam
 Mœnas agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est."

But the repetition *I find*, more strongly reminds us of

"Est hic, est animus lucis contemptor."

JOHN WARTON.

Imparts not these prodigious gifts in vain :
 What wonders are reserved to bless your reign !
 Against your will your arguments have shown,
 Such virtue's only given to guide a throne. 359
 Not that your father's mildness I contemn ;
 But manly force becomes the diadem.
 'Tis true he grants the people all they crave ;
 And more perhaps, than subjects ought to have :
 For lavish grants suppose a monarch tame, 355
 And more his goodness than his wit proclaim.
 But when should people strive their bonds to
 break,

If not when kings are negligent or weak ?
 Let him give on till he can give no more,
 Tho' thrifty Sanhedrim shall keep him poor ; 360
 And every shekel, which he can receive,
 Shall cost a limb of his prerogative.
 To ply him with new plots shall be my care ;
 Or plunge him deep in some expensive war ;
 Which when his treasure can no more supply, 365
 He must, with the remains of kingship, buy
 His faithful friends, our jealousies and fears
 Call Jebusites, and Pharaoh's pensioners ;
 Whom when our fury from his aid has torn,
 He shall be naked left to public scorn. 400
 The next successor, whom I fear and hate,
 My arts have made obnoxious to the state ;
 Turn'd all his virtues to his overthrow,
 And gaud'd our elders to pronounce a foe.
 His right, for sums of necessary gold, 405
 Shall first be pawn'd, and afterwards be sold ;
 Till time shall ever-wanting David draw,
 To pass your doubtful title into law ;
 If not, the people have a right supreme
 To make their kings ; for kings are made for 410
 them.

All empire is no more than power in trust,
 Which, when resumed, can be no longer just.
 Succession, for the general good design'd,
 In its own wrong a nation cannot bind : 415
 If altering that the people can relieve,
 Better one suffer than a nation grieve.
 The Jews well know their power : ere Saul they
 chose,
 God was their king, and God they durst depose.
 Urge now your piety, your filial name,
 A father's right, and fear of future fame ; 420
 The public good, that universal call,
 To which e'en Heaven submitted, answers all.
 Nor let his love enchant your generous mind ;
 'Tis nature's trick to propagate her kind.
 Our fond begotters, who would never die, 425
 Love but themselves in their posterity.
 Or let his kindness by the effects be tried,
 Or let him lay his vain pretence aside.
 God said, he loved your father : could he bring
 A better proof, than to anoint him king ? 430
 It surely show'd he loved the shepherd well,
 Who gave so fair a flock as Israel.

Ver. 411. *All empire*] He thinks he sufficiently exposes this notion of the origin and end of government, by putting it into the mouth of a seeming prodigal politician. Yet this opinion was held by Hooker, by Locke, and Hurd, &c. and many other rational writers on government. And his successor was of a contrary opinion, saying,

"Th' enormous faith of many made for one."

Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 416. *Better one suffer than a nation grieve.*] First edition: *million*.

Would David have you thought his darling son ?
 What means he then to allocate the crown ?
 The name of gully he may blush to bear : 435
 Is't after God's own heart to cheat his heir ?
 He to his brother gives supreme command,
 To you a legacy of barren land ;
 Perhaps the old harp, on which he thrums his lays,
 Or some dull Hebrew ballad in your praise. 440
 Then the next heir, a prince severe and wise,
 Already looks on you with jealous eyes ;
 Sees through the thin disguises of your arts,
 And marks your progress in the people's hearts ;
 Though now his mighty soul its grief contains : 445
 He meditates revenge who least complains ;
 And like a lion, slumbering in the way,
 Or sleep dissembling, while he wars his prey,
 His fearless foes within his distance draws,
 Constrains his roaring, and contracts his paws ; 451
 Till at the last, his time for fury found,
 He shoots with sudden vengeance from the
 ground ;

The prostrate vulgar passes o'er and spares,
 But with a lordly rage his hunters tears.
 Your case no tame expedients will afford : 455
 Resolve on death, or conquest by the sword,
 Which for no less a stake than life you draw ;
 And self-defence is nature's eldest law.
 Leave the warm people no considering time :
 For then rebellion may be thought a crime. 460
 Avail yourself of what occasion gives,
 But try your title while your father lives :
 And that your arms may have a fair pretence,
 Proclaim you take them in the king's defence ;
 Whose sacred life each minute would expose 465
 To plots, from seeming friends, and secret foes.
 And who can sound the depth of David's soul ?
 Perhaps his fear his kindness may control.
 He fears his brother, though he loves his son,
 For plighted vows too late to be undone. 470
 If so, by force he wishes to be gain'd :
 Like women's lechery to seem constrain'd.
 Doubt not : but, when he most affects the frown,
 Commit a pleasing rape upon the crown.
 Secure his person to secure your cause : 475
 They who possess the prince possess the laws.
 He said, and this advice above the rest,
 With Absalom's mild nature suited best ;
 Unblamed for life, ambition set aside,
 Not stain'd with cruelty, nor puff'd with pride. 480
 How happy had he been, if destiny
 Had higher plac'd his birth, or not so high !
 His king's virtues might have claim'd a throne
 And bless'd all other countries but his own.
 But charming greatness since so few refuse, 485
 'Tis juster to lament him than accuse.
 Strong were his hopes a rival to remove,
 With blandishments to gain the public love :

Ver. 436. *Is't after God's own heart to cheat his heir ?*]
 The first edition has—

'Tis after God's own heart to cheat his heir. *signifying*.

Ver. 447. *And like a lion*] These lines are some of the most highly-finished and animated of any in the whole piece. But is not Shattellury, by introducing this fine simile in his speech to Munnath, as much too great a poet, as Aeneas is in the comparisons he has introduced in his narration to Dido in the second and third books of the *Aeneid*? Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 461. *Avail yourself of what occasion gives,*] First edition: *Prevail &c.*

To head the faction while their zeal was hot,
And popularly prosecute the plot.
To further this, Achitophel unites:
The malcontents of all the Israelites:
Whose differing parties he could wisely join,
For several ends, to serve the same design.
The best, and of the princes some were such,
Who thought the power of monarchy too much;
Mistaken men, and patriots in their hearts;
Not wicked, but seduced by insidious arts.
By these the springs of property were bent,
And wound so high, they crack'd the government.
The next for interest sought to embroil the
state,

To sell their duty at a dearer rate;
And nuke their Jewish markets of the throne;
Pretending public good to serve their own.
Others thought kings an useless heavy load,
Who cost too much, and did too little good.
Those were for laying honest David by,
On principles of pure good husbandry.
With them join'd all the haranguers of the throng,
That thought to get preferment by the tongue.
Who follow next a double danger bring,
Not only hating David, but the king;
The Solymean rout; well versed of old,
In godly faction, and in treason bold;
Covering and quaking at a conqueror's sword,
But lofty to a lawful prince restored;
Saw with disdain an Ethnic plot begun,
And scorn'd by Jebusites to be undone.
Hot Levites headed these; who pull'd before
From the ark, which in the Judges' days they
bore,

Resumed their cant, and with a zealous cry,
Pursued their old beloved Theocracy:
Where Sanhedrim and priest enslav'd the nation,
And justified their spoils by inspiration;
For who so fit to reign as Aaron's race,
If once dominion they could found in grace!
These led the pack; though not of surest scent,
Yet deepest mouth'd against the government.
A numerous host of dreaming saints succeed,
Of the true old enthusiastic breed:
'Gainst form and order they their power employ,
Nothing to build, and all things to destroy.
But far more numerous was the herd of such,
Who think too little, and who talk too much.
These out of mere instinct, they know not why,
Adored their fathers' God and property;
And by the same blind benefit of fate,
The devil and the Jebusite did hate:
Born to be saved, even in their own despite,
Because they could not help believing right.
Such were the tools: but a whole Hydra more
Romans of sprouting heads too long to score.
Some of their chiefs were princes of the land;
In the first rank of these did Zimri stand;

Ver. 525. *For who so fit to reign as Aaron's race,* In the first edition:

For who so fit for reign as Aaron's race.

Ver. 544. *In the first rank* It will be difficult to find in Horace, Boileau, or Pope, any portrait drawn with such truth and spirit as this of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. Pope entered the lists with his master, but has not come up to the vigour, the variety of follies enumerated, the nice discriminations of follies and weaknesses, the tone of pleasantry and contempt, the contrivances and incongruities, enumerated by Dryden. These lines were intended as a payment in full, for the bitter, but deserved satire of the Rehearsal, acted about nine years, before

A man so various, that he seem'd to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome:
Stiff in opinions, always in the wrong;
Was every thing by starts, and nothing long;

Whether Bayes or Zimri be placed in the more ridiculous light, I will not determine. But undoubtedly, the very unnatural and forced sentiments, the inflated and bombast language, the insinuating plots, the absurd situations, and total want of decorum in our author's plays, are exposed in the Rehearsal with much good manly sense and sound criticism. And I cannot but be surprised that Dr. Johnson should speak of this piece in so contemptuous a manner, calling it a mere farce, and wondering it should be thought the production of several wits united in the scheme. But Dryden was so much his favourite, that he has endeavoured to palliate many of his faults, and almost to defend his rhyme-tragedies, saying, "that we know not the effect it might have on the passions of an audience; but it has this convenience, that sentences stand more independent on each other, and striking passages are therefore easily selected and retained. Thus the description of night in the Indian Emperor, and the Rise and Fall of Empire in the Conquest of Granada, are more frequently repeated than any lines in All for Love, or Don Sebastian." Woe to that tragedy whose merit depends on striking detached passages, on select sentences, and florid descriptions! Dr. J. WATSON.

Ibid.

Zimri
A man so various, that he seem'd to be
Not one, but all mankind's epitome:—]

Was drawn for George Villiers, who succeeded to the title of Duke of Buckingham, on the death of his father, who was murdered by Felton. "He had some wit, great vivacity, was the minister of riot, the slave of intemperance, a pretended atheist, without honour, principle, economy, or discretion." He had a fine person, and the women deemed him handsome; he was apprehensive and sarcastic; sung well; told a story very facetiously; mimicked the failings of others adroitly; and possessed strong powers for ridicule; versed with ease; but knew all his accomplishments, and foiled them by his intolerable vanity. He had shared in the King's exile, and coming into possession of more than 20,000*l.* per annum, at the Restoration, was a great favourite. In 1606 it was discovered that he had endeavoured to stir up such of the people that were ill-disposed to the government, because he had been refused the trust of President of the North. In the following year he made his peace at court, and became a member of the Cabal, which was made up of five ministers, in whom alone the King for some time confided, and who led him into measures that were productive of all the uneasiness he afterwards sustained. In 1675 he became a favourite of the Nonconformists; and in the affairs of the Popish plot, and bill of exclusion, stuck close to Shaftesbury, and, with all his strength and influence, opposed the court. Having at length squandered away almost all his immense fortune, with the acquisition of an infamous character, he departed this life in 1697, lamented by nobody, according to Wood, at his house in Yorkshire; but Pope says he died in the utmost misery, in a remote inn in Yorkshire, having run through a fortune of 50,000*l.* a year, and been possessed of some of the highest posts in the kingdom.

"In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half hung,
The floors of plaster, and the walls of dung;
On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with straw,
With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,
The George and Garter dangling from that bed,
Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red;
Great Villiers lies, alas! how changed from him,
That life of pleasure, and that soul of wine,
Gallant and gay, in Chiefton's proud alcove,
The bower of wanton Showbury, and love:
Or just as gay at council, in a ring
Of mimick'd statesmen, and a merry king.
No wit to flatter left, of all his store!
No fool to laugh at, which he valued more.
There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,
And fame; this lord of useless thousands sits."

His grace was the author of several pieces of entertainment, but particularly the Rehearsal; the Bayes of which he intended for Dryden, who has fully avenged himself in the character of Zimri, with this advantage, that the picture is an exact resemblance. DENNIS.

But, in the course of one revolving moon, 549
 Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon :
 Then all for women, painting, rhyming, drinking,
 Besides ten thousand freaks that died in thinking.
 Blost madnan, who could every hour employ,
 With something new to wash, or to enjoy !
 Railing and praising were his usual themes ; 555
 And both, to show his judgment, in extremes :
 So over violent, or over civil,
 That every man with him was God or Devil.
 In squandering wealth was his peculiar art :
 Nothing went unrewarded but desert. 560
 Beggar'd by fools, whom still he found too late ;
 He had his jest, and they had his estate.
 He laugh'd himself from court ; then sought relief
 By forming parties, but could ne'er be chief :
 For, spite of him, the weight of business fell 565
 On Absalom, and wise Achitophel :
 Thus, wicked but in will, of means bereft,
 He left no faction, but of that was left.
 Titles and names 'twere tedious to rehearse
 Of lords, below the dignity of verse. 570
 Wits, warriors, commonwealth's-men, were the
 best :
 Kind husbands, and mere nobles, all the rest.
 And therefore, in the name of dullness, be
 The well-hung Balaam and cold Caleb free :
 And canting Nadab let oblivion damn, 575
 Who made new porridge for the paschal lamb.

Ver 550. *Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon :*
 "Schänobates, augur, medicus, magus, omnia novit."
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 569. *Titles and names*] Fourscore years ago it
 might have been interesting and entertaining to have
 known the particular histories of the persons here enu-
 merated. Who inquires anything relating to *Balaam*, who
 was the Earl of Huntingdon ; to *Nadab*, Lord Howard of
 Esrick ; to bull-faced *Jonas*, meaning Sir William Jones,
 a great lawyer of his time, and mentioned by Burnet as
 having refused the great seal ; to *Shimei*, who was Slingsby
 Bethel, Esq., famous for his avarice, of whom our poet
 says coarsely,

"Cool was his kitchen, though his brains were hot."
 The only person of whom we wish to know more was *Caleb*,
 who was Ford, Lord Grey, whose memoirs are very curious.
 Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 574. — *cold Caleb*] Lord Grey, who was child-
 less — MS. Note by Mr. Luttrell. MALONE.

Ver. 575. *And canting Nadab let oblivion damn,*
Who made new porridge for the paschal lamb.]

Nadab is Lord Howard of Esrick, who took the sacra-
 ment in lamb'swool. — MS. Note by Mr. Luttrell. MALONE.

Ford, Lord Grey of Werk, was strongly attached to the
 Duke of Monmouth, a zealous promoter of Lord Shaftes-
 bury's measures, and a constant opponent of the court.
 He was a smooth talker, possessed of a large estate, both
 which accomplishments gave him influence among the
 people. Being concerned in the Rye-house-plot, he was
 arrested, and examined before the Privy-council, who
 ordered him to the Tower ; but when the messenger, who
 had the care of him, brought him thither, the gates were
 shut, it being late, and they could not get in ; so that
 they spent the whole night together, and drank pretty
 freely. In the morning they came to the Tower again
 very early, the doors not being as yet opened ; and his
 keeper, who was very drunk, falling asleep, he turned
 down towards the wharf, and, taking oars, got off to
 Holland. Here he joined his old friend Monmouth, whom
 he contributed to spirit up to the rebellion in the ensuing
 reign, that brought that unhappy nobleman to the block.

The Duke is said to have relied much upon him to very
 little purpose ; for he was charged with having made a
 poor and cowardly figure at Sedgemoor, where he headed
 the duke's cavalry, which was, by his dastardly behaviour,
 thrown into confusion, and the King's forces obtained a
 complete victory. Lord Grey was taken at Holtbridge in

Let friendship's holy band some names assure ;
 Some their own worth, and some let scorn secure.
 Nor shall the rascal rabble here have place, 579
 Whom kings no titles gave, and God no grace :
 Not bull-faced Jonas, who could statutes draw
 To mean rebellion, and make treason law.
 But he, though bad, is follow'd by a worse,
 The wretch who Heaven's anointed dared to curse ;
 Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring 585
 Of zeal to God and hatred to his king ;

a shepherd's habit ; and the duke himself was soon after
 seized in a ditch, disguised like a peasant, with a few
 peas in his pocket ; neither of them behaved with com-
 posure or equanimity, and both were brought prisoners
 together to London. Monmouth's fate has been already
 taken notice of, but Lord Grey's life was saved by a
 proper application of several sums of money ; Lord
 Rochester having touched 16,000*l*. He was, besides, mean
 enough to confess every thing that he knew relative to
 Monmouth, or his designs, and even appeared as an evi-
 dence against several persons : however, he had before
 stipulated for their lives.

Lord Howard was bled up in republican principles ; he
 was a professed enemy to monarchical government, stuck
 fast to all Shaftesbury's seditious undertakings, and was
 very active in promoting riots, and opposing the Tory
 interest in the City. He had been committed to the
 Tower for endeavouring to persuade Fitz-Harris, who was
 tried for being concerned in a seditious libel to accuse
 the King, Queen, and Duke, of some designs against the
 people's liberty ; and was actually engaged so far in the
 Rye-house-plot as to have listened to a scheme proposed
 for murdering the King. Lord Russel and some other
 men of honour, linked in this conspiracy, knew of nothing
 but a design of securing his royal person, till such time
 as they should have obtained from him a certainty of the
 support and firm establishment of the Protestant religion,
 which these patriots, not without reason, supposed to be
 in some danger.

A warrant being issued out against him on this account,
 he was found hid in a chimney in his own house, and when
 dragged down, behaved in the most contemptible manner,
 bewailing his misfortune with tears, promising to reveal
 every thing he knew ; and he kept his word, being used
 as a witness against the good Lord Russel, and many
 other people in great estimation : nor did the succeeding
 reign excuse him being still called upon to do their dirty
 work, a drudgery of which he complained in heavy terms.
 DERRICK.

Ver. 578. *Who made new porridge*] I have avoided in
 these remarks the *Irakmo*, and, perhaps, needless task,
 of pointing out, from time to time, the many vulgar,
 familiar, flat, coarse, and prosaic expressions, into which
 our author so frequently and unexpectedly falls, in the
 midst of passages remarkably beautiful :

" — medio de fonte leporum
 Surgit amari aliquid." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 581. — *Jonas, who could statutes draw*] Sir
 William Jones. He drew the Habeas Corpus Act. — MS.
 Luttrell. MALONE.

Ver. 585. *Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring*
 In the first edition :

Shimei, whose early youth did promise bring

Ibid. *Shimei, whose youth did early promise bring*
Of zeal to God and hatred to his king ;]

Shimei, Slingsby Bethel, Esq., by poll chosen one of the
 sheriffs for the city of London, on Midsummer-day, 1680,
 was a zealous fanatic, and had been formerly one of the
 Committee of Safety ; however, to render himself fit for
 his office, he received the sacrament, and renounced the
 covenant, but not his factious principles. Burnet calls
 him a man of knowledge, and says he wrote a learned
 book about the interest of princes ; but that his miserable
 way of living, and miserly disposition, was very preju-
 dicial to his party, and rendered him disagreeable to
 every body.

When the King, as usual in such cases, had changed
 Lord Stafford's sentence from hanging to beheading, he
 officiously and impudently petitioned the House of Com-
 mons, to know whether such a right was vested in the
 King? And he and his colleague, Henry Cornish, tam-
 pered with Fitz-Harris, while in Newgate, about intro-
 ducing the names of the King, the Queen, or the Duke

Did wisely from expensive sins refrain,
And never broke the sabbath, but for gain :
Nor ever was he known an oath to vent,
Or curse, unless against the government. 590
Thus heaping wealth, by the most ready way
Among the Jews, which was to cheat and pray :
The city, to reward his pious hate
Against his master, chose him magistrate.
His hand a vane of justice did uphold ; 595
His neck was loaded with a chain of gold.
During his office treason was no crime ;
The sons of Belial had a glorious time :
For Shimei, though not prodigal of pol',
Yet loved his wicked neighbour as himself. 600
When two or three were gather'd to declaim
Against the monarch of Jerusalem,
Shimei was always in the midst of them :
And if they cursed the king when he was by,
Would rather curse than break good company. 605
If any durst his factious friends accuse,
He pack'd a jury of dissenting Jews ;
Whose fellow-feeling in the godly cause
Would free the suffering saint from human laws. 610
For laws are only made to punish those
Who serve the king, and to protect his foes.
If any leisure time he had from power,
(Because 'tis sin to misemploy an hour,)
His business was, by writing to persuade,
That kings were useless, and a clog to trade : 615
And, that his noble style he might refine,
No Rebabite more shunn'd the fumes of wine.
Chaste were his cellars, and his shroval board
The grossness of a city feast abhor'd :
His cooks with long disuse their trade forgot ; 620
Cool was his kitchen, though his brains were hot.

as concerned in the Popish plot ; and promising him, in case he could only turn up a formal story to that purpose, not only his life, but restitution of his estate, which had been forfeited in the Irish rebellion, for Fitz-Harris was an Irish Roman Catholic.

Cornish was a plain-spoken honest republican, who temporised for the good of his party ; he was unjustly accused, in 1685, of high treason, and hurried out of the world without being allowed time sufficient to prepare for his defence, for he was tried, condemned, and executed, in a week ; but King James was shortly after so well convinced of his innocence, that he restored his estate to his family, and condemned the two witnesses that had appeared against him, Colonel Ramsey and Goodenough the attorney, to perpetual imprisonment. DEANING.

Ver 594. *Against his master, chose him magistrate.*] Sheriff. —MS. Luttrell. MALONE.

Ver. 595 *His hand a vane of justice did uphold,*] Doubts have been entertained concerning the word *vane* in this line, which some persons have supposed an error of the press ; and Derrick substituted *vane* for it. But the text is perfectly correct, and *vane* is the true reading ; the meaning of which uncommon word is ascertained by the following passage in Howell's Letters, p. 161, edit. 1723, which has been communicated by James Boswell, of the Inner Temple, Esq.

"He [the Spaniard] is wonderfully obedient to government ; for the proudest Don of Spain, when he is prancing upon his ginet in the street, if an alguazil (a serjeant) show him his *vane*, that is, a little white staffe he carrieth as a badge of his office, my Don will presently off his horse, and yield himself his prisoner."

Vane in Spanish signifies a wand. In a note on one of Dryden's Prose Pieces, Mr. Malone has observed, that he was a great reader of Spanish authors.

Ver. 614. *His business was, by writing to persuade, &c.*] See his "Intest of the several Protestant Powers"—MS. Note by Mr. Luttrell. MALONE.

Ver. 618. *Chaste were his cellars, and his shroval board, &c.*] He kept a very poor and scandalous shrievalty.—MS. Note by Mr. Luttrell. MALONE.

Such frugal virtue malice may accuse ;
But sure 'twas necessary to the Jews ;
For towns, once burnt, such magistrates require
As dare not tempt God's providence by fire. 625
With spiritual food he fed his servants well,
But free from flesh that made the Jews rebel :
And Moses' laws he held in more account,
For forty days of fasting in the mount.
To speak the rest who better are forgot, 630
Would ture a well-breathed witness of the plot.
Yet Corah, thou shalt from oblivion pass ;
Erect thyself, thou monumental brass,
High as the serpent of thy metal made,
While nations stand secure beneath thy shade. 635
What, though his birth were base, yet comets
rise

From earthly vapours, ere they shine in skies.
Prodigious actions may as well be done
By weaver's issue, as by prince's son.
This arch-attester for the public good 640
By that one deed ennobles all his blood.
Who ever ask'd the witness's high race,
Whose oath with martyrdom did Stephen grace ?
Ours was a Levite, and as times went then,
His tribe were God Almighty's goulamon. 645
Sunk were his eyes, his voice was harsh and loud,
Sure signs he neither choleric was, nor proud :
His long chin proved his wit ; his saint-like grace
A church-vennion, and a Moses' face.
His memory, miraculously great, 650
Could plots, exceeding man's belief, repent ;
Which therefore cannot be accounted lies,
For human wit could never such devise.
Some future truths are mingled in his book ;
But where the witness fail'd, the prophet spoke :
Some things like visionary flights appear ; 655
The spirit caught him up, the Lord knows where ;
And gave him his rabbinical degree,
Unknown to foreign university.
His judgment yet his memory did excel ; 660
Which preceded his wondrous evidence so well,
And suited to the temper of the times,
Then growing under Jobastie crimes.

Ver. 632. *Yet Corah.*] This was Titus Oates, the informer of the execrable Popish plot, which was so loaded with absurdities and inconsistencies, that to have believed it, is a lasting disgrace to the people of this country. He was himself the most infamous of men ; and among other crimes, had been indicted for perjury ; and been expelled from a chaplainship in the fleet on complaint of some unnatural practices. So ample an account has been given of the intended murders, massacres, and cruelties, by Burnet, Echard, North, and Hume, that they need not, and cannot be detailed in this place, and are, indeed, sufficiently known. Oates for his discovery was by the parliament recommended to the King, was lodged in Whitehall, and protected by guards, and had a pension of £200l. a year. But in the succeeding reign, 1696, this abandoned villain was convicted of the most atrocious perjury, on the fullest and clearest evidence, was fined a thousand marks on each of two indictments, and sentenced to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, to be imprisoned for life, and to be pilloried five times every year. All this he survived, and in the succeeding reign obtained a pension of 200l. a year. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 637. *From earthly vapours.*] *Earthy*, first edition.

Ver. 650. *By weaver's issue, &c.*] Titus Oates was the son of a weaver.—MS. Note by Mr. Luttrell. MALONE.

Ver. 656. *Some things like visionary flights appear.*] First edition. Derrick has *flight*.

Ver. 659. *Unknown to foreign university.*] He pretended to have taken a degree at Salamanca.—MS. Note by Mr. Luttrell. MALONE.

Let Israel's foes suspect his heavenly call,
And rashly judge his writ apocryphal, 665
Our laws for such affronts have forfeits made :
He takes his life who takes away his trade.
Were I myself in witness Corah's place,
The wretch who did me such a dire disgrace,
Should whet my memory, though once forgot, 670
To make him an appendix of my plot.
His zeal to Heaven made him his prince despise,
And load his person with indignities.
But zeal peculiar privilege affords,
Indulging latitude to deeds and words : 675
And Corah might for Agag's murder call,
In terms as coarse as Samuel used to Saul.
What others in his evidence did join,
The best that could be had for love or coin,

Ver. 676. *And Corah might for Agag's murder call.* Agag, Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of peace, before whom Oates had made his first deposition, and who was, soon after, found murdered in a ditch near Primrose-hill, on the road to Hampstead, his sword being run quite through his body, without any effusion of blood. This was done, as it was supposed, with a view to make people think he had murdered himself, whereas, in fact, his death was occasioned by strangling, a broad livid mark being plain round his neck, which was broken, and his breast bruised in several places, as if he had been knotted or trampled upon. His gloves and cane lay near him, his shoes were clean, and his money untouched. It is very surprising that his murderers were never discovered, though Bedloe, an infamous wretched incendiary, swore the crime against two or three innocent people, who suffered death. The Earl of Shaftesbury took prodigious pains to save some unhappy persons to swear it upon the Papists, offering them 500*l.* reward, in case they accused; and menacing them in the severest manner, if they refused. He threatened one Mrs. Mary Gibbons, a relation of Sir Godfrey's, that she should be worried to death, as dogs worry cats, unless she confessed that Sir John Banks, Mr. Pepys, and Mr. De Puy, knew something of the murder: by his rude behaviour the woman was thrown into fits, and her life endangered: he laboured hard to induce the two men who first found the corpse, to lay the murder upon some great Roman Catholic, but though they were both in mean circumstances, he could not pervert their honesty. Nor had he more success with Francis Carrol, an honest common hackney-coachman, whom some of his emissaries accused of having carried the corpse in his coach to the place in which it was found. This poor man was confined in Newgate near two months, loaded with irons, inclosed in a dungeon, the noisomeness of which was contagious, and actually kept from Thursday to Sunday without victuals, in such misery, that he begged for a knife to end a wretched life, which he said he would rather forfeit than stain his soul with perjury. He was at length dismissed, after having given proofs of integrity, that would have done honour to the most refined understanding.

The inconsistencies and contradictions of the witnesses, who pretended to know the circumstances of Sir Godfrey's death, sufficiently acquit the different persons who suffered up*n* their testimony. Perhaps he was despatched in reality by some zealous Papist, who feared that Oates's information might be prejudicial to the Catholic interest, and that the justice might be hereafter summoned as a secondary evidence; or may be, it was perpetrated by the contrivers and inventors of the Popish plot, to throw the greater odium on the court, and the party they meant to ruin: if so, they succeeded to admiration.

"Sir Edmundbury Godfrey was a man of a very good character, of a reserved melancholy turn of mind, an enemy to all persecution, and rather a protector than persecutor of Nonconformists. He had, with reluctance, received Oates's information. As to the report that prevailed of his having been murdered by the Papists, because their violent enemy, it was without any manner of foundation, for he was upon good terms with the party in general. It has been affirmed, that he hanged himself in his own house, and that his two brothers, who were his next heirs, had the body conveyed abroad, and the sword run through it, that so it might be thought he was assassinated, and the crown thereby prevented from seizing on his effects."—Burnet, Echard, Smollett. DERRICK.

In Corah's own predicament will fall : 680
For witness is a common name to all.

Surrounded thus with friends of every sort,
Deluded Absalom forsakes the court :
Impatient of high hopes, urged with renown, 685
And fired with near possession of a crown.
The admiring crowd are dazzled with surprise,
And on his goodly person feed their eyes.
His joy conceal'd, he sets himself to show ;
On each side bowing popularly low :
His looks, his gestures, and his words he frames,
And with familiar ease repeats their names. 691
Thus form'd by nature, furnish'd out with arts,
He glides unfelt into their secret hearts.
Then, with a kind compassionate look,
And sighs, bespeaking pity ere he spoke, 695
Few words he said ; but easy those and fit,
More slow than Hybla-drops, and far more sweet.

I mourn, my countrymen, your lost estate ;
Though far unable to prevent your fate :
Behold a banish'd man for your dear cause 700
Exposed a prey to arbitrary laws !
Yet oh ! that I alone could be undone,
Cut off from empire, and no more a son !
Now all your liberties a spoil are made ;
Egypt and Tyrus intercept your trade, 705
And Jobusites your sacred rites invade.

Ver. 683. *Deluded Absalom.* I intended to have pointed out, as we passed along, the art and dexterity of the poet in adapting the Scripture-story to his design; but the parallel is so broken and disjointed, and so imperfectly pursued, that I was forced to drop that design.

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 686. *The admiring crowd are dazzled with surprise, And on his goodly person feed their eyes.*

Here the poet describes the tour taken by the Duke of Monmouth after his return from Holland, without the King's leave, and with the advice of Shaftesbury, to whose counsels he had fatally resigned himself. This progress, he justly observes, though couched under the notion of its being made for hunting, and the diversions of the country, was, in reality, to try how the people stood affected; whether the suspicions against the Queen and the Duke of York were sufficiently inculcated, to give Monmouth an opportunity of mounting the throne, in case of the King's death; and his ambition he disguised under the specious pretences of his being the King's lawful son, whose right was suppressed to make way for an uncle's usurpation; of his being the avowed champion of the Protestant religion, and the only one of the royal family who had the courage openly to declare himself an enemy to Popery and slavery.

With regard to the make and outward graces of Monmouth's person, says Grammont, nature never formed a man more complete. Every feature of his face had a peculiar delicacy, and altogether exhibited a countenance, beautiful without effeminacy, manly, yet not robust. His body was finely formed: he was extremely agile, fenced admirably, and was one of the best horsemen of his time; but he had a soul very unequal to such a tenement. He had no sentiments of his own; his voice was pleasing; his manner of expressing himself captivating; but these accomplishments were used only to deliver the thoughts and words of other people. He was rash in his undertakings; irresolute and uncertain in the execution; abject and cowering in distress, he begged his life of James II. with tears in his eyes. That monarch treated his sorrow slightly; the queen insulted it. When he found he had no hopes of life, he assumed an air of philosophic calmness, and met death with indifference. He was brave in the field, felt for the distresses of humanity, was kind to his inferiors, and naturally very generous. With these virtues he might have proved a friend to his country, and a pillar of the throne, had fortune thrown him into the hands of honest men; for his ruin was owing to his connections, not to himself. DERRICK.

Ver. 688. *His joy conceal'd.* First edition: *Dissembling joy.*

My father, whom with reverence yet I name,
 Charin'd into ease, is careless of his fame;
 And, bribed with potty sums of foreign gold,
 Is grown in Bathsheba's embraces old;
 Exalts his enonies, his friends destroys:
 And all his power against himself employs.
 He gives, and let him give, my right away:
 But why should he his own and yours betray?
 He, only he, can make the nation bleed,
 And he alone from my revenge is freed.
 Take then my tears, (with that he wiped his eyes,)
 'Tis all the aid my present power supplies:
 No court-informer can those arms accuse;
 Those arms may sons against their fathers use:
 And 'tis my wish, the next successor's reign
 May make no other Israelite complain.
 Youth, beauty, graceful action seldom fail;
 But common interest always will prevail:
 And pity never ceases to be shown
 To him who makes the people's wrongs his own.
 The crowd, that still believe their kings oppress,
 With lifted hands their young Messiah bless:
 Who now begins his progress to ordain
 With chariots, horsemen, and a numerous train:
 From east to west his glories he displays,
 And, like the sun, the promised land surveys.
 Fame runs before him as the morning-star,
 And shouts of joy salute him from afar:
 Each house receives him as a guardian god,
 And consecrates the place of his abode.
 But hospitable treats did most commend
 Wise Issachar, his wealthy western friend.
 This moving court, that caught the people's eyes,
 And seem'd but pomp, did other ends disguise:
 Achitophel had form'd it, with intent
 To sound the depths, and fathom where it went
 The people's hearts, distinguish friends from foes;
 And try their strength, before they came to blows.
 Yet all was colour'd with a smooth pretence
 Of specious love and duty to their prince.
 Religion, and redress of grievances,
 Two names that always cheat, and always please,
 Are often urg'd; and good king David's life
 Endanger'd by a brother and a wife.
 Thus in a pageant show a plot is made;
 And peace itself is war in masquerade.
 Oh, foolish Israel! never warn'd by ill!
 Still the same bait, and circumvented still!
 Did ever men forsake their present ease,
 In midst of health imagine a disease;
 Take pains contingent mischiefs to foresee,
 Make heirs for monarchs, and for God decree?
 What shall we think? Can people give away,
 Both for themselves and sons, their native sway?
 Then they are left defenceless to the sword
 Of each unbounded, arbitrary lord:

Ver. 723. *Youth, beauty, graceful action seldom fail;*

"Tutatur favor Euryalum, Inclarymaque decoro,
 Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 738. — *wealthy western friend.* ISSACHAR was Thomas Thynne, Esq., ancestor of the Marquis of Bath, one of the most opulent commoners in the kingdom, and therefore usually called Tom of Ten Thousand. He had once been a favourite of the Duke of York, but he afterwards magnificently entertained the Duke of Monmouth and all his attendants, when he made a progress into the west, at his noble house at Longleat.

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 742. *To sound the depths.* First edition: To sound the depths.

And laws are vain, by which we right enjoy,
 If kings unquestion'd can those laws destroy.
 Yet if the crowd be judge of fit and just,
 And kings are only officers in trust,
 Then this resuming covenant was declared
 When kings were made, or is for ever barr'd.
 If those who gave the sceptre could not tie
 By their own deed their own posterity,
 How then could Adam bind his future race?
 How could his forfeit on mankind take place?
 Or how could heavenly justice damn us all,
 Who ne'er consented to our father's fall?
 Then kings are slaves to those whom they
 command.

And tenants to their people's pleasure stand.
 Add, that the power for property allow'd
 Is mischievously seated in the crowd:
 For who can be secure of private right,
 If sovereign sway may be dissolved by might?
 Nor is the people's judgment always true:
 The most may err as grossly as the few,
 And faultless kings run down by common cry,
 For vice, oppression, and for tyranny.
 What standard is there in a fickle rout,
 Which, flowing to the mark, runs faster out?
 Nor only crowds but Sanhedrims may be
 Infected with this public lunacy,
 And share the madness of rebellious times,
 To murder monarchs for imagined crimes.
 If they may give and take whom'er they please,
 Not kings alone, the Godhead's images,
 But government itself at length must fall
 To nature's state, where all have right to all.
 Yet grant our lords the people kings can make,
 What prudent men a settled throne would shake?
 For whatsoe'er their sufferings were before,
 That change they covet makes them suffer more.
 All other errors but disturb a state;
 But innovation is the blow of fate
 If ancient fabrics nod, and threat to fall,
 To patch their flaws, and buttress up the wall,
 Thus far 'tis duty: but here fix the mark:
 For all beyond it is to touch the ark.
 To change foundations, cast the frame anew,
 Is work for rebels, who base ends pursue;
 At once divine and human laws control,
 And mend the parts by ruin of the whole.
 The tampering world is subject to this curse,
 To physic their disease into a worse.

Now what relief can righteous David bring?
 How fatal 'tis to be too good a king!
 Friends he has few, so high the madness grows;
 Who dare be such must be the people's foes.
 Yet some there were, e'en in the worst of days;
 Some let me name, and naming is to praise.
 In this short file Barzillai first appears;
 Barzillai, crown'd with honour and with years.

Ver. 777. *Add, that the power for property allow'd* In the first edition:

That power which is for property allow'd.

Ver. 802. *To patch their flaws.* First edition: the flaws.

Ver. 804. *For all beyond it is to touch the ark.* The first edition reads less elegantly, our ark.

Ver. 817. *In this short file.* For honour, integrity, consistency, greatness of mind, benevolence, and justice, the Duke of Ormond, Barzillai, seems to be the very first and most eminent character that ever adorned the English nobility. Dr. J. WARTON.

Long since, the rising rebels he withstood
In regions waste beyond the Jordan's flood : 820
Unfortunately brave to buoy the state ;
But sinking underneath his master's fate .
In exile with his godlike prince he mourn'd ;
For him he suffer'd, and with him return'd .
The court he practis'd, not the courtier's art : 825
Large was his wealth, but larger was his heart ;
Which well the noblest objects knew to choose,
The fighting warrior, and recording muse.
His bed could once a fruitful issue boast ;
Now more than half a father's name is lost . 830
His eldest hope, with every grace adorn'd,
By me, so Heaven will have it, always mourn'd,
And always honour'd, snatch'd in manhood's prime
By unequal fates, and providence's crime ;
Yet not before the goal of honour won, 835
All parts fulfill'd of subject and of son :
Swift was the race, but short the time to run.
Oh, narrow circle, but of power divine,
Scanted in space, but perfect in thy line !
By sea, by land, thy matchless worth was known,
Arms thy delight, and war was all thy own : 841
Thy force infused the fainting Tyrans propp'd :
And haughty Pharaoh found his fortune stopp'd .
Oh, ancient honour ! Oh, unconquer'd hand,
Whom foes unpunish'd never could withstand !
But Israel was unworthy of his name ; 845
Short is the date of all immoderate fame.
It looks as Heaven our ruin had design'd,
And durst not trust thy fortune and thy mind.
Now, free from earth, thy disencumber'd soul 850
Mounts up, and leaves behind the clouds and
starry pole :

Ver. 810. — *the rising rebels he withstood*
In regions waste beyond the Jordan's flood :

The Duke of Ormond adhered zealously to the interest of his sovereign Charles I. in Ireland, where, being chief of a noble, ancient, and wealthy family, his power and influence were, as long as possible, exerted against the arms of Cromwell. But being at length obliged to yield to the necessity of the times, he quitted that kingdom, and accompanied King Charles II. in his exile. After the Restoration, he was at one and the same time lord lieutenant of Ireland, steward of the household, groom of the stole, and privy-counsellor for the three kingdoms. Perhaps no man was ever better beloved, and no man deserved it better : he was liberal, brave, loyal, and sincere ; a friend to the constitution, and a protector of the Protestants. On this account he was no favourite in the succeeding reign, and died in retirement, without post or employment, July, 1688, aged seventy-nine. DENRICK.

Ver. 831. *His eldest hope, with every grace adorn'd,*
Thomas, Earl of Ossory, Baron Butler of More Park by writ, eldest son of the aforesaid duke, and one of the most gallant noblemen of his time. He behaved with great bravery in the first Dutch war, under Sir Edward Spragge, and in the second was master-general of the blue. He was a courageous warrior, a prudent counsellor, a dutiful son, a kind friend, a liberal patron, and a generous man. He died universally lamented in 1680. DENRICK.

Ver. 842. *Thy force infused the fainting Tyrans propp'd*
And haughty Pharaoh found his fortune stopp'd :

Lord Ossory having married a Dutch lady, lived some time in Holland, and was of signal service in preventing the progress of the French arms, by his knowledge and advice. DENRICK.

Ver. 841. *Oh, ancient honour ! Oh, unconquer'd hand,*
" Heu pietas, heu prisca fides, invictique bello
Dextera ! " JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 846. *But Israel was unworthy of his name ;*
Short is the date of all immoderate fame :

In the first edition :

But Israel was unworthy of thy birth,
Short is the date of all immoderate worth

From thence thy kindred legions mayst thou
bring,
To aid the guardian angel of thy king.
Here stop, my muse, here cease thy painful
flight :

No pinions can pursue immortal height : 855
Toll good Barzillai thou canst sing no more,
And tell thy soul she should have fled before :
Or fled she with his life, and left this verse
To hang on her departed patron's hearse ?
Now take thy steepy flight from heaven, and see
If thou canst find on earth another he : 861
Another he would be too hard to find ;
See then whom thou canst see not far behind.
Zadoc the priest, whom, shunning power and
place,

His lowly mind advanced to David's grace. 865
With him the Sagan of Jerusalem,
Of hospitable soul, and noble stem ;
Him of the western dome, whose weighty sense
Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence.
The prophets' sons, by such example led, 870
To learning and to loyalty were bred :
For colleges on bounteous kings depend,
And never rebel was to arts a friend.
To these succeed the pillars of the laws ;
Who best can plead, and best can judge a cause.
Next them a train of loyal peers ascend ; 875
Sharp-judging Adriel, the muses' friend.

Ver. 858. — *and left this verse*
To hang on her departed patron's hearse ?

This alludes to the custom of affixing poems to the pall or hearse. See Milton's Lat. Eleg. li. 22, and his *epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, ver. 58, &c. TODD.

Ver. 864. — *the priest,* Sanicroft (Zadoc) was advanced from the deanery of St Paul's to the see of Canterbury. He had considerable learning, but was a man of solemn and sullen gravity and deportment. He seldom mixed in company, but led a strict and ascetic life. He lived unmarried, and rather encouraged celibacy in his clergy. He was so cold, reserved, and peevish, that few loved him. He died in a state of separation from the church, but had not the courage to own it. His death, says Burnet, ought to have put an end to the schism that some were endeavouring to raise, on the pretence that a parliamentary deprivation was never to be allowed, and therefore they looked on Sanicroft as the archbishop still, and reckoned Tillotson an usurper. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 866 — *the Sagan of Jerusalem,* This was Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton. Having carried arms for some years, he was past thirty when he took orders. He applied himself more to his function than bishops, says Burnet, had commonly done. His preaching was without much life or learning. He was a great patron of the converts from Popery, and of those Protestants, whom he had usage they were beginning to meet with in France drove over to us. The Duke of York hated him. This was the bishop that carried the Princess Anne to Nottingham, in order to join the party of the Prince of Orange. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 868. *Him of the western* This was Dolben, who was bishop of Rochester, and succeeded Sterne in the archbishopric of York ; a man, says Burnet, of more spirit than discretion, an excellent preacher, but of a free conversation, which laid him open to much censure in a vicious court. During the rebellion he bore arms, and was made a major by Charles I. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 875. *Who best can plead, and best can judge a cause.*
First edition :

Who best could plead, and best can judge a cause.

Ver. 877. *Sharp-judging Adriel,* Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, Adriel, was a man of fine person, elegant manners, and insinuating address. When they were both young, he paid his address to Queen Anne, and to prevent a connection Charles II. is said to have contrived a cruel and unjustifiable scheme of sending him to Tangiers in a ship so crazy as to have drowned him. He was always firm in

Himself a muse : in Sanhedrim's debate
True to his prince, but not a slave of state :
Whom David's love with honours did adorn, 880
That from his disobedient son were torn.
Jotham of piercing wit, and pregnant thought :
Endued by nature, and by learning taught,
To move assemblies, who but only tried
The worse awhile, then chose the better side : 885
Nor chose alone, but turn'd the balance too ;
So much the weight of one brave man can do.
Hushai, the friend of David in distress ;
In public storms, of manly steadfastness :
By foreign treaties he inform'd his youth, 890
And join'd experience to his native truth.
His frugal care supplied the wanting throne ;
Frugal for that, but bounteous of his own :
'Tis easy conduct when exchequers flow ;
But hard the task to manage well the low : 895
For sovereign power is too depress'd or high,
When kings are forced to sell, or crowds to buy.

his attachment to James II., for which, with great liberality, King William once commended him, and after some years took him into favour, and gave him a pension of 3000*l* a-year. He was a man of wit and parts, not a genius. His poems are feeble and flimsy, notwithstanding Dryden has so profusely praised his *Essay on Poetry*. But the prose is terse, perspicuous, and elegant, and his memoirs so curious, that we must regret they were left unfinished. He imitated the *Cæsars* of the Emperor Julian, a capital piece of satire, equal to any part of Lucian, in a piece called the *Assembly of the Gods*, where many contemporary princes are introduced. I cannot forbear mentioning a sly sarcasm on King William, to whom Jupiter himself is said to have shown great esteem ; but was suspected a little of some partiality, on account of his own proceeding with old father Saturn. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 882. *Jotham of piercing wit.*] First edition: Jotham of ready wit.

Ibid. — *of piercing wit.*] The Marquis of Halifax, Jotham, was, in Hume's opinion, the man who possessed the finest genius and most extensive capacity of all employed in public affairs by Charles II. Hume is of opinion, that the many variations he was guilty of in his political conduct, for he voted first for the exclusion bill, then for limitations, then for expedients, and was then on good terms with the Duke, might be the effects of his integrity, rather than of his ambition. Lord Orford in his *Noble Authors*, p. 86, vol. ii. is of a very different opinion. He wrote many pamphlets on topics then agitated, now forgotten. His *Advice to a Daughter* is still read. Notwithstanding the great change of manners, it would be amusing to compare it with Mrs. Hannah More's *Strictures*. His moral, political, and miscellaneous thoughts are full of penetration and a deep knowledge of men and manners. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 888. *Hushai, the friend of David in distress.*] Laurence Hyde, second son to Edward the great Earl of Clarendon, was advanced to the earldom of Rochester, and made treasurer in 1632, but removed from the treasury in 1634, to the office of president of the council, a post of more rank but less advantage, which gave the lively Marquis of Halifax occasion to say, that "he had heard of many people being kicked down stairs, but the Earl of Rochester was the first he had ever known kicked up." He was incorrupt, sincere, warm, and violent; writ well, but not a graceful speaker, though smooth and plausible. He defended his father in the House of Commons with strength of argument, and power of elocution, that showed him master of great abilities; and yet with so much decency and discretion, as not to embroil himself with his opponents. Through the whole of King Charles's reign, he supported himself with so much real fidelity to his master, and such prudence, that he was not particularly pointed at, or ridiculed by any party. DERRICK.

Ver. 890. *By foreign treaties he inform'd his youth.*] In 1676 he went on an embassy to Poland, was one of the plenipotentiaries at the treaty of Nimwegen, and afterwards ambassador in Holland, where he acquitted himself with honour. He was strongly against the bill of exclusion. DERRICK.

Indulge one labour more, my weary muse,
For Amiel : who can Amiel's praise refuse ?
Of ancient race by birth, but nobler yet 900
In his own worth, and without title great :
The Sanhedrim long time as chief he ruled,
Their reason guided, and their passion cool'd :
So dexterous was he in the crown's defence,
So form'd to speak a loyal nation's sense, 905
That, as their band was Israel's tribes in small,
So fit was he to represent them all.
Now rasher charioteers the seat ascend,
Whose loose careers his steady skill commend :
They, like the unequal ruler of the day, 910
Misguide the seasons, and mistake the way :
While he withdrawn at their mad labours smiles,
And safe enjoys the sabbath of his toils.
These were the chief, a small but faithful
band
Of worthies, in the breach who dared to stand, 915
And tempt the united fury of the land ;
With grief they view'd such powerful engines bent,

To batter down the lawful government.
A numerous faction, with pretended rights,
In Sanhedrims to plume the regal rights ; 920
The true successor from the court removed ;
The plot, by hiring witnesses improved ;
These ills they saw, and, as their duty bound,
They show'd the king the danger of the wound ;
That no concessions from the throne would
please, 925

But lenitives fomented the disease :
That Absalom, ambitious of the crown,
Was made the lure to draw the people down :
That false Achitophol's pernicious hate
Had turn'd the plot to ruin church and state : 930
The council violent, the rabble worse.
That Shimei taught Jerusalem to curse.

With all these loads of injuries oppress'd,
And long revolving in his careful breast
The event of things, at last his patience tired, 935
Thus, from his royal throne, by Heaven inspired,
The god like David spoke, with awful fear
His train their Maker in their master hour.

Thus long have I, by native mercy sway'd,
My wrongs dissembled, my revenge delay'd : 940

Ver. 899. — *who can Amiel's praise?*] Sir Edward Seymour, Amiel, was a man of high birth, being the elder branch of that family, of great boldness, vivacity of parts, and a graceful manner, though of insufferable pride. Burnet says, he was the first Speaker of the House of Commons that was not bred to the law. He knew the house and every man in it so well, that by looking about he could tell the fate of any question. Charles II. loved him personally, though he frequently voted against his measures. But once having voted for the court, the king said to him, "You were not against me to-day." He immediately answered, "No, sir, I was against my conscience to-day." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 914. *These were the chief.*] If this be considered, says Dr. Johnson, as a poem political and controversial, it will be found to comprise all the excellences of which the subject is susceptible; acrimony of censure, elegance of praise, artful delineations of characters, variety and vigour of sentiment, happy turns of language, and pleasing harmony of numbers, and all these raised to such a height, as can scarcely be found in any other English composition. On this exaggerated panegyric I will only beg leave to observe, that if this poem is of a nature purely and merely political and controversial, it does not partake of the essence of real poetry. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 937. *The god-like David.*] This speech of the King is by no means equal to those of Shaftesbury and Monmouth. Dr. J. WARTON.

So willing to forgive the offending ago;
 So much the father did the king assuage.
 But now so far my clemency they slight,
 The offenders question my forgiving right:
 That one was made for many, they contend;
 But 'tis to rule; for that's a monarch's end.
 They call my tenderness of blood, my fear:
 Though manly tempers can the longest bear.
 Yet, since they will divert my native course,
 'Tis time to show I am not good by force.
 Those heap'd affronts that haughty subjects bring,
 Are burdens for a camel, not a king.
 Kings are the public pillars of the state,
 Born to sustain and prop the nation's weight:
 If my young Sunson will pretend a call
 To shake the column, let him share the fall:
 But oh, that yet he would repent and live!
 How easy 'tis for parents to forgive!
 With how few tears a pardon might be won
 From nature, pleading for a darling son!
 Poor, pitied youth, by my paternal care,
 Raised up to all the height his frame could bear!
 Had God ordain'd his fate for empire born,
 He would have given his soul another turn:
 Gull'd with a patriot's name, whose modern sense
 Is one that would by law supplant his prince;
 The people's brave, the politician's tool;
 Never was patriot yet, but was a fool.
 Whence comes it, that religion and the laws
 Should more be Absalom's than David's cause?
 His old instructor, ere he lost his place,
 Was never thought induc'd with so much grace.
 Good heavens, how fiction can a patriot paint!
 My rebel ever proves my people's saint.
 Would they impose an heir upon the throne!
 Let Sauthearns be taught to give their own.
 A king's at least a part of government;
 And mine as requisite as their consent:
 Without my leave a future king to choose,
 Infracts a right the present to depose.
 True, they petition me to approve their choice:
 But Esau's hands suit ill with Jacob's voice.
 My pious subjects for my safety pray;
 Which to secure, they take my power away.
 From plots and treasons Heaven preserve my
 years.
 But save me most from my petitioners!
 Unsatiated as the barren womb or grave;
 God cannot grant so much as they can crave.
 What then is left, but with a jealous eye
 To guard the small remains of royalty!
 The law shall still direct my peaceful sway,
 And the same law teach rebels to obey:

Ver. 957-960. These four verses were added in the second edition.

Ver. 965. *Is one that would by law supplant his prince;*]
 The first edition has,

Is one that would by law destroy his prince.

Ver. 991. *The law shall still direct*] We cannot read these words, put into the mouth of Charles II., without a degree of just indignation, when we reflect on some striking transgressions of his reign, particularly the appointment of that ministry called the Cabal.

All power in England, Scotland, and Ireland was committed to six men. Cliford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Lauderdale, and Roberts, the three last of whom had drawn their swords against the King's father. Cliford had raised himself by his great influence in the House of Commons; Ashley Cooper had still greater in the House of Lords

Votes shall no more establish'd power control,
 Such votes as make a part exceed the whole.
 No groundless clamours shall my friends remove,
 Nor crowds have power to punish ere they
 prove;

For Gods and god-like kings their care express,
 Still to defend their servants in distress.
 Oh, that my power to saving were confined!
 Why am I forced, like Heaven, against my mind,
 To make examples of another kind!
 Must I at length the sword of justice draw?
 Oh, curs'd effects of necessary law!
 How ill my fear they by my mercy scan!
 Beware the fury of a patient man.
 Law they require, let Law then show her face;
 They could not be content to look on Grace,
 Her hinder parts, but with a daring eye
 To tempt the terror of her front and die.
 By their own arts 'tis righteously decreed,
 Those dire artificers of death shall bleed.
 Against themselves their witnesses will swear,
 Till viper-like their mother plot they tear;
 And suck for nutriment that bloody gore,
 Which was their principle of life before.
 Their Belial with their Beelzebub will fight;
 Thus on my foes, my foes shall do me right.
 Nor doubt the event: for factious crowds engage,
 In their first onset, all their brutal rage.
 Then let 'em take an unresisted course:
 Retire, and traverse, and delude their force:
 But, when they stand all breathless, urge the
 fight,
 And rise upon them with redoubled might:
 For lawful power is still superior found;
 When long driven back at length it stands the
 ground.

He said: The Almighty nodding gave consent;
 And peals of thunder shook the firmament.

Arlington, notwithstanding his secret inclinations to Popery, had maintained connections with the dissenters; Buckingham, favouring all sects, because he was of no religion himself, was a favourite of the dissenters; Lauderdale had great interest with the presbyterians of Scotland; and Shaftesbury and Buckingham were supported by the people, because they pretended a reverence for their rights. This ministry was the most extraordinary that ever was composed: for the King had an unconquerable distrust of Shaftesbury; though diverted with the humours of Buckingham, he was shocked with an advice which that duke had given him to procure a parliamentary divorce from the Queen, and had once committed him to the Tower, for personal offences against himself; Arlington and Buckingham were mortal foes; and Buckingham, Shaftesbury, and Lauderdale wereaverse from the influence of the Duke of York with his brother, because they thought it interfered with their own; or, at least, the Duke believed that they were so: but at the interview at Dover, the Duchess of Orleans reconciled Arlington and Buckingham, and the King to Buckingham, and knit the famous Cabal firmly together in the interests of the new alliance. See Echar and Dalrymple.

The melancholy fate of the Duchess of Orleans, after her return from Dover, supposed to have been by poison, ordered to be given her by her husband, who was jealous of her intimacy with her own brother, Charles II., is too well known, but we hope too atrocious to obtain credit. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 1010. *By their own arts 'tis righteously decreed,
 These dire artificers of death shall bleed.*
 "neque enim lex æquior illa est,
 Quam necis artifices arte perire sua."

JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 1012. *Against themselves their witnesses will swear,*]
 Alluding to the inconsistencies and contradictions of Dr. Oates, Captain Bedloe, and other witnesses, made use of to support the credit of the Popish plot. DERRICK.

Henceforth a series of new time began,
The mighty years in long procession ran :

Ver. 1028. — *a series of new time*] It is an undoubted fact, though it may appear a strange assertion, that this poem, once so famous, is in the present age but little read. I have met with many well-informed literary persons, who have frankly owned they never went through it, and knew little of it but from the report of its former celebrity. So short-lived and transitory is personal and occasional satire.

Once more the god-like David was restored, ^{VER}
And willing nations know their lawful lord.

The Dunelad of Pope begins to be neglected. Dr J. WARTON.

Ver 1031. *And willing nations*] Great is the reader's disappointment at meeting with this feeble conclusion, having been led to expect that some important event would be brought forward after such mighty preparations. But the radical fault of the poem is, that it consists only of characters and speeches, without any action. Dr J. WARTON.

Part II.

— Si quis tamen hæc quoque, si quis
Captus amore legat —

TO THE READER.

In the year 1680, Mr Dryden undertook the poem of Absalom and Achitophel, upon the desire of King Charles the Second. The performance was applauded by every one; and several persons pressing him to write a second part, he, upon declining it himself, spoke to Mr. Tate* to write one, and gave him his advice in the direction of it; and that part beginning with

"Next these, a troop of busy spirits press,"

and ending with

"To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee."

containing near two hundred verses, were entirely Mr. Dryden's compositions, besides some touches in other places.

DERRICK.

SINCE men like boasts each other's prey were made,
Since trade began, and priesthood grew a trade,
Since realms were form'd, none sure so cursed as
those

That madly their own happiness oppose;
Thore Heaven itself and god-like kings in vain ⁵
Shower down the manna of a gentle reign,
While pamp'rd crowds to mad sedition run,
And monarchs by indulgence are undone.
Thus David's clemency was fatal grown,
While wealthy faction awed the wanting throne.
For now their sovereign's orders to condemn ¹¹
Was hold the charter of Jerusalem;
His rights to invade, his tributes to refuse,
A privilege peculiar to the Jews;

* This second part was written by Mr. Nahum Tate, and is by no means equal to the first, though Dryden corrected it throughout, and added above two hundred lines, very easily distinguishable from the lame numbers of Tate. The characters introduced are fewer and of less importance, and require not so much illustration. Few authors have been friends, and wrote in conjunction; but Mr. Dryden did so with Lee and D'Avenant; Colman with Thurston and Garrick; Gray with West; Lloyd with Churchill; and Bulcote with Racine. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 9 *Thus David's clemency was fatal grown,*] In the first edition we find:

Thus David's goodness was *even* fatal grown.

As if from heavenly call this licence fell, ¹⁵
And Jacob's seed were chosen to rebel!

Achitophel with triumph sees his crimes
Thus suited to the madness of the times;
And Absalom, to make his hopes succeed,
Of flattering charms no longer stands in need; ²⁰
While fond of change, though ne'er so dearly
bought,

Our tribes outstrip the youth's ambitious thought;
His swiftest hopes with swifter homage moot,
And crowd their servile necks beneath his foot.
Thus to his aid while pressing tides repair, ²⁵
He mounts and spreads his streamers in the
air.

The charms of empire might his youth mislead,
But what can our besotted Israel plead?
Sway'd by a monarch, whose serene command
Seems half the blessing of our promised land; ³⁰
Whose only grievance is excess of ease;
Freedom our pain, and plenty our disease!
Yet, as all folly would lay claim to sense,
And wickedness ne'er wanted a pretence,

Ver. 20. *Of flattering charms*] First edition: *flatterer's*.

Ver. 33. *Yet as all folly*] First edition: *Yet since all folly*.

With arguments they'd make their treason good,
And righteous David's self with slanders load :³⁵
That arts of foreign sway he did affect,
And guilty Jebusites from law protect,
Whose very chiefs, convict, were never freed ;
Nay, we have seen their sacrificers bleed !⁴⁰
Accusers' infamy is urged in vain,
While in the bounds of sense they did contain,
But soon they launch'd into the unfathom'd tide,
And in the depths they knew disdain'd to ride.
For probable discoveries to dispense,⁴⁵
Was thought below a pension'd evidence,
Mere truth was dull, nor suited with the port
Of pamp'ring Corah when advanced to court.
No less than wonders now they will impose,
And projects void of grace or sense disclose⁵⁰
Such was the charge on pious Michal brought,
Michal that ne'er was cruel even in thought,
The best of queens, and most obedient wife,
Impeach'd of cursed designs on David's life !
His life, the theme of her eternal prayer,⁵⁵
'Tis scarce so much his guardian angel's care.
Not summer morns such mildness can disclose,
The Hermon lily, nor the Sharon rose.
Neglecting each vain pomp of majesty,
Transported Michal feeds her thoughts on high.⁶⁰
She lives with angels, and, as angels do,
Quits heaven sometimes to bless the world below ;
Where, cherish'd by her bounties' plenteous
spring,
Reviving widows smile, and orphans sing.
Oh ! when rebellious Israel's crimes at height⁶⁵
Are threaten'd with her lord's approaching fate,
The piety of Michal then remain
In Heaven's remembrance, and prolong his reign !
Less desolation did the pest pursue
That from Dan's limits to Beersheba slew,⁷⁰
Less fatal the repeated wars of Tyre,
And less Jerusalem's avenging fire.
With gentler terror these our state o'er-ran,
Than since our evidencing days began !
On every cheek a pale confusion sat,⁷⁵
Continued fear beyond the worst of fate !
Trust was no more ; art, science, useless made ;
All occupations lost but Corah's trade.
Meanwhile a guard on modest Corah wait,
If not for safety, needful yet for state.⁸⁰
Well might he deem each peer and prince his
slave,
And lord it o'er the tribes which he could save :

Ver 61. *Such was the charge on pious M. ha' brought.*
First edition. Derrick incorrectly has *charge*.

Ver 53. *The best of queens.* Of all the nations in Europe, if a Portuguese were, and still are, the most ignorant and most bigotted. Of all persons that could be imagined, Catharine of Portugal was the most improper wife for a gay and spirited prince. At her very first appearance at court, she retained and showed a strong tincture of the convent. She even rejected the English dress, and the usual attendance of the English ladies, and was only found of her stiff, reserved, and formal demeanour, who were the scorn and the jest of the whole court. When she was married at Winchester, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, she would not repeat after him the words of the matrimonial service, nor endure the sight of the archbishop. She proved, says Burnet, a barren wife, and was a woman of a mean appearance, and of no agreeable temper ; so that the king never considered her much, and she made ever after but a very mean figure. I cannot forbear adding, that Charles II. had the merit of not listening to some proposals basely made to him, either of a divorce, or of sending her away to another country. Dr J. WATSON.

Even vice in him was virtue—what sad fate
But for his honesty had seized our state ?
And with what tyranny had we been cursed,⁸⁵
Had Corah never proved a villain first ?
To have told his knowledge of the intrigue in
gross,
Had been, alas ! to our deponent's loss :
The travell'd Levite had the experience got
To husband well, and make the best of 's plot,⁹⁰
And therefore, like an evidence of skill,
With wise reserves secured his pension still ;
Nor quits of future power himself bereft,
But limbos large for unbelievers left.
And now his writ such reverence had got,⁹⁵
'Twas worse than plotting to suspect his plot.
Some were so well convinced, they made no doubt
Themselves to help the foundered swearers out.
Some had their sense imposed on by their fear,
But more for interest sake believe and swear¹⁰⁰
Even to that height with some the frenzy grew,
They rag'd to find their danger not prove true
Yet, than all these a viler crew remain,
Who with Achitophel the cry maintain ;¹⁰⁴
Not urged by fear, nor through misguided sense,
Blind zeal and starving need had some pretence,
But for the good old cause, that did excite
The original rebels' wiles, revenge and spite.
These raise the plot, to have the scandal thrown
Upon the bright successor of the crown,¹¹⁰
Whose virtue with such wrongs they had pursued,
As seem'd all hope of pardon to exclude.
Thus, while on private ends their zeal is built,
The cheated crowd applaud and share their guilt¹¹⁵
Such practices as these, too gross to be
Long unobserved by each discerning eye,
The more judicious Israelites unspell'd,
Though still the charm the giddy rabble held.
Even Absalom, amidst the dazzling beams
Of empire, and ambition's flattering dreams,¹²⁰
Perceives the plot, too foul to be excused,
To aid designs, no less pernicious, used.
And, filial sense yet striving in his breast,
Thus to Achitophel his doubts expressed.—
Why are my thoughts upon a crown employ'd,
Which once obtain'd can be but half enjoy'd ?¹²⁵
Not so when virtue did my arms require,
And to my father's wars I flew entire.
My regal power how will my foes resent,
When I myself have scarce my own consent ?¹³⁰
Give me a son's unblemish'd truth again,
Or quench the sparks of duty that remain.
How slight to force a throne that legions guard
The task to me ; to prove unjust how hard !¹³⁴
And if the imagined guilt thus wound my thought,
What will it when the tragic scene is wrought ?
Dire war must first be conjured from below,
The realm we'd rule we first must overthrow ;

Ver. 96. *'Twas worse than plotting to suspect his plot.*
The tide of prejudice ran so strongly in favour of Othello and the other witnesses, after the death of Sir Godfrey, that to speak slightly of them, or their deposition, was as much as a man's life was worth, and even the king himself, who saw the trick from the beginning, did not dare to speak his sentiments freely. He did his utmost to keep as private as possible such discoveries of the supposed plot as were communicated to him, the intention of which his perspicacity soon canvassed ; and he was very angry when Lord Danby, without his leave, laid them before the parliament : " Now," said he, " you have laid the foundation of your own ruin, and of much perplexity for me." The sequel proved his majesty a prophet. DERRICK.

And, when the civil furies are on wing
That blind and undistinguish'd slaughterers fling, 140
Who knows what impious chance may reach the king?

Oh ! rather let me perish in the strife,
Than have my crown the price of David's life !
Or if the tempest of the war he stand,
In peace, some vile officious villain's hand 145
His soul's anointed-temple may invade,
Or, press'd by clamorous crowds, myself be made
His murderer ; rebellious crowds, whose guilt
Shall dread his vengeance till his blood be spilt ;
Which if my filial tenderness oppose, 150
Since to the empire by their arms I rose,
Those very arms on me shall be employ'd,
A new usurper crown'd, and I destroy'd :
The same pretence of public good will hold,
And new Achitophels be found as bold 155
To urge the needful change, perhaps the old.

He said. The statesman with a smile replies,
A smile that did his rising spleen disguise :—
My thoughts presumed our labours at an end,
And are we still with conscience to contend ? 160
Whose want in kings as needful is allow'd,
As 'tis for them to find it in the crowd.
Far in the doubtful passage you are gone,
And only can be safe by pressing on.
The crown's true heir, a prince severe and wise, 165
Has view'd your motions long with jealous eyes :
Your person's charms, your more prevailing arts,
And mark'd your progress in the people's hearts,
Whose patience is the effect of stinted power,
But treasures vengeance for the fatal hour : 170
And if remote the peril he can bring,
Your present danger's greater from the king.
Let not a parent's name deceive your sense,
Nor trust the father in a jealous prince !
Your trivial faults if he could so resent, 175
To doom you little less than banishment,
What rage must your presumption since inspire ?
Against his orders you return from Tyre ;
Nor only so, but with a pomp more high,
And open court of popularity, 180
The factious tribes—And this reproof from thee ?
The prince replies ; O statesman's winding skill,
They first condemn that first advised the ill !
Illustrious youth, return'd Achitophel,
Misconstrue not the words that mean you well. 185
The course you steer I worthy blame conclude,
But 'tis because you leave it unpursued.
A monarch's crown with fate surrounded lies ;
Who reach, lay hold on death that miss the prize.
Did you for this expose yourself to show, 190
And to the crowd bow popularly low ?
For this your glorious progress next ordain,
With chariots, horsemen, and a numerous train ;
With fame before you like the morning star,
And shouts of joy saluting from afar ? 195
Oh, from the heights you've reach'd but take a

view,
Scarce leading Lucifer could fall like you !
And must I here my shipwreck'd arts bemoan ?
Have I for this so oft made Israel groan ;
Your single interest with the nation weigh'd, 200
And turn'd the scale where your desires were laid ?
Even when at helm a course so dangerous moved
To land your hopes, as my removal proved.

Ver. 142. *Oh! rather let me perish*] First edition *Or rather let me, &c*

I not dispute, the royal youth replies,
The known perfection of your policies ; 205
Nor in Achitophel yet grudge or blame
The privilege that statesmen ever claim ;
Who private interest never yet pursued,
But still pretended 'twas for others' good.
What politician yet e'er 'scaped his fate, 210
Who saving his own neck not saved the state ?
From hence, on every humorous wind that veer'd,
With shifted sails a several course you steer'd.
What form of sway did David e'er pursue, 214
That seem'd like absolute, but sprung from you ?
Who at your instance quash'd each penal law,
That kept dissenting factious Jews in awe ;
And who suspends fix'd laws, may abrogate ;
That done, form new, and so enslave the state.
Even property, whose champion you now stand,
And seem for this the idol of the land, 219
Did ne'er sustain such violence before,
As when your counsel shut the royal store ;
Advice, that ruin to whole tribes procured,
But secret kept till your own banks secured. 223
Recount with this the triple covenant broke,
And Israel fitted for a foreign yoke ;
Nor here your counsels' fatal progress staid,
But sent our levied powers to Pharaoh's aid.
Hence Tyre and Israel, low in ruins laid, 230
And Egypt, once their scorn, their common tor-
ror made.

Even yet of such a season can we dream,
When royal rights you made your darling thome ;
For power unlimited could reasons draw, 235
And place prerogative above the law ;
Which, on your fall from office, grew unjust,
The laws made king, the king a slave in trust :
Whom with state-craft, to interest only true,
You now accuse of ills contrived by you.
To this Hell's agent—Royal youth, fix here ; 240
Let interest be the star by which I steer.
Hence to repose your trust in me was wise,
Whose interest most in your advancement lies,
A tie so firm as always will avail,
When friendship, nature, and religion fail ; 245
On ours the safety of the crowd depends,
Secure the crowd, and we obtain our ends,
Whom I will cause so far our guilt to share,
Till they are made our champions by their fear.

Ver. 214. *What form of sway did David e'er pursue,*] So the first edition Derrick absurdly has,

What from a sway, &c.

Ver. 216. *Who at your instance quash'd each penal law,*] Suspending the penal laws, and granting liberty of conscience, was owing to the advice of our Achitophel ; and was an affair of dangerous tendency, as being one great step towards enslaving the state. DERRICK.

Ver. 223. — *shut the royal store ;*] Or the exchequer, in the beginning of 1672, he being in great want of money ; a transaction that occasioned much confusion, for there being thereby a stagnation of all public payments, the banks also stopped ; but the king having assured the bankers and merchants that the present deficiencies should be soon made good, matters flowed again in their proper channel, though it was a stretch of power not easily forgotten or digested DERRICK.

Ver. 232. *Even yet of such a season can we dream,*] First edition : *Ev'n yet of such a season we can dream.*

Ver. 241. *Let interest be the star by which I steer.*] So the first edition. A reading evidently required by the context. Compare ver. 238 and 243. Derrick has,

Let interest be the star by which you steer

What opposition can your rival bring,
While Sanhedrims are jealous of the king?
His strength as yet in David's friendship lies,
And what can David's self without supplies?
Who with exclusive bills must now dispense,
Debar the heir, or starve in his defence;
Conditions which our elders ne'er will quit,
And David's justice never can admit.
Or forced by wants his brother to betray,
To your ambition next he clears the way;
For if succession once to nought they bring,
Their next advance removes the present king:
Persisting else his senates to dissolve,
In equal hazard shall his reign involve.
Our tribes, whom Pharaoh's power so much
alarms,
Shall rise without their prince to oppose his arms,
Nor boots it on what cause at first they join,
Their troops, once up, are tools for our design.
At least such subtle covenants shall be made,
Till peace itself is war in masquerade.
Associations of mysterious sense,
Against, but seeming for, the king's defence:
Even on their courts of justice fetters draw,
And from our agents muzzle up their law.
By which a conquest, if we fail to make,
'Tis a drawn game at worst, and we secure our
stake.
He said, and for the dire success depends
On various sects, by common guilt made friends.
Whose heads, though ne'er so differing in their
creed,
'T' the point of treason yet were well agreed.
'Monst these, extorting Ishban first appears,
Pursued by a meagre troop of bankrupt heirs.
Blest times, when Ishban, he whose occupation
So long has been to cheat, reforms the nation!
Ishban of conscience suited to his trade,
As good a saint as usurer ever made.
Yet Mammon has not so engross'd him quite,
But Belial lays as large a claim of spite;
Who, for those pardons from his prince he draws,
Returns reproaches, and cries up the cause.
That year in which the city he did sway,
He left rebellion in a hopeful way.
Yet his ambition once was found so bold,
To offer talents of extorted gold;
Could David's wants have so been bribed, to shame
And scandalise our peerage with his name,
For which, his dear sedition he'd forswear,
And e'en turn loyal to be made a peer.
Next him, let railing Rabsheka have place,
So full of zeal, he has no need of grace;

Ver. 280. ——— extorting Ishban first appears,
Pursued by a meagre troop of bankrupt heirs.]

Sir Robert Clayton, an alderman of the city, and one of its members, who remarkably opposed the court. Though he was very avaricious, he had offered a large sum to be made a peer; and those who consider the king's wants will believe with me, he was sorry the alderman's money was not tangible. DERRICK.

Ver. 283. ——— railing Rabsheka] Sir Thomas Player, one of the city representatives in Parliament; a factious blundering malecontent; one of the chief supporters of the Whigs in the city; declared enemy of the Duke of York, and strongly for the bill of exclusion. When he was re-elected in 1690-1, together with Sir Robert Clayton, Thomas Pickington, and William Love, esqrs., many of the Whig citizens, in common hall assembled, drew up and presented to him and them an extraordinary paper, "giving them thanks for their former good services, more especially for their zeal in promoting the bill for excluding the Duke of

A saint that can both flesh and spirit use,
Alike haunt conventicles and the stew's:
Of whom the question difficult appears,
If most 't' the preachers' or the bawds' arrears.
What caution could appear too much in him
That keeps the treasure of Jerusalem!
Let David's brother but approach the town,
Double our guards, he cries, we are undone.
Protesting that he dares not sleep in 's bed,
Lest he should rise next morn without his head.
Next these, a troop of busy spirits press,
Of little fortunes, and of conscience less;
With them the tribe, whose luxury had drain'd
Their banks, in former sequestrations gain'd;
Who rich and great by past rebellions grew,
And long to fish the troubled streams anew.
Some future hopes, some present payment draws,
To sell their conscience and espouse the cause.
Such stipends those vile hirelings best befit,
Priests without grace, and poets without wit.
Shall that false Hebronite escape our curse,
Judas, that keeps the rebels' pension-purse;

York from the succession, and recommending that they would still literally pursue the same measures, and grant no supplies to the crown, till they saw themselves effectually secured from Popery and arbitrary power." And in pursuit of these measures, the subscribing persons promised to stand by them with their lives and fortunes.

Indeed, addresses of the same nature were forwarded to their representatives from many other parts of the kingdom, which gave great uneasiness to the court, and occasioned these lines, put into Achitophel's mouth, line 283:

—— what can David's self without supplies?
Who with exclusive bills must now dispense,
Debar the heir, or starve in his defence. DERRICK.

Ver. 301. ——— conventicles] He accents the word again on the third syllable, in the *Medal*, line 285. Thus, in a Collection of Loyal Songs, written between 1639 and 1661, vol. ii. p. 18.

"But all the parish see it plain,
Since thou art in this pickle,
Thou art an independent quean,
And lo'st a conventicle." TODD.

Ver. 310. Next these] This was not the only poem written on the political transactions of those times. *Duke* wrote one also, entitled *The Review*, the best and most vigorous, perhaps, of his compositions. He begins with the Restoration, and passes on through great part of Charles II.'s reign, but left it unfinished. The characters of *Shaftesbury* and *Villiers* are particularly laboured, but very inferior to those given by Dryden.—He is particularly, and I think blameably, severe on Lord *Clarendon*, whom he calls *Byrass*, accusing him of taking bribes to procure the pardon of many notorious rebels, and of being privy to, and promoting the marriage of his daughter with the Duke of York, which the chancellor always denied in the most solemn and most unequivocal terms. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 315. And long to fish the troubled streams anew.] First edition: ——— troubled waves.

Ver. 320. Shall that false Hebronite escape our curse,] Robert Ferguson, a Scotch Independent preacher, subtle, plausible, bold, and daring, had for many years preached and writ against the government with great animosity; had weight among the Whigs in the city, and was a very proper instrument to stir up sedition. Shaftesbury knew his excellencies, made use of them by confiding in him, and he contributed much to the success of his designs.

Ferguson was one of the main springs that animated the Rye-house plot, for which he was outlawed both in England and France, a reward of five hundred pistoles being offered for taking him. He had openly approved of the conspirators' intention to murder the king and his brother; and a day being appointed for that parricide, which some of the assassins objected to as being Sunday, he told them, "The sanctity of the deed fitted the sanctity of the day." He was described thus remarkably:—"A tall thin man, dark brown hair, a great Roman nose, thin jawed, heat in his face, speaks in the Scotch tone, a sharp piercing eye, stoops a little in the shoulders, hath a shuffling gait that differs

Judas, that pays the treason-writer's fee,
 Judas, that well deserves his namesake's tree;
 Who at Jerusalem's own gates erects
 His college for a nursery of sects; 325
 Young prophets with an early care secures,
 And with the dung of his own arts manures¹
 What have the men of Hebron here to do?
 What part in Israel's promised land have you?
 Here Phaleg, the lay Hebronite, is come, 330
 'Cause, like the rest, he could not live at home;
 Who from his own possessions could not drain
 An omer even of Hebronitish grain;
 Here struts it like a patriot, and talks high
 Of injured subjects, alter'd property: 335
 An emblem of that buzzing insect just,
 That mounts the wheel, and thinks she raises dust.
 Can dry bones live² or skeletons produce
 The vital warmth of cuckoldising juice?
 Slim Phaleg could, and, at the table fed, 340
 Return'd the grateful product to the bed.
 A waiting-man to travelling nobles chose,
 He his own laws would saucily impose,
 Till bastinado'd back again he went,
 To learn those manners he to teach was sent. 345
 Chastised he ought to have retreated home,
 But he reads politics to Absalom.
 For never Hebronite, though kick'd and scorn'd,
 To his own country willingly return'd.
 —But leaving famish'd Phaleg to be fed, 350
 And to talk treason for his daily bread,
 Let Hebron, nay, let Hell, produce a man
 So made for mischief as Ben-Jochanan,

from all men, wears his perwig down almost over his eyes, and about forty-five years of age." He escaped to Holland, returned with Monmouth in 1685, had the good luck again to secure his retreat, and was rewarded with a good post on the Revolution; but being of a turbulent uneasy disposition, he turned tail, became a strenuous advocate for Jacobitism both in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne; appeared more than once a champion for the banished king, and engaged in schemes for his restoration. DERRICK.

Robert Ferguson, here meant, says Mr Granger, was a great dealer in plots, and a prostitute political writer for different parties, and particularly for the Earl of Shaftesbury. He approached nearer to a parallel character with Oates than any of his contemporaries; and was rewarded with a place in the reign of William, though it was well known he merited a halter. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 324. *Who at Jerusalem's own gates erects
 His college for a nursery of sects;*

Ferguson had a chapel near Moorfields. DERRICK.

Ver. 334. *Here struts it like a patriot, and talks high
 Of injured subjects, alter'd property:
 An emblem of that buzzing insect just,
 That mounts the wheel, and thinks she raises dust.]*

"MUSCA, TROCHILUS, ET TROSSULUS.

"Æstate mediâ concitati sex equi,
 Currum trahentes, putre quædebant solum,
 Claramque denso pulvere tegebant diem.
 Temone in ipso tenuis interea sedens,
 O quantus, inquit Musca, premit equos labor,
 Quantusque sudor irrigat, dum me trahunt!
 Sic prævalenti cum sedere vult trabe,
 Quæ quinque opimos facile sustinet boves,
 Pusillus ille, ex altitum gente infima,
 Pretentat illam Trochilus, et supersillit
 Similis timentis, ferre ne se non queat.
 Sic impudenti Trossulorum de grege
 Aliquis, ineptus, ministris impert
 Multum exhibere se negotii putat,
 Qui, vivat ille an mortuus sit, nesciunt."

Desbillion's Fab. Æs. Lib. iv. Fab. 14.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 353. *So made for mischief!* Ben-Jochanan was Samuel Johnson, author of the famous pamphlet entitled

A Jew of humble parentage was he,
 By trade a Levite, though of low degree: 355
 His pride no higher than the desk aspired,
 But for the drudgery of priests was hired
 To read and pray in linen ephod brave,
 And pick up single shekels from the grave. 359
 Married at last, but finding charge come faster,
 He could not live by God, but changed his
 master:

Inspired by want, was made a factious tool,
 They got a villain, and we lost a fool.
 Still violent, whatever cause he took,
 But most against the party he forsook. 365
 For renegadoes, who ne'er turn by halves,
 Are bound in conscience to be double knaves.
 So this prose prophet took most monstrous pains
 To let his master see he earn'd his gains.
 But as the devil owes all his imps a shame, 370
 He chose the apostate for his proper theme;
 With little pains he made the picture true,
 And from reflection took the rogue he drew.
 A wondrous work, to prove the Jewish nation
 In every age a murmuring generation; 375
 To trace 'em from their infancy of sinning,
 And show 'em factious from their first beginning;
 To prove they could rebel, and rail, and mock,
 Much to the credit of the chosen flock;
 A strong authority, which must convince 380
 That saints own no allegiance to their prince.
 As 'tis a leading-card to make a whore,
 To prove her mother had turn'd up before.
 But, tell me, did the drunken patriarch bless
 The son that show'd his father's nakedness? 385
 Such thanks the present church thy pen will give,
 Which proves rebellion was so primitive.
 Must ancient failings be examples made?
 Then murderers from Cain may learn their trade.
 As thou the heathen and the saint hast drawn,
 Methinks the apostate was the better man: 391
 And thy hot father, waving my respect,
 Not of a mother-church, but of a sect.
 And such he needs must be of thy inditing;
 This comes of drinking asses' milk and writing.
 If Balak should be call'd to leave his place, 395
 As profit is the loudest call of grace,
 His temple, dispossess'd of one, would be
 Replenish'd with seven devils more by thee.

Levi, thou art a load; I'll lay thee down, 400
 And show rebellion bare, without a gown;
 Poor slaves in metre, dull and addle-pated,
 Who rhyme below even David's Psalms translated;
 Some in my speedy pace I must outrun,
 As lame Mephibosheth, the wizard's son; 405
 To make quick way, I'll leap o'er heavy blocks,
 Shun rotten Uzza, as I would the pox;
 And hasten Og and Doeg to rehearse,
 Two fools that crutch their feeble sense on verse;

Julian, in which he drew a parallel betwixt that apostate and James II. And also of another still more offensive, called *An Address to the English Protestants in King James's Army*. For which he was sentenced to stand in the pillory three several times, at Westminster, Charing cross, and the Royal Exchange, to pay a fine of five hundred marks, and be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. The last part of the punishment was mildly excused, and he was degraded from his ecclesiastical functions before it was inflicted. Of all the seditious writers here proscribed by Dryden, he was a man of the greatest learning and best morals. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 384. *But, tell me, did the drunken patriarch bless?* The first edition, by a strange error of the press, has *putti* for

Who, by my muse, to all succeeding times 410
Shall live, in spite of their own doggrel rhymes.

Doeg, though without knowing how or why,
Made still a blundering kind of melody;
Spur'd boldly on, and dash'd through thick and thin,

Through sense and nonsense, never out nor in, 415
Free from all meaning, whether good or bad,
And, in one word, heroically mad :

He was too warm on picking-work to dwell,
But fagotted his notions as they fell,
And if they rhymed and rattled, all was well. 420

Spiteful he is not, though he wrote a satire,
For still there goes some thinking to ill-nature :
He needs no more than birds and beasts to think,
All his occasions are to eat and drink.

If he call rogue and rascal from a garret, 425
He means you no more mischief than a parrot :
The words for friend and foe alike were made,
To fetter 'em in verse is all his trade.

For almonds he'll cry whore to his own mother
And call young Absalom king David's brother 430
Let him be gallows-free by my consent,
And nothing suffer since he nothing meant ;

Hanging supposes human soul and reason ;
This animal's below committing treason.
Shall he be hang'd who never could rebel ? 435
That's a preferment for Achitophel.

The woman that committed buggery
Was rightly sentenced by the law to die ;
But 'twas hard fate that to the gallows led
The dog that never heard the statute read. 440

Railing in other men may be a crime,
But ought to pass for mere instinct in him :
Instinct he follows, and no farther knows,
For to write verse with him is to transpose.

'Twere pity treason at his door to lay,
Who makes *heaven's gate a lock to its own key* :
Let him rail on, let his invective muse
Have four-and-twenty letters to abuse, 445

Which, if he jumbles to one line of sense,
Indict him of a capital offence. 450
In fireworks give him leave to vent his spite,
Those are the only serpents he can write ;

The height of his ambition is, we know,
But to be master of a puppet-show,

Ver. 412. *Doeg, though without knowing* This character of Elkanah Settle, which is exquisitely satirical, particularly lines 415, 420, 422, 427, 428, was certainly inserted by Dryden, whom he had offended by writing pamphlets for the Whigs, though he afterwards suddenly changed sides, and was as violent a defender of Tory principles, and wrote a poem of high panegyric on the coronation of James II. in 1685. He was the author of seventeen plays, now totally forgotten. He had a pension from the city for writing an annual panegyric on the lord mayor Towards the end of his life he was reduced to great poverty, and wrote low drolls for Bartholomew Fair, and was reduced in his old age to act in farce a dragon enclosed in a green leather of his own invention. To which our witty satirist, Dr. Young, alludes in his epistle to Pope, on the authors of the age.—

"Poor Elkanah, all other changes past,
For bred in Smithfield dragons hiss'd at last :
Spit streams of fire to make the butchers gape,
And found his manners suited to his shape."

Og, mentioned afterwards, who was *Shadwell*, we must reserve speaking of to a more important occasion. I cannot forbear adding, that Dryden was so much mortified at the success of the *Emperor of Morocco*, a tragedy of Settle's, which was even acted at Whitehall by the court-ladies, that he wrote a most virulent and even brutal criticism on it, dictated by envy, rage, and jealousy, from which Dr. Johnson has given a long extract of eight pages, which disgrace the pen of Dryden. Dr. J. WARTON.

On that one stage his works may yet appear, 455
And a month's harvest keeps him all the year.

Now stop your noses, readers, all and some,
For here's a tun of midnight work to come,
Og, from a treason-tavern rolling home ;
Round as a globe, and liquor'd every clink, 460

Goodly and great, he sails behind his link.
With all this bulk there's nothing lost in Og,
For every inch that is not fool, is rogue :

A monstrous mass of foul corrupted matter, 464
As all the devils had spew'd to make the batter.
When wine has given him courage to blaspheme,
He curses God, but God before cursed him,

And if man could have reason, none has more,
That made his paunch so rich, and him so poor.
With wealth he was not trusted, for Heaven knew
What 'twas of old to pamper up a Jew ; 471

To what would he on quail and pheasant swell,
That even on tripe and carrion could rebel ?
But though Heaven made him poor (with reve-

rence speaking),
He never was a poet of God's making ; 475
The midwife laid her hand on his thick skull
With this prophetic blessing—*Be thou dull !*

Drink, swear, and roar, forbear no lewd delight,
Fit for thy bulk ; do anything but write :
Thou art of lasting make, like thoughtless men,
A strong nativity—but for the pen ; 481

Eat opium, mingle arsenic in thy drink,
Still thou mayst live, avoiding pen and ink.
I see, I see, 'tis counsel given in vain,
For treason botch'd in rhyme will be thy bane ; 485

Rhyme is the rock on which thou art to wreck ;
'Tis fatal to thy fame and to thy neck :
Why should thy metre good king David blast ?
A psalm of his will surely be thy last. 490

Darest thou presume in verse to meet thy foes,
Thou whom the penny pamphlet foil'd in prose ?
Doeg, whom God for mankind's mirth has made,
O'erlops thy talent in thy very trade ; 495

Doeg to thee, thy paintings are so coarse,
A poet is, though he's the poet's horse. 495
A double noose thou on thy neck dost pull,
For writing treason, and for writing dull.

To die for faction is a common evil,
But to be hang'd for nonsense is the devil.
Hadst thou the glories of thy king express'd, 500
Thy praises had been satire at the best :

But thou, in clumsy verse, unlick'd, unpointed,
Hast shamefully defied the Lord's anointed.
I will not rake the dunghill of thy crimes,
For who would read thy life that reads thy 505

rhymes ?
But of king David's foes, be this the doom,
May all be like the young man Absalom ;
And, for my foes, may thus their blessing be,
To talk like Doeg, and to write like thee.

Achitophel each rank, degree, and age, 510
For various ends neglects not to engage ;
The wise and rich, for purse and counsel brought,
The fools and beggars, for their number sought :

Who yet not only on the town depends,
For even in court the faction had its friends ; 515
These thought the places they possess'd too small,
And in their hearts wish'd court and king to fall ;
Whose names the muse disdain'd, holds i' the

dark,
Thrust in the villain herd without a mark ;
With parasites and libel-spawning imps,
Integrating fops, dull jesters, and worse imps. 520

Disdain the rascal rabble to pursue,
 Their set cabals are yet a viler crew.
 See where involved in common smoke they sit,
 Some for our mirth, some for our satire fit: 535
 These gloomy, thoughtful, and on mischief bent,
 While those for mere good fellowship frequent
 The appointed club, can let sedition pass,
 Sense, nonsense, anything to employ the glass;
 And who believe, in their dull honest hearts, 539
 The rest talk treason but to show their parts;
 Who ne'er had wit or will for mischief yet,
 But pleased to be reputed of a set.

But in the sacred annals of our plot,
 Industrious Arod never be forgot: 538
 The labours of this midnight magistrate,
 May vie with Corah's to preserve the state.
 In search of arms he fail'd not to lay hold
 On war's most powerful, dangerous weapon, gold.
 And last, to take from Jebusites all odds, 540
 Their altars pillaged, stole their very gods.
 Off would he cry, when treasure he surprised,
 'Tis Baalish gold in David's coin disguised;
 Which to his house with richer reliques came, 545
 While lumber idols only fed the flame:
 For our wise rabble ne'er took pains to inquire,
 What 'twas he burnt, so 't made a rousing fire.
 With which our elder was enrich'd no more
 Than false Gehazi with the Syrian's store;
 So poor, that when our choosing-tribes were met, 551
 Even for his stinking votes he ran in debt;
 For meat the wicked, and, as authors think,
 The saints he choused for his electing drink;
 Thus every shift and subtle method past, 555
 And all to be no Zaken at the last.

Now, raised on Tyre's sad ruins, Pharaoh's
 pride
 Soar'd high, his legions threatening far and wide;
 As when a battering storm engender'd high,
 By winds upheld, hangs hovering in the sky,
 Is gazed upon by every trembling swain, 560
 Thus for his vineyard fears, and that his grain;

Ver. 534. *But in the sacred annals of our plot,
 Industrious Arod never be forgot:*

Arod, Sir William Waller, son to him who had done so much service to the long parliament. He upheld the exclusion bill with all his might, and took every opportunity of showing his hatred to Popery, by seeking out and dispersing the Papists, when assembled to celebrate divine service in their way. To which, if he was not much misrepresented, he was stimulated rather in hopes of spoil, their altars being generally rich, than out of respect to his country, or love for religion. DERRICK.

Ver. 555. — *all to be no Zaken at the last.* At the choosing a new parliament in the beginning of the year 1679, Sir William had, to no purpose, endeavoured to get himself chosen into the house; and the publicans, who trusted him at this time in such entertainments as he ordered, found it difficult to get their money from him. DERRICK.

Ver. 556. *Now, raised on Tyre's sad ruins, Pharaoh's pride
 Soar'd high*

The success of Louis XIV.'s arms, particularly in Holland, rendered him formidable all over Europe; while England, who has it so much in her power to command respect, was scarcely regarded. Weakened by domestic disputes, her king always wanting money, and opposed and kept bare by her parliament, her mediation was of no consequence, and she had little or no influence abroad. DERRICK.

Ver. 560. *As when a battering storm engender'd high,
 By winds upheld, hangs hovering in the sky,
 Is gazed upon by every trembling swain,
 Thus for his vineyard fears, and that his grain;*

For blooming plants, and flowers new opening,
 these

For lambs yearn'd lately, and far-labouring bees:
 To guard his stock each to the gods does call,
 Uncertain where the fire-charged clouds will fall:
 Ev'n so the doubtful nations watch his arms, 566
 With terror each expecting his alarms.
 Where, Judah, where was now thy lion's roar?
 Thou only couldst the captive lands restore;
 But thou, with inbred broils and faction press'd, 570
 From Egypt need'st a guardian with the rest.
 Thy prince from Sanhodrim's no trust allow'd,
 Too much the representatives of the crowd,
 Who for their own defence give no supply,
 But what the crown's prerogatives must buy: 577
 As if their monarch's rights to violate
 More needful were, than to preserve the state!
 From present dangers they divert their care,
 And all their fears are of the royal heir,
 Whom now the reigning malice of his foes 582
 Unjudged would sentence, and ere crown'd depose
 Religion the pretence, but their decree
 To bar his reign, whate'er his faith shall be!
 By Sanhedrims and clam'rous crowds thus press'd,
 What passions rent the righteous David's breast?
 Who knows not how to oppose or to comply, 586
 Unjust to grant, and dangerous to deny!
 How near in this dark juncture Israel's fate,
 Whose peace one sole expedient could create,
 Which yet the extremest virtue did require, 591
 Even of that prince whose downfall they conspire!
 His absence David does with tears advise
 To appease their rage. Undaunted he complies.
 Thus he, who, prodigal of blood and ease,
 A royal life exposed to winds and seas, 595
 At once contending with the waves and fire,
 And heading danger in the wars of Tyro,
 Inglorious now forsakes his native sand,
 And like an exile quits the promised land!
 Our monarch scarce from pressing tears refrains,
 And painfully his royal state maintains, 601
 Who now embracing on the extremest shore
 Almost revokes what he enjoin'd before.
 Concludes at last more trust to be allow'd
 To storms and seas than to the raging crowd! 605
 Forbear, rash muse, the parting scene to draw,
 With silence charm'd as deep as theirs that saw!
 Not only our attending nobles weep,
 But hardy sailors swell with tears the deep!
 The tide restrain'd her course, and more amazed
 The twin-stars on the royal brothers gazed: 611
 While this sole fear—
 Does trouble to our suffering hero bring,
 Lest next the popular rage oppress the king!
 Thus parting, each for the other's danger grieved, 615
 The shore the king, and seas the prince received.
 Go, injured hero, while propitious gales,
 Soft as thy consort's breath, inspire thy sails;
 Well may she trust her beauties on a flood,
 Where thy triumphant fleets so oft have rode! 620

"Qualis ubi ad terras abrupto sidere nimbus
 It mare per medium, miseris heu præsencia longo
 Horrescent corda agricolis: dabit ille ruinas
 Arboribus, stragemque satias, ruet omnia lati."
 Virgil. Æn. xii. 451.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 592. *His absence David does with tears advise*
 This alludes to the Duke of York's quitting the court,
 and retiring to Brussels, and afterwards to Scotland
 DERRICK.

Safe on thy breast reclined, her rest be deep,
 Rock'd like a Nereid by the waves asleep;
 While happiest dreams her fancy entertain,
 And to Elysian fields convert the main !
 Go, injured hero, while the shores of Tyre 625
 At thy approach so silent shall admire,
 Who on thy thunder still their thoughts employ,
 And greet thy landing with a trembling joy.

On heroes thus the prophet's fate is thrown, 630
 Admired by every nation but their own;
 Yet while our factious Jews his worth deny,
 Their aching conscience gives their tongue the lie.
 Even in the worst of men the noblest parts
 Confess him, and he triumphs in their hearts,
 Whom to his king the best respects commend 635
 Of subject, soldier, kinsman, prince and friend;
 All sacred names of most divine esteem,
 And to perfection all sustain'd by him,
 Wise, just, and constant, courtly without art, 640
 Swift to discern and to reward desert;
 No hour of his in fruitless ease destroy'd,
 But on the noblest subjects still employ'd:
 Whose steady soul ne'er learnt to separate
 Between his monarch's interest and the state, 645
 But heaps those blessings on the royal head,
 Which he well knows must be on subjects shed.

On what pretence could then the vulgar rage
 Against his worth, and native rights engage?
 Religious fears their argument are made,
 Religious fears his sacred rights invade ! 650
 Of future superstition they complain,
 And Jebusitic worship in his reign:
 With such alarms his foes the crowd deceive,
 With dangers fright which not themselves believe.
 Since nothing can our sacred rites remove, 655
 Whate'er the faith of the successor prove:
 Our Jews their ark shall undisturb'd retain,
 At least while their religion is their gain,
 Who know by old experience Baa's commands 659
 Not only claim'd their conscience, but their lands;
 They grudge God's tithes; how therefore shall
 they yield

An idol full possession of the field?
 Grant such a prince enthroned, we must confess
 The people's sufferings than that monarch's less, 665
 Who must to hard conditions still be bound,
 And for his quiet with the crowd compound;
 Or should his thoughts to tyranny incline,
 Where are the means to compass the design?
 Our crown's revenues are too short a store,
 And jealous Sanhedrims would give no more. 670

As vain our fears of Egypt's potent aid,
 Not so has Pharaoh learnt ambition's trade,
 Nor ever with such measures can comply
 As shock the common rules of policy;
 None dread like him the growth of Israel's king, 675
 And he alone sufficient aids can bring;
 Who knows that prince to Egypt can give law,
 That on our stubborn tribes his yoke could draw:
 At such profound expense he has not stood,
 Nor dyed for this his hands so deep in blood; 680
 Would ne'er through wrong and right his progress
 take,

Grudge his own rest, and keep the world awake,
 To fix a lawless prince on Judah's throne,
 First to invade our rights, and then his own;
 His dear-gain'd conquests cheaply to despoil, 685
 And reap the harvest of his crimes and toil.
 We grant his wealth vast as our ocean's sand,
 And curse its fatal influence on our land,

Which our bribed Jews so numerous partake,
 That even an host his pensioners would make. 690
 From these deceivers our divisions spring,
 Our weakness, and the growth of Egypt's king;
 These, with pretended friendship to the state,
 Our crowd's suspicion of their prince create,
 Both pleas'd and frighten'd with the specious 695
 cry,

To guard their sacred rites and property.
 To ruin, thus, the chosen flock are sold;
 While wolves are ta'en for guardians of the fold;
 Seduced by these we groundlessly complain,
 And loathe the manna of a gentle reign. 700
 Thus our forefathers' crooked paths are trod;
 We trust our prince no more than they their God.
 But all in vain our reasoning prophets preach
 To those whom sad experience ne'er could teach,
 Who can commence new broils in bleeding scars,
 And fresh remembrance of intestine wars; 705
 When the same household mortal foes did yield,
 And brothers staid with brothers' blood the
 field;

When sons' cursed steel the fathers' gore did stain,
 And mothers mourn'd for sons by fathers slain !
 When, thick as Egypt's locusts on the sand, 710
 Our tribes lay slaughter'd through the promised
 land,

Whose few survivors with worse fate remain
 To drag the bondage of a tyrant's reign:
 Which scene of woes, unknowing, we renew, 715
 And madly, even those ills we fear, pursue;
 While Pharaoh laughs at our domestic broils,
 And safely crowds his tents with nations' spoils.
 Yet our fierce Sanhedrim, in restless rage,
 Against our absent hero still engage, 720
 And chiefly urge, such did their frenzy prove,
 The only suit their prince forbids to move,
 Which till obtain'd, they cease affairs of state,
 And real dangers waive for groundless hate.
 Long David's patience waits relief to bring, 725
 With all the indulgence of a lawful king,
 Expecting till the troubled waves would cease,
 But found the raging billows still increase.
 The crowd, whose insolence forbearance swells,
 While he forgives too far, almost rebels. 730

At last his deep resentments silence broke;
 Th' imperial palace shook, while thus he spoke:—

Then Justice wake, and Rigour take her time,
 For, lo ! our mercy is become our crime.
 While halting Punishment her stroke delays, 735
 Our sovereign right, Heaven's sacred trust, decays !
 For whose support even subjects' interest calls,
 Woe to that kingdom where the monarch falls !
 That prince who yields the least of regal sway,
 So far his people's freedom does betray. 740
 Right lives by law, and law subsists by power;
 Disarm the shepherd, wolves the flock devour.
 Hard lot of empire o'er a stubborn race,
 Which Heaven itself in vain has tried with grace !
 When will our reason's long-charm'd eyes uncloso,
 And Israel judge between her friends and foes ! 745

Ver. 705] "Sanguine civili rem confiant: divitiasque
 Conducunt avidi, caedem cedi accumulantes.
 Crudelēs gaudent in tristis funere fratris:
 Et consanguineum menses odere, timentique."
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver 735. While halting Punishment her stroke delays,]
 "Raro antecedentem scelotum
 Deseruit pede Poena claudo."
 JOHN WARTON.

When shall we see expired deceivers' sway,
And credit what our God and monarchs say?
Dissembled patriots bribed with Egypt's gold,
Even Sanhedrims in blind obedience hold; 750
Those patriots falsehood in their actions see,
And judge by the pernicious fruit the tree:
If aught for which so loudly they declaim,
Religion, laws, and freedom, were their aim;
Our senates in due methods they had led 755
To avoid those mischiefs which they seem'd to
dread;

But first, ere yet they propp'd the sinking state,
To impeach and charge, as urged by private hate,
Proves that they ne'er believed the fears they
press'd,

But barbarously destroy'd the nation's rest! 760
Oh! whither will ungovern'd senates drive,
And to what bounds licentious votes arrive?
When their injustice we are press'd to share,
The monarch urged to exclude the lawful heir;
Are princes thus distinguish'd from the crowd, 765
And this the privilege of royal blood?
But grant we should confirm the wrongs they
press,

His sufferings yet were than the people's less;
Condemn'd for life the murdering sword to wield,
And on their heirs entail a bloody field: 770
Thus madly their own freedom they betray,
And for the oppression which they fear make way;
Succession fix'd by Heaven, the kingdom's bar,
Which once dissolved, admits the flood of war;

Waste, rapine, spoil, without the assault begin, 775
And our mad tribes supplant the fence within.
Since then their good they will not understand,
'Tis time to take the monarch's power in hand;
Authority and force to join with skill,
And save the lunatics against their will. 780
The same rough means that 'sauge the crowd,
appease

Our senate's raging with the crowd's disease.
Henceforth unbias'd measures let them draw
From no false gloss, but genuine text of law,
Nor urge those crimes upon religion's score, 785
Themselves so much in Jebusites abhor.
Whom laws convict, and only they, shall bleed,
Nor Pharisees by Pharisees be freed.
Impartial justice from our throne shall show,
All shall have right, and we our sovereign power.

He said, the attendants heard with awful joy, 791
And glad presages their fix'd thoughts employ;
From Hebron now the suffering heir return'd,
A realm that long with civil discord mourn'd;
Till his approach, like some arriving god, 795
Composed and heal'd the place of his abode;
The deluge check'd, that to Judea spread,
And stopp'd sedition at the fountain's head.
Thus in forgiving David's paths he drives,
And chased from Israel, Israel's peace contrives.
The field confess'd his power in arms before, 801
And seas proclaim'd his triumphs to the shore;
As nobly has his sway in Hebron shown,
How fit to inherit godlike David's throne.

Ver 752. *And judge by the pernicious fruit the tree,*]
A scriptural allusion. JOHN WARTON.

Ver 803. — *nobly has his sway in Hebron shown,*]
When the Duke of York returned from Scotland, in the
beginning of 1682, the murmurs against him seem'd to
have, in a good measure, subsided. He had shown
himself so well inclined to support the reformed religion in
that kingdom, that he was thanked for it by seven bishops,

Through Sion's streets his glad arrival's spread, 806
And conscious Faction shrinks her snaky head;
His train their sufferings think o'erpaid to see
The crowd's applause with virtue once agree.
Success charms all, but zeal for worth distress'd,
A virtue proper to the brave and best; 810
'Mongst whom was Jothran, Jothran always bent
To serve the crown, and loyal by descent,
Whose constancy so firm, and conduct just,
Deserved at once two royal masters' trust;
Who Tyre's proud arms had manfully withstood
On seas, and gather'd laurels from the flood; 815
Of learning yet no portion was denied,
Friend to the muses and the muses' pride.
Nor can Benaiah's worth forgotten lie,
Of steady soul when public storms were high, 821
Whose conduct, while the Moor fierce onsets
made,

Secured at once our honour and our trade
Such were the chiefs who most his sufferings
mourn'd,

And view'd with silent joy the prince return'd;
While those that sought his absence to betray, 825
Press first their nauseous false respects to pay;
Him still the officious hypocrites molest,
And with malicious duty break his rest.

While real transports thus his friends employ,
And foes are loud in their dissembled joy, 830
His triumphs so resounded far and near,
Miss'd not his young ambitious rival's ear;
And as when joyful hunters' clam'rous train
Some slumbering lion wakes in Moab's plain,
Who oft had forced the bold assailants yield, 835
And scatter'd his pursuers through the field,
Disdaining, furls his mane and tears the ground,
His eyes inflaming all the desert round,
With roar of seas directs his chasers' way,
Provokes from far, and dares them to the fray, 840
Such rage storm'd now in Absalom's fierce breast,
Such indignation his fired eyes confess'd.
Where now was the instructor of his pride?
Slept the old pilot in so rough a tide?
Whose wives had from the happy shore betray'd, 845
And thus on shelves the credulous youth convey'd.

in an address which was published, to the satisfaction of
all ranks of people; and the citizens of London, particu-
larly, treated him on that account with vast respect
DEANCK.

Ver. 806. *And conscious Faction shrinks her snaky head,*]
An energetic line, the imagery of which Pope seems to
have dilated, and perhaps weakened.

"Then hateful Envy her own snakes shall feel,
And Persecution mourn her broken wheel,
Then Faction roar——"

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 811. — *Jothran always bent
To serve the crown, and loyal by descent,*]

Jothran, the Lord Dartmouth, a nobleman of great honesty,
who, though inviolably attached to the Duke of York, had
always the courage to tell him freely when he disliked any
of his proceedings, and his highness was discreet enough
to take his representations as they were meant DEANCK.

Ver. 819. *Nor can Benaiah's worth forgotten lie,*]
Benaiah, Colonel, afterwards General Suckville, a gentleman of tried
courage, and known good sense: he was of the Dorset
family; had served at Tangier, with reputation, and on
account of his having expressed a disbelief of the Popish
plot, was expelled the House of Commons, and committed
to the Tower. He obtained his liberty, rank, and command,
in a very short time, but not his seat in the house.
DEANCK.

Ver 823. *And as when joyful hunters' &c*] This is a
faint imitation of Dryden, and "blounds with what Quantilian
calls "otiosa epitheta." JOHN WARTON.

In deep revolving thoughts he weighs his state,
Secure of craft, nor doubts to baffle fate;
At least, if his storm'd bark must go adrift,
To baulk his charge, and for himself to shift. 850
In which his doctrous wit had oft been shown,
And in the wreck of kingdoms saved his own,
But now with more than common danger press'd,
Of various resolutions stands possess'd,
Perceives the crowd's unstable zeal decay, 855
Lest their recanting chief the cause betray,
Who on a father's grace his hopes may ground,
And for his pardon with their heads compound.
Him, therefore, ere his fortune slip her time,
The statesman plots to engage in some bold crime
Past pardon, whether to attempt his bed, 861
Or threat with open arms the royal head,
Or other daring method, and unjust,
That may confirm him in the people's trust.
But failing thus to ensnare him, nor secure 865
How long his foil'd ambition may endure,
Plots next to lay him by as past his date,
And try some new pretender's luckier fate;
Whose hopes with equal toil he would pursue,
Nor cares what claimer's crown'd, except the
true. 870

Wake, Absalom, approaching ruin shun,
And see, oh, see, for whom thou art undone!
How are thy honours and thy fame betray'd,
The property of desperate villains made?
Lost power and conscious fears thy crimes create,
And guilt in them was little less than fate; 876
But why shouldst thou, from every grievance free,
Forsake thy vineyards for their stormy sea?
For thee did Canaan's milk and honey flow,
Love dress'd thy bowers, and laurels sought thy
brow, 880
Preferment, wealth, and power thy vassals were,
And of a monarch all things but the care.
Oh, should our crimes again that curse draw down,
And rebel-arms once more attempt the crown, 885
Sure ruin waits unhappy Absalom,
Alike by conquest or defeat undone!
Who could relentless see such youth and charms
Expire with wretched fate in impious arms?
A prince so form'd, with earth's and Heaven's
applause, 890

To triumph o'er crown'd heads in David's cause:
Or grant him victor, still his hopes must fail,
Who conquering would not for himself prevail;
The faction, whom he trusts for future sway,
Him and the public would alike betray;
Amongst themselves divide the captive state, 895
And found their hydra-empire in his fate!
Thus having beat the clouds with painful fight,
The pitted youth, with sceptres in his sight,
(So have their cruel politics decreed,)
Must by that crew, that made him guilty, bleed! 900
For, could their pride-brook any prince's sway,
Whom but mild David would they choose to
obey?

Who once at such a gentle reign repine,
The fall of monarchy itself design;
From hate to that their reformations spring, 905
And David not their grievance, but the king.
Seized now with panic fear the faction lies,
Lest this clear truth strike Absalom's charm'd
eyes,

Ver. 864. *That may confirm him*] First edition: *That may secure him.*

Lest he perceive, from long enchantment free,
What all beside the flatter'd youth must see. 910
But whatever doubts his troubled bosom swell,
Fair carriage still became Achitophel;
Who now an envious festival installs,
And to survey their strength the faction calls,
Which fraud, religious worship too must gild; 915
But, oh, how weakly does sedition build!
For, lo! the royal mandate issues forth,
Dashing at once their treason, zeal, and mirth!
So have I seen disastrous chance invade,
Where careful emmets had their forage laid, 920
Whether fierce Vulcan's rage the furzy plain
Had seized, engender'd by some careless swain,
Or swelling Neptune lawless inroads made,
And to their cell of store his flood convey'd;
The commonwealth broke up, distracted go, 925
And in wild haste their loaded mates o'erthrew:
Even so our scatter'd guests confusedly meet,
With boil'd, baked, roast, all justling in the
street;

Dejected all, and ruefully dismay'd,
For shekel, without treat, or treason, paid. 930
Sedition's dark eclipse now fainter shows,
More bright each hour the royal planet grows,
Of force the clouds of envy to disperse,
In kind conjunction of assisting stars.
Here, labouring muse, those glorious chiefs relate,
That turn'd the doubtful scale of David's fate, 935
The rest of that illustrious band rehearse,
Immortalised in laurel'd Asaph's verse:
Hard task! yet will not I thy flight recall,
View heaven, and then enjoy thy glorious fall. 940
First write Bezaliel, whose illustrious name
Foretells our praise, and gives his poet fame.
The Kenites' rocky province his command,
A barren limb of fertile Canaan's land;
Which for its generous natives yet could be 945
Held worthy such a president as he!
Bezaliel with each grace and virtue fraught,
Serene his looks, serene his life and thought;
On whom so largely nature heap'd her store,
There scarce remain'd for arts to give him more!
To aid the crown and state his greatest zeal, 951
His second care that service to conceal;

Ver 912. — *Achitophel;*

*Who now an envious festival installs,
And to survey their strength the faction calls,]*

The Duke of York being invited to dine at Merchant Tailors' Hall with the Company of Artillery, of which he was captain-general, on the 21st of April, 1682, tickets were dispersed in opposition to, and contempt of, this meeting; inviting the nobility, gentry, and citizens, who wished well to the Protestant religion, to convene the same day at St Michael's church, Cornhill, and thence proceed to dine at Haberdashers' Hall: but this association was stopped by an order of council. DERRICK.

Ver 917. — *lo! the royal mandate issues forth,]*

The substance of which was, that the power of appointing public days of fasts and thanksgivings being vested in the crown, a particular meeting, pretended to that end, and advertised to be held on the 21st of April, 1682, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, must be of a seditious tendency, as not having the royal sanction; and therefore the lord mayor and aldermen of London are, at their peril, ordered to hinder it as an unlawful assembly. DERRICK.

Ver. 929. *Dejected all,]* First edition: *Derrick incorrectly, Dejecting.*

Ver. 941. *First write Bezaliel,]* Bezaliel, the Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort in 1682, a nobleman of great worth and honour, who had always taken part with the king, and one of those whom the Commons, in 1680, prayed his majesty to remove from about his person, as being a favourer of Popery. DERRICK.

Of dues observant, firm to every trust:
And to the needy always more than just:
Who truth from specious falsehood can divide,⁹⁵⁵
Has all the gowmsmen's skill without their pride;
Thus crown'd with worth from heights of honour
won,

Sees all his glories copied in his son,
Whose forward fame should every muse engage;
Whose youth boasts skill denied to others' age⁹⁶⁰
Men, manners, language, books of noblest kind,
Already are the conquest of his mind.
Whose loyalty before its date was prime;
Nor waited the dull course of rolling time:
The monster faction early he dismay'd,⁹⁶⁵
And David's cause long since confess'd his aid.

Brave Abdael o'er the prophets' school was
placed;

Abdael with all his father's virtue graced;
A hero, who, while stars look'd wondering down,
Without one Hebrew's blood restored the crown.
That praise was his, what therefore did remain⁹⁷¹
For following chiefs, but boldly to maintain
That crown restored; and in this rank of fame,
Brave Abdael with the first a place must claim.
Proceed, illustrious, happy chief, proceed,⁹⁷⁵
Foreseize the garlands for thy brow decreed,
While the inspired tribe attend with noblest
strain

To register the glories thou shalt gain:
For sure the dew shall Gilboah's hills forsake,
And Jordan mix his stream with Sodom's lake,
Or seas retired their secret stores disclose,⁹⁸¹
And to the sun their scaly brood expose,
Or swell'd above the cliffs their billows raise,
Before the muses leave their patron's praise.

Eliab our next labour does invite,⁹⁸⁵
And hard the task to do Eliab right:

Ver. 933. — *firm to every trust.* First edition:
firm in every trust.

Ver. 958. *Sees all his glories copied in his son.* Charles
Somerset, Lord Herbert of Ragland in Monmouthshire,
who, according to Wood, was entered of Christ Church,
Oxford, and took his degree as a master of arts in 1681.
DERRICK.

Ver. 968. *Abdael with all his father's virtue graced;*
Abdael, the Duke of Albemarle, son to the brave General
Munk, and president of Wales. He was liberal and loyal,
and a leading man among the friends of the King and the
Duke, on which account he was severely stigmatised by the
Whig writers. In 1687 he was sent abroad governor of
Jamaica, where he died. DERRICK.

Ver. 985. *Eliab* Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, wrote
a most severe satire on Lord Arlington, here introduced
under the name of Eliab, called "Advice to a Painter."
This Henry Bennet was a younger son of a private gentle-
man, had followed the royal family into exile; at whose
restoration he was made first privy purse, then secretary of
state, earl of Arlington, knight of the garter, and at last
lord chamberlain to King Charles II. and to his brother
King James II. afterwards. He was for some years a kind
of favourite minister, I mean conversant in his master's
pleasures, as well as entrusted with his business: notwith-
standing the constant enmity both of the Duke of York
and Chancellor Clarendon, whose superior power, especially
in state affairs, was yet unable to shake King Charles's
inclination to this gentleman, who, therefore, at the other's
banishment, remained, if not sole minister, at least the
principal one for some time. He met with one thing very
peculiar in his fortune, which I have scarce known happen
to any man else with all his advancement (which is wont
to create malice, but seldom contempt) he was believed in
England, by most people, a man of much less abilities than
he really had. For this unusual sort of mistake, I can only
imagine two causes: first, his over-cautious avoiding to
speak in parliament, as having been more conversant in
affairs abroad; though nobody performed it better when

Long with the royal wanderer he roved,
And firm in all the turns of fortune proved!
Such ancient service and desert so large,
Well claim'd the royal household for his charge.
His age with only one mild heiress bless'd,⁹⁹¹
In all the bloom of smiling nature dress'd,
And bless'd again to see his flower allied
To David's stock, and made young Othniel's
bride!

The bright restorer of his father's youth,⁹⁹⁵
Devoted to a son's and subject's truth:
Resolved to bear that prize of duty home,
So bravely sought, while sought by Absalom.
Ah prince! the illustrious planet of thy birth,
And thy more powerful virtue guard thy worth;
That no Achitophel thy ruin boast!¹⁰⁰¹
Israel too much in one such wreck has lost.

Even envy must consent to Helon's worth,
Whose soul, though Egypt glories in his birth,
Could for our captive ark its zeal retain,¹⁰⁰⁵
And Pharaoh's altars in their pomp disdain:
To slight his gods was small; with nobler pride,
He all the allurements of his court defied:
Whom profit nor example could betray,
But Israel's friend, and true to David's sway.¹⁰¹⁰
What acts of favour in his province fall,
On merit he confers, and freely all.

Our list of nobles next let Amri grace,
Whose merits claim'd the Abethdin's high place;

obliged to give account of some treaties to the House of
 Lords, or to defend himself in the House of Commons; by
 which last he once brought himself off with great dexterity.
 The other reason of it I fancy to have come from the Duke
 of Buckingham, who being his rival in court, after the fall
 of Clarendon, and having an extraordinary talent for turn-
 ing any thing into ridicule, exercised it sufficiently on this
 lord, both with the king and every body else; which had
 its effect at last, even to his being left out of his master's
 business, but not his favour, which in some measure con-
 tinued still; and long after this his supplanter was totally
 discarded. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 988. *And firm in all the turns of fortune proved!*
First edition: *fortunes.*

Ver. 991. *His age with only one mild heiress bless'd,*
— *young Othniel's bride.*

Othniel, Henry Duke of Grafton, one of the King's
 natural sons, begotten upon the body of the Duchess of
 Cleveland. She was averse to his marrying Lord Arlington's
 daughter, though a considerable heiress. I have seen a
 letter from her to Lord Treasurer Danby, dated from Paris,
 (I think in 1675) thanking him for his care in endeav-
 ouring to prevent this match. It is in her own hand-
 writing.

This Duke of Grafton soon joined the Prince of Orange
 at the revolution, and was killed at the siege of Cork, in
 the year 1690. He had great natural bravery, was very
 sincere, but rough as the sea, of which he was fond, and
 whereof, had he lived, he promised to make a gallant
 figure. DERRICK.

Ver. 999. *Ah prince!* First edition. Derrick erro-
 neously, *A prince!*

Ver. 1008. *Even envy must consent to Helon's worth.*
 Helon, the Earl of Feversham, a Pionuchan by birth, and
 nephew to Mareschal Turenne: he was honest, brave,
 and good-natured, but precipitate and injudicious. DERRICK

Ver. 1007. *To slight his gods was small; with nobler pride,*
 He all the allurements of his court defied.

His lordship professed himself a Protestant, though
 Burnet says there was reason to suspect his sincerity.
 Affection for King Charles II. who really esteemed him,
 made him prefer England to his own country, where he had
 great interest, and might have expected to be nobly provided
 for. DERRICK.

Ver. 1013. *Our list of nobles next let Amri grace,* Amri,
 Sir Henage Finch, constituted lord keeper of the great

Who, with a loyalty that did excel, 1015
Brought all the endowments of Achitophel.
Sincere was Amri, and not only knew,
But Israel's sanctions into practice drew;
Our laws, that did a boundless ocean seem,
Were coasted all, and fathom'd all by him 1020
No rabbin speaks like him their mystic sense,
So just, and with such charms of eloquence:
To whom the double blessing does belong,
With Moses' inspiration, Aaron's tongue.

Than Sheva none more loyal zeal have shown,
Wakeful as Judah's lion for the crown, 1025
Who for that cause still combats in his age,
For which his youth with danger did engage.
In vain our factious priests the cant revive;
In vain seditious scribes with libel strive 1030
To inflame the crowd; while he with watchful
eye

Observes, and shoots their treasons as they fly;
Their weekly frauds his keen replies detect;
He deceives more fast than they infect.
So Moses when the pest on legions prey'd, 1035
Advanced his signal, and the plague was stay'd.

Once more, my fainting muse, thy pinions try,
And strength's exhausted store let love supply.
What tribute, Asaph, shall we render thee?
We'll crown thee with a wreath from thy own 1040
tree!

Thy laurel grove no envy's flash can blast;
The song of Asaph shall for ever last.

With wonder late posterity shall dwell
On Absalom and false Achitophel:
Thy strains shall be our slumbering prophets' 1045
dream,

And when our Sion virgins sing their theme,
Our jubiles shall with thy verse be graced;
The song of Asaph shall for ever last.

How fierce his satire loosed; restrain'd, how 1049
tame;

How tender of the offending young man's fame!
How well his worth, and brave adventures styl'd;
Just to his virtues, to his error mild.

No page of thine that fears the strictest view,
But teems with just reproof, or praise as due; 1055
Not Eden could a fairer prospect yield,
All paradise without one barren field:
Whose wit the censure of his foes has pass'd;
The song of Asaph shall for ever last.

What praise for such rich strains shall we 1060
allow?

What just rewards the grateful crown bestow?

seal on Shaftesbury's dismissal, and soon after advanced to a peerage and the chancellorship. He was a zealous Protestant, and yet conducted himself with such steadiness and integrity, as to give offence to no party; which was a little surprising, as he held this important station at a time when party-feuds raged with unlicensed fury. His abilities were very great; he was judicious, eloquent, and industrious, an able lawyer, and a statesman, endued with strong veracity and inflexible integrity. DERRICK.

Ver. 1025. *Than Sheva none* Meaning Sir Roger L'Estrange, who of all venal and sordid scribblers that ever defended any administration, in any country or time, seems to have gone the greatest length in striving to defend any grievance and injustice that a government can be guilty of. His style is the masterpiece of what may be called, the *Pert-Dull*, and was vitiated by cant and affected vulgar phrases, and coffee-house expressions. In this sort of diction he translated, or rather travestied, the Offices of Fully, the Morals of Seneca, the Visions of Quevedo, and the History of Josephus; and gave a nauseous caricature of the simplicity of AEsop in his Fables. Dr. J. WATSON.

While bees in flowers rejoice, and flowers in dew,
While stars and fountains to their course are true;
While Judah's throne, and Sion's rock stand fast
The song of Asaph and the fame shall last.

Still Hebron's honour'd happy soil retains 1065
Our royal hero's beauteous dear remains;
Who now sails off with winds nor wishes slack,
To bring his sufferings' bright companion back.
But ere such transport can our sense employ,
A bitter grief must poison half our joy; 1070

Nor can our coasts restored those blessings see
Without a bribe to envious destiny!
Cursed Sodom's doom for ever fix the tide
Where by inglorious chance the valiant died.

Give not insulting Askalon to know, 1075
Nor let Gath's daughters triumph in our woe!
No sailor with the news swell Egypt's pride,
By what inglorious fate our valiant died!

Weep, Amon! Jordan, weep thy fountains dry!
While Sion's rock dissolves for a supply. 1080

Calm were the elements, night's silence deep,
The waves scarce murmuring, and the winds
asleep;

Yet fate for ruin takes so still an hour,
And treacherous sands the princely bark devour;
Then death unworthy seized a generous race, 1085
To virtue's scandal, and the stars' disgrace!

Oh! had the indulgent Powers vouchsafed to
yield,

Instead of faithless shelves, a listed field;
A listed field of Heaven's and David's foes,
Fierce as the troops that did his youth oppose, 1090

Each life had on his slaughter'd heap retired,
Not tamely, and unconquering thus expired:
But destiny is now their only foe,

And dying, even o'er that they triumph too;
With loud last breaths their master's 'scape 1095
applaud,

Of whom kind force could scarce the fates defraud;
Who for such followers lost, oh, matchless mind
At his own safety now almost repined!

Say, royal Sir, by all your fame in arms,
Your praise in peace, and by Urania's charms; 1100
If all your sufferings past so nearly press'd,
Or pierced with half so painful grief your breast!

Thus some diviner muse her hero forms,
Not soothed with soft delights, but toss'd in
storms.

Ver. 1061. *While bees in flowers rejoice, &c.* Virg.
Ecl. v. 76

"Dum juga montis aper, fluvius dum piscis amabit,
Dumque thymo pascentur apes," &c. &c.
TODD

Ver. 1065. *Still Hebron's honour'd happy soil retains*
Our royal hero's beauteous dear remains; &c.

The duke seeming to have now got the better of his enemies, the Popish plot having lost its credit, and the fears of Popery greatly subsided, he embarked for Scotland in the *Gloster* yacht on the 3rd of May, to bring up his family; but here

A bitter grief must poison half his joy.

For early in the morning on the 5th, she struck upon a sand-bank, and soon went to the bottom, carrying with her one hundred and thirty stout men, several young people of quality, and many of the duke's servants, who

With loud last breaths their master's 'scape applaud.

For so well was he beloved, that it is said, even when they saw themselves sinking without hope of relief, they expressed their joy at beholding their master safe. And he was highly complimented for his resolution, calmness, and humanity, on this melancholy occasion, in which he seemed less solicitous for himself than any other person DERRICK.

Nor stretch'd on roses in the myrtle grove, ¹¹⁰⁵
Nor crowns his days with mirth, his nights with
love,

But far removed in thundering camps is found,
His slumbers short, his bed the herbless ground :
In tasks of danger always seen the first,
Feeds from the hedge, and slakes with ice his
thirst. ¹¹¹⁰

Long must his patience strive with fortune's rage,
And long opposing gods themselves engage,
Must see his country flame, his friends destroy'd,
Before the promised empire be enjoy'd :
Such toil of fate must build a man of fame, ¹¹¹⁵
And such, to Israel's crown, the godlike David
came.

What sudden beams dispel the clouds so fast,
Whose drenching rains laid all our vineyards
waste ?

The spring so far behind her course delay'd,
On the instant is in all her bloom array'd ; ¹¹²⁰
The winds breathe low, the element serene ;
Yet mark what motion in the waves is seen !
Thronging and busy as Hyblean swarms,
Or straggled soldiers summon'd to their arms.
See where the princely bark, in loosest pride, ¹¹²⁵
With all her guardian fleet, adorns the tide !

Ver 1105 *Nor stretch'd on roses*] First edition: *Not*.
Ver. 1107.

*But far removed in thundering camps is found,
His slumbers short, his bed the herbless ground :
In tasks of danger always seen the first,
Feeds from the hedge, and slakes with ice his thirst*]

So *Livy* of Hannibal, lib. 19. cap. 4.

"Nullo labore aut corpus fatigari, aut animus vinei
poterat: calor ac frigoris patientia par: cibi potationisque
desiderio naturali, non voluptate modus finitus: vigilanti-
um somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; id quod
gerendis rebus superasset quieti datum. ea nequ' molli-
strato, neque silentio accersita. multi saepe militum sagulo
opertum nunc jacentem inter custodias, stationisque
militum conspexerant vestitus nihil inter aequales excel-
lens: arma atque equi conspiciantur: equitum pedi-
tumque idem longe primus erat princeps in praelium ibat:
ultimus conserto praelio excedebat." JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 1125. *See where the princely bark, in loosest pride,
With all her guardian fleet, adorns the tide !
High on her deck the royal lovers stand, &c.*]

Having settled the government of Scotland, the Duke of
York, with his duchess and household, returned to England,
arriving safely in the Gun-fleet on the 8th of May. They
were met at Erith by the King and court, whom they
accompanied by water to Whitehall, being saluted, as they

High on her deck the royal lovers stand,
Our crimes to pardon ere they touch'd our land.
Welcome to Israel and to David's breast !
Here all your toils, here all your sufferings rest.
This year did Ziloh rule Jerusalem, ¹¹³⁰
And boldly all sedition's surges stem,
Howe'er encumber'd with a viler pair
Than Ziph or Shimei to assist the chair ;
Yet Ziloh's loyal labours so prevail'd, ¹¹³⁵
That faction at the next election fail'd,
When even the common cry did justice sound,
And merit by the multitude was crown'd :
With David then was Israel's peace restored,
Crowds mourn'd their error, and obey'd their
lord. ¹¹⁴⁰

came up, by the Tower guns, and by all the ships in the
river. From Whitehall they went to Ailington-house in
the Park, where they were sumptuously entertained; and
his royal highness received the congratulations of the city
on his happy escape and return, and London and West-
minster blazed with bonfires, and echoed with rejoicing for
this happy event. DERRICK.

Ver. 1129 *Welcome to Israel*] The Duke of Buckingham
gave this character of the two loyal brothers; that Charles
could see things if he would, and James would see things
if he could. The conduct of James, and his behaviour in
his visit to Oxford, is marvellously weak, preposterous, and
absurd. It is recorded in Anthony Wood's Life. Charles II
used to say with respect to the mistress of his brother,
which were plain and homely, that his confessor had
imposed such mistresses upon him as Mrs. Williams, Lady
Bellasyse, Mrs. Sedley, and Mrs. Churchill, by way of
penance. Charles II's favourite mistress retained her
beauty till near seventy years of age. Sir Peter Lely, in a
high strain of flattery, drew her portrait, and that of her
son the Duke of Richmond, as a Madonna and Child, for
a convent in France. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 1131. *This year did Ziloh rule Jerusalem, &c.*] Sir
John Moor, lord mayor of London in 1681, and one of the
representatives of the city in Parliament, was a most
zealous and corrupt partisan of the court. He nominated
two sheriffs whom he knew would be perfectly subservient
to the ministry and the arbitrary measures of the King.
Dr. J. WATSON.

In a congratulatory poem, addressed to Sir William
Pritchard, (the successor of Sir John Moor,) published on a
half-sheet in 1682, the humble bard hints his indignation,
not without an allusion to Dryden's poem, against

"That long-ear'd rout, and their *Achitophel*,
That think it sin to live and not rebel;
Those pious elders, that Geneva rabble,
That hope, once more, to make old Paul's a stable."

TODD.

Ver. 1132. *And boldly all sedition's surges stem.*] First
edition: *Syrge. Derrick, Syrtes.*

KEY TO ABSALOM AND ACHITOPHEL.

ABDAEL	General Monk, Duke of Albemarle.	HELOD	Earl of Feversham
ABETHDIN	{ The name given, through this Poem, to a Lord Chancellor in general.	HUSHAI	Hyde, Earl of Rochester
ABSALOM		JERUSITES	Papists.
ACHITOPHEL	Duke of Monmouth.	JERUSALEM	London.
ADRIEL	Earl of Mulgrave.	JEWS	English.
AGAG	Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.	JONAS	Sir William Jones
AMIEL	{ Mr. Seymour, Speaker of the House of Commons	JORDAN	Dover.
AMRI		JOTHAM	Marquis of Halifax.
ANNABEL	Sir Hencage Finch, Earl of Win- chelsea, and Lord Chancellor.	JOTHRAN	Lord Dartmouth.
AROD	Duchess of Monmouth.	ISHBOSHETH	Richard Cromwell.
ASAPH	Sir William Waller.	ISRAEL	England.
	{ A Character drawn by Tate for Dryden, in the Second Part of this Poem.	ISSACHAR	Thomas Thynne, Esq
BALAAM		JUDAS	Mr. Ferguson, a canting Teacher
BALAK	Earl of Huntingdon.	ISHBAN	Sir Robert Clayton.
BARZILLAI	Barnet.	MEPHIBOSHETH	Portage.
BATHSHEBA	Duke of Ormond.	MICHAEL	Queen Catharine.
BENAIAM	Duchess of Portsmouth.	NADAB	Lord Howard of Esrick.
BEN JOCHANAN	General Sackville.	OG	Shadwell.
BEZALIEL	Rev. Mr Samuel Johnson.	PHALEG	Foibes.
CALEB	Duke of Beaufort	PHARAOH	King of France.
CORAH	Lord Grey.	RADSEKA	Sir Thomas Player.
DAVID	Dr. Oates	SAGAN OF JERUSALEM	Dr. Compton, Bishop of London
DOEG	Charles II.	SANHEDRIM	Parliament.
DOEG	Elkanah Settle.	SAUL	Oliver Cromwell.
EGYPT	France.	SHIMEI	Sheriff Bethel.
ELIAS	{ Sir Henry Bennet, Earl of Arling- ton.	SHEVA	Sir Roger Lestrangle.
ETHNIC PLOT		SOLYMEAN ROUT	London Rebels.
	{ The Land of Exile, more particu- larly Brussels, where King Charles II. long resided.	TYRE	Holland.
GATH		UZZA	Jack Hall.
HEBRON	Scotland.	ZADOC	{ Sancroft, Archbishop of Canter- bury.
HENREW PRIESTS	The Church of England Clergy.	ZAKEN	
		ZAKEN	{ A Member of the House of Com- mons.
		ZIMRI	Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.
		ZILOAH	Sir John Moor

THE MEDAL.

A SATIRE AGAINST SEDITION

AN EPISTLE TO THE WHIGS.

FOR to whom can I dedicate this poem, with so much justice as to you? 'Tis the representation of your own hero: 'tis the picture drawn at length, which you admire and prize so much in little. None of your ornaments are wanting; neither the landscape of the Tower, nor the rising sun; nor the Anno Domini of your new sovereign's coronation. This must needs be a grateful undertaking to your whole party; especially to those who have not been so happy as to purchase the original. I hear the graver has made a good market of it: all his kings are bought up already; or the value of the remainder so enhanced, that many a poor Polander who would be glad to worship the image, is not able to go to the cost of him, but must be content to see him here. I must confess I am no great artist; but sign-post painting will serve the turn to remember a friend by, especially when better is not to be had. Yet for your comfort the lineaments are true; and though he sat not five times to me, as he did to B., yet I have consulted history, as the Italian painters do, when they would draw a Nero, or a Caligula; though they have not seen the man, they can help their imagination by a statue of him, and find out the colouring from Suetonius and Tacitus. Truth is, you might have spared one side of your Medal: the head would be seen to more advantage if it were placed on a spike of the Tower, a little nearer to the sun, which would then break out to better purpose.

You tell us in your preface to the No-protestant Plot,* that you shall be forced hereafter to leave off your modesty: I suppose you mean that little which is left you; for it was worn to rags when you put out this Medal. Never was there practised such a piece of notorious impudence in the face of an established government. I believe when he is dead you will wear him in thumb-rings, as the Turks did Scanderbeg; as if there were virtue in his bones to preserve you against monarchy. Yet all this while you pretend not only zeal for the public good, but a due veneration for the person of the king. But all men who can see an inch before them, may easily detect those gross fallacies. That it is necessary for men in your circumstances to pretend both, is granted you; for without them there could be no ground to raise a faction. But I would ask you one civil question, what right has any man among you, or any association of men, (to come nearer to you), who, out of parliament, cannot be considered in a public capacity, to meet as you daily do in factious clubs, to vilify the government in your discourses, and to libel it in all your writings? Who made you judges in Israel? Or how is it consistent with your zeal to the public welfare to promote sedition? Does your definition of loyal, which is to serve the king according to the laws, allow you the licence of traducing the executive power with which you own he is invested? You complain that his Majesty has lost the love and confidence of his people; and by your very urging it, you endeavour what in you lies to make him lose them. All good subjects abhor the thought of arbitrary power, whether it be in one or many: if you were the patriots you would seem, you would not at this rate incense the multitude to assume it; for no sober man can fear it, either from the king's disposition, or his practice, or even where you would odiously lay it, from his ministers. Give us leave to enjoy the government and the benefit of laws under which we were born, and which we desire to transmit to our posterity. You are not the

* A folio pamphlet with this title, vindicating Lord Shaftesbury from being concerned in any plotting design against the king, was published in two parts, the first in 1691, the second in 1692. Wood says, that the general report was, that they were written by the earl himself, or that, at least, he found the materials; and his servant, who put it into the printer's hands, was committed to prison. DERRICK.

trustees of the public liberty; and if you have not right to petition in a crowd, much less have you to intermeddle in the management of affairs, or to arraign what you do not like, which in effect is every thing that is done by the king and council. Can you imagine that any reasonable man will believe you respect the person of his Majesty, when 'tis apparent that your seditious pamphlets are stuffed with particular reflections on him? If you have the confidence to deny this, 'tis easy to be evinced from a thousand passages, which I only forbear to quote, because I desire they should die, and be forgotten. I have perused many of your papers; and to show you that I have, the third part of your No-protestant Plot* is much of it stolen from your dead author's pamphlet, called the Growth of Popery; as manifestly as Milton's Defence of the English People is from Buchanan De jure regni apud Scotos; or your first Covenant and new Association from the holy league of the French Guisards. Any one who reads Davila, may trace your practices all along. There were the same pretences for reformation and loyalty, the same aspersions of the king and the same grounds of a rebellion. I know not whether you will take the historian's word, who says it was reported, that Poltrot, a Hugonot, murdered Francis, duke of Guise, by the instigations of Theodore Beza, or that it was a Hugonot minister, otherwise called a Presbyterian, (for our Church abhors so devilish a tenet) who first writ a treatise of the lawfulness of deposing and murdering kings of a different persuasion in religion: but I am able to prove, from the doctrine of Calvin, and principles of Buchanan, that they set the people above the magistrate; which, if I mistake not, is your own fundamental, and which carries your loyalty no farther than your liking. When a vote of the House of Commons goes on your side, you are as ready to observe it as if it were passed into a law; but when you are pinched with any former, and yet unreppealed Act of Parliament, you declare that in some cases you will not be obliged by it. The passage is in the same third part of the No-protestant Plot, and is too plain to be denied. The late copy of your intended association, you neither wholly justify nor condemn; but as the papists, when they are unopposed, fly out into all the pageantries of worship; but in times of war, when they are hard pressed by arguments, lie close entrenched behind the Council of Trent: so now, when your affairs are in a low condition, you dare not pretend that to be a legal combination, but whensoever you are afloat, I doubt not but it will be maintained and justified to purpose. For indeed there is nothing to defend it but the sword: 'tis the proper time to say any thing when men have all things in their power.

In the mean time, you would fain be nibbling at a parallel betwixt this association,† and that in the time of Queen Elizabeth. But there is this small difference betwixt them, that the ends of the one are directly opposite to the other: one with the Queen's approbation and conjunction, as head of it, the other without either the consent or knowledge of the King, against whose authority it is manifestly designed. Therefore you do well to have recourse to your last evasion,‡ that it was contrived by your enemies, and shuffled into the papers that were seized; which yet you see the nation is not so easy to believe as your own jury; but the matter is not difficult, to find twelve men in Newgate who would acquit a malefactor.

I have one only favour to desire of you at parting, that when you think of answering this poem, you would employ the same pens against it, who have combated with so much success against Absalom and Achitophel: for then you may assure yourselves of a clear victory without the least reply. Rail at me abundantly; and, not to break a custom, do it without wit: by this method you will gain a considerable point, which is, wholly to waive the answer of my arguments. Never own the bottom of your principles, for fear they should be treason. Fall severely on the miscarriages of government;

* This third part, printed in quarto, was supposed to be written by Ferguson, under my lord's eye. It reflects on the proceedings against him in the points of high treason, whereof he stood accused; and strives to depreciate the characters of the witnesses, by painting them in the most odious colours. The *Growth of Popery* was written by Mr. Marvel, who published it a little before his death, which happened in 1678. A second part of it was written by Mr. Ferguson above mentioned; for which, and other seditious practices, his body was demanded of the states of Holland, he being then at Brill, but refused; though Sir Thomas Armstrong had been given up by them a little before. This is the same man who was concerned in the Ryehouse-plot; and it is remarkable, that when the Secretary of State was giving out orders for the seizing of the rest of the conspirators, he privately bade the messenger to let Ferguson escape. DERRICK.

† When England, in the sixteenth century, was supposed in danger from the designs of Spain, the principal people, with the Queen at their head, entered into an association for the defence of their country, and of the Protestant religion, against popery, invasion, and innovation. DERRICK.

‡ The friends of the Earl of Shaftesbury insinuated everywhere, that the draught of that association, which was said to be found among his papers, was put there by the person who seized them, to advance the credit of the Tories, and give greater weight to the court charge. DERRICK.

for if scandal be not allowed, you are no free-born subjects. If God has not blessed you with the talent of rhyming, make use of my poor stock and welcome; let your verses run upon my feet; and for the utmost refuge of notorious blockheads, reduced to the last extremity of sense, turn my own lines upon me, and in utter despair of your own satire, make me satirize myself. Some of you have been driven to this bay already, but, above all the rest, commend me to the non-conformist parson, who writ the Whip and Key. I am afraid it is not read so much as the piece deserves, because the bookseller is every week crying help at the end of his Gazette, to get it off. You see I am charitable enough to do him a kindness, that it may be published as well as printed, and that so much skill in Hebrew derivations may not lie for waste paper in the shop. Yet I half suspect he went no further for his learning than the index of Hebrew names and etymologies, which is printed at the end of some English bibles. If Achitophel signify the brother of a fool, the author of that poem will pass with his readers for the next of kin. And perhaps it is the relation that makes the kindness. Whatever the verses are, buy them up, I beseech you, out of pity; for I hear the conventicle is shut up, and the brother of Achitophel out of service.

Now footmen, you know, have the generosity to make a purse for a member of their society who has had his livery pulled over his ears; and even Protestant socks are bought up among you, out of veneration to the name. A dissenter in poetry from sense and English will make as good a Protestant rhymers, as a dissenter from the Church of England a Protestant parson. Besides, if you encourage a young beginner, who knows but he may elevate his style a little above the vulgar epithets of profane, and saucy Jack, and atheistical scribbler, with which he treats me, when the fit of enthusiasm is strong upon him: by which well-mannered and charitable expressions I was certain of his sect before I knew his name. What would you have more of a man? He has damned me in your cause from Genesis to the Revelations; and has half the texts of both the Testaments against me, if you will be so civil to yourselves as to take him for your interpreter, and not to take them for Irish witnesses. After all, perhaps you will tell me, that you retained him only for the opening of your cause, and that your main lawyer is yet behind. Now if it so happen he meet with no more reply than his predecessors, you may either conclude that I trust to the goodness of my cause, or fear my adversary, or disdain him, or what you please, for the short on't is, 'tis indifferent to your humble servant, whatever your party says or thinks of him.

THE MEDAL.

Of all our antic sights and pageantry,
Which English idiots run in crowds to see,

Ver. 1. *Of all our antic sights*] The most candid and impartial account of Lord Shaftesbury's trial and acquittal, on which occasion this medal was struck, is given by Mr. Hume. "After the dissolution of the Parliament, and the subsequent victory of the Royalists, Shaftesbury's evidences, with Turberville, Smith, and others, addressed themselves to the ministers, and gave information of high treason against their former patron. It is sufficiently scandalous that intelligence, conveyed by such men, should be attended to; but there is some reason to think, that the court-agents, nay, the ministers, nay, the king himself, went further, and were active in endeavouring, though in vain, to find more reputable persons to support the blasted credit of the Irish witnesses. Shaftesbury was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the Grand Jury. The new Sheriffs of London, Shute and Pilkington, were engaged as deeply as their predecessors in the country party; and they took care to name a Jury extremely devoted to the same cause: a precaution quite requisite, when it was scarce possible to find men attached to neither party. As far as swearing could go, the treason was clearly proved against Shaftesbury, or rather so clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of a party, enured from his early youth to faction and intrigue to

The Polish Medal bears the prize alone:
A monster, more the favourite of the town

cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening, without reserve, his treasonable intentions to these ob-scure handitti, and throwing out such violent and outrageous reproaches upon the king, as none but men of low education, like themselves, could be supposed to employ. The draught of an association, it is true, against Popery and the duke was found in Shaftesbury's cabinet, and dangerous inferences might be drawn from many clauses of that paper; but it did not appear that it had been framed by Shaftesbury, or so much as approved by him; and as projects of an association had been proposed in Parliament, it was very natural for that nobleman to be thinking of some plan, which it might be proper to lay before that assembly. The Grand Jury, therefore, after weighing all these circumstances, rejected the indictment, and the people, who attended the hall, testified their joy by the loudest acclamations, which were echoed through the whole city."

Dr. J. Warton.

Ver. 3. *The Polish Medal*] The allusion is to the expectation, which, it was pretended, Lord Shaftesbury entertained, of being elected king of Poland, when John Sobieski was chosen.—This ridiculous report gave rise to several squibs, both in poetry and prose; but in none of the poetical pieces is the joke employed with advantage

Than either fairs or theatres have shown. 5
 Never did art so well with nature strive;
 Nor ever idol seem'd so much alive:
 So like the man; so golden to the sight,
 So base within, so counterfeit and light.
 One side is fill'd with title and with face; 10
 And, lest the king should want a regal place,
 On the reverse, a tower the town surveys;
 O'er which our mounting sun his beams displays.
 The word, pronounced aloud by shrill voice,
Lætatur, which, in Polish, is *Rejoice*. 15
 The day, month, year, to the great act are join'd:
 And a new canting holiday design'd.
 Five days he sat, for every cast and look;
 Four more than God to finish Adam took.
 But who can tell what essence angels are,
 Or how long Heaven was making Lucifer! 20
 Oh, could the style that copied every grace,
 And plough'd such furrows for an enunch face,
 Could it have form'd his ever-changing will,
 The various piece had tired the graver's skill! 25
 A martial hero first, with early care,
 Blown, like a pigmy by the winds, to war.
 A beardless chief, a rebel, ere a man:
 So young his hatred to his prince began.
 Next this, (how wildly will ambition steer!) 30
 A vermin wriggling in the Usurper's ear.
 Bartering his venal wit for sums of gold,
 He cast himself into the saint-like mould;
 Groom'd, sigh'd, and pray'd, while godliness was 35
 gain.
 The loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train.
 But, as 'tis hard to cheat a juggler's eyes,
 His open lewdness he could ne'er disguise.
 There split the saint: for hypocritical zeal
 Allows no sins but those it can conceal. 40
 Whoring to scandal gives too large a scope:
 Saints must not trade; but they may interlope.
 The ungodly principle was all the same;
 But a gross cheat betrays his partner's game.
 Besides, their pace was formal, grave, and slack;
 His nimble wit outran the heavy pack. 45
 Yet still he found his fortune at a stay;
 Whole droves of blockheads choking up his way;
 They took, but not rewarded, his advice;
 Villain and wit exact a double price.
 Power was his aim: but, thrown from that 50
 pretence,
 The wretch turn'd loyal in his own defence;
 And malice reconciled him to his prince.
 Him in the anguish of his soul he served;
 Rewarded faster still than he deserved.

The reader would derive no satisfaction from "The last Will and Testament of Anthony, King of Poland," or from "The King of Poland's last Speech to his Countrymen," or from "Tony's Lamentation, or *Polski's* City-Case, being his last farewell to the consecrated Whigs;" all published in 1682, although to the last of them the title is prefixed, in musical characters, *Let Oliver now be forgotten!* The close of 1682, or rather the beginning of 1683, produced also "Dagon's Fall, or the Whigs' Lament for Anthony, King of Poland," and in 1683 was also published, "The Case is altered now, or the Conversion of Anthony, King of Poland, published for satisfaction of the Sanctified Brethren."

TODD.

Ver 19. *Four more than God* This line is very offensively profane, as is a succeeding one,

How long was Heaven in making Lucifer?

There are too many such in this poem. See also line 216:—

— his thunder could they shun,
 He should be forced to crown another son.

DR. J. WARTON.

Behold him now exalted into trust; 55
 His counsel's oft convenient, seldom just.
 Even in the most sincere advice he gave,
 He had a grudging still to be a knave
 The frauds he learn'd in his fanatic years 60
 Made him uneasy in his lawful gears.
 At best as little honest as he could,
 And, like white witches, mischievously good.
 To his first bias longingly he leans;
 And rather would be great by wicked means.
 Thus framed for ill, he loosed our triple hold; 65
 Advice unsafe, precipitous and bold.
 From hence those tears! that Ilium of our woe!
 Who helps a powerful friend, fore-arms a foe.
 What wonder if the waves prevail so far,
 When he cut down the banks that made the 70
 bar?
 Seas follow but their nature to invade;
 But he by art our native strength betray'd.
 So Samson to his foe his force confess'd;
 And to be shorn, lay slumbering on her breast.
 But when this fatal counsel, found too late, 75
 Exposed its author to the public hate;
 When his just sovereign, by no impious way
 Could be seduced to arbitrary sway;
 Forsaken of that hope he shifts the sail,
 Drives down the current with a popular gale; 80
 And shows the fiend confess'd without a veil.
 He preaches to the crowd, that power is lent,
 But not convey'd to kingly government;
 That claims successive bear no binding force,
 That coronation oaths are things of course; 85
 Maintains the multitude can never err;
 And sets the people in the papal chair.
 The reason's obvious; interest never lies;
 The most have still their interest in their eyes;
 The power is always their's, and power is ever 90
 wise.
 Almighty crowd, thou shortenest all dispute;
 Power is thy essence, wit thy attribute!
 Nor faith nor reason make thee at a stay,
 Thou leap'st o'er all eternal truths in thy Pindaric 95
 way!
 Athens no doubt did righteously decide,
 When Phocion and when Socrates were tried;
 As righteously they did those dooms repent;
 Still they were wise whatever way they went:
 Crowds err not, though to both extremes they 100
 run;
 To kill the father, and recal the son.
 Some think the fools were most as times went
 then,
 But now the world's o'erstock'd with prudent 105
 men.
 The common cry is even religion's test,
 The Turk's is at Constantinople best;
 Idols in India; Popery at Rome; 110
 And our own worship only true at home.
 And true, but for the time 'tis hard to know
 How long we please it shall continue so.
 This side to-day, and that to-morrow burns;
 So all are God-a-mighties in their turns. 115
 A tempting doctrine, plausible and new;
 What fools our fathers were, if this be true
 Who, to destroy the seeds of civil war,
 Inherent right in monarchs did declare:
 And, that a lawful power might never cease,
 Secured succession to secure our peace.
 Thus property and sovereign sway, at last,
 In equal balances were justly cast:

But this new Jehu spurs the hot-mouth'd horse ;
 Instructs the beast to know his native force ; 120
 To take the bit between his teeth, and fly
 To the next heavenlong steep of anarchy.
 Too happy England, if our good we know,
 Would we possess the freedom we pursue !
 The lavish government can give no more . 125
 Yet we repine, and plenty makes us poor.
 God tried us once : our rebel-fathers fought,
 He glutted them with all the power they sought :
 Till master'd by their own usurping brave,
 The free-born subject sunk into a slave. 130
 We loathe our manna, and we long for quails ;
 Ah, what is man when his own wish prevails !
 How rash, how swift to plunge himself in ill !
 Proud of his power, and boundless in his will !
 That things can do no wrong we must believe ; 135
 None can they do, and must they all receive ?
 Help, Heaven ! or sadly we shall see an hour,
 When neither wrong nor right are in their power !
 Already they have lost their best defence,
 The benefit of laws which they dispense : 140
 No justice to their righteous cause allow'd :
 But baffled by an arbitrary crowd :
 And medals grav'd their conquest to record,
 The stamp and coin of their adopted lord.

The man who laugh'd but once, to see an ass
 Mumbling to make the cross-gran'd thistles 145
 pass,

Might laugh again to see a jury chaw
 The prickles of unpalatable law.
 The witnesses, that leech-like lived on blood,
 Sucking for them were med'cinally good ; 150
 But when they fasten'd on their fester'd sore,
 Then justice and religion they forswore ;
 Their maiden oaths debauch'd into a whore.
 Thus men are raised by factions, and decried ;
 And rogue and saint distinguish'd by their side. 155
 They rack even Scripture to confess their cause,
 And plead a call to preach in spite of laws.
 But that's no news to the poor injured page,
 It has been used as ill in every age :
 And is constrain'd with patience all to take, 160
 For what defence can Greek and Hebrew make ?
 Happy who can this talking trumpet seize ;
 They make it speak whatever sense they please ;
 'Twas framed at first our oracle to enquire ;
 But since our sects in prophecy grow higher, 165
 The text inspires not them, but they the text
 inspire.

London, thou great emporium of our isle,
 O thou too bounteous, thou too fruitful Nile !
 How shall I praise or curse to thy desert ?
 Or separate thy sound from thy corrupted part ?
 I call'd thee Nile ; the parallel will stand ; 171
 Thy tides of wealth o'erflow the fatten'd land ;
 Yet monsters from thy large increase we find,
 Engender'd on the slime thou leav'st behind.
 Sedition has not wholly seized on thee, 175
 Thy nobler parts are from infection free.

Ver 187. *London, thou great emporium of our isle,* So
 Cowper in his usual nervous and animated strains :—

"O thou, resort and mart of all the earth,
 Chequer'd with all complexions of mankind,
 And spotted with all crimes ; in whom I see
 Much that I love, and more that I admire,
 And all that I abhor, thou fleckled fair,
 That pleasest and yet shock'st me, I can laugh,
 And I can weep, can hope, and can despond,
 Feel wrath, and pity, when I think on thee !"

JOHN WATSON.

Of Israel's tribes thou hast a numerous band,
 But still the Canaanite is in the land.
 Thy military chiefs are brave and true ;
 Nor are thy disenchanted burghers few. 180
 The head is loyal which thy heart commands,
 But what's a head with two such gouty hands ?
 The wise and wealthy love the surest way,
 And are content to thrive and to obey.
 But wisdom is to sloth too great a slave ; 185
 None are so busy as the fool and knave.
 Those let me curse, what vengeance will they
 urge,

Whose ordures neither plague nor fire can purge ?
 Nor sharp experience can to duty bring,
 Nor angry Heaven, nor a forgiving king ! 190
 In gospel phrase their chapmen they betray ;
 Their shops are dens, the buyer is their prey.
 The knack of trades is living on the spoil ;
 They boast even when each other they beguile.
 Customs to steal is such a trivial thing, 195
 That 'tis their charter to defraud their king.
 All hands unite of every jarring sect ;
 They cheat the country first, and then infect.
 They for God's cause their monarchs dare de- 199
 throne,

And they'll be sure to make his cause their own.
 Whether the plotting Jesuit laid the plan
 Of murdering kings, or the French Puritan,
 Our sacrilegious sects their guides outgo,
 And kings and kingly power would murder too.

What means their traitorous combination loss,
 Too plain to evade, too shameful to confess ! 204
 But treason is not own'd when 'tis descried ;
 Successful crimes alone are justified.
 The men, who no conspiracy would find,
 Who doubts, but had it taken, they had join'd, 210
 Join'd in a mutual covenant of defence ;
 At first without, at last against their prince ?
 If sovereign right by sovereign power they scan,
 The same bold maxim holds in God and man :
 God were not safe, his thunder could they shun,
 He should be forced to crown another son. 216
 Thus when the hoir was from the vineyard thrown,
 The rich possession was the murderers' own.
 In vain to sophistry they have recourse :
 By proving theirs no plot, they prove 'tis worse ; 220
 Unmask'd rebellion, and audacious force :
 Which though not actual, yet all eyes may see
 'Tis working in the immediate power to be ;
 For from pretended grievances they rise,
 First to dislike, and after to despise. 225
 Then Cyclop-like in human flesh to deal,
 Chop up a minister at every meal :
 Perhaps not wholly to melt down the king ;
 But clip his regal rights within the ring :
 From thence to assume the power of peace and 230
 war,

And ease him by degrees of public care.
 Yet to consult his dignity and fame,
 He should have leave to exercise the name ;
 And hold the cards while commons play'd the 235
 game.

For what can power give more than food and
 drink, 238

To live at ease, and not be bound to think ?
 These are the cooler methods of their crime,
 But their hot zealots think 'tis loss of time ;
 On utmost bounds of loyalty they stand,
 And grin and whet like a Croatian band, 240
 That waits impatient for the last command.

Thus outlaws open villany maintain,
They steal not, but in squadrons scour the plain.
And if their power the passengers subdue,
The most have right, the wrong is in the few. ²⁴⁵
Such impious axioms foolishly they show,
For in some soils republics will not grow;
Our temperate isle will no extremes sustain,
Of popular sway or arbitrary reign:
But slides between them both into the beat, ²⁵⁰
Secure in freedom, in a monarch blast:
And though the climate, vex'd with various winds,
Works through our yielding bodies on our minds;
The wholesome tempest purges what it breeds,
To recommend the calmness that succeeds. ²⁵⁵

But thou, the pander of the people's hearts,
O crooked soul and serpentine in arts,
Whose blandishments a loyal land have whored,
And broke the bond she pledged to her lord;
What curses on thy blasted name will fall! ²⁶⁰
Which age to age their legacy shall call;
For all must curse the woes that must descend
on all.

Religion thou hast none: thy Mercury
Has pass'd through every sect, or theirs through
thee. ²⁶⁴

But what thou giv'st, that venom still remains;
And the pox'd nation feels thee in their brains.
What else inspires the tongues and swells the
breasts

Of all thy bellowing renegade priests,

Ver. 260. ——— *curses on thy blasted name*] Can this
verse, or verse 270, 277, 296, 30, 35, 51, and indeed many
others, be called just satire? and ought they not rather to
be deemed offensive, gross, and downright ribaldry?

"*Elle succus nigrae loliginis, hæc est
Eliugo reara*"

Neither the *Shaftesbury* of Dryden, nor the *Harvey* of
Pope, gave us any favourable idea of their hearts and
tempers. The author of the *Characteristics*, the grandson
of Shaftesbury, did not let Dryden escape for this usage of
his ancestor. "To see," says he, "the incorrigibility of
our poets, in their pedantic manner, their vanity, their
defiance of criticism, their rhodomontade, and poetical
bravado, we need only turn to our famous poet laureat, the
very *Bayes* himself, in one of his latest and most valued
pieces, his *Don Sebastian*, writ many years after the in-
genious author of the *Rehearsal* had drawn his picture."
—Vol. III, p. 276. Dr. J. WALKER.

Ver. 267.

*What else inspires the tongues and swells the breasts
Of all thy bellowing renegade priests, &c.]*

Dryden seems to have borrowed some of these severe
remarks upon the fanatical ministers from *The Geneva
Ballad*, published on a single half sheet in 1674, which
equals in bitterness (and is not deficient in poetical spirit)
the passage before us. I select a stanza or two in unison
with Dryden.

"He whom the Sisters so adore,
Counting his actions all divine!
Who, when the Spirit hints, can roar,
And, if occasion serves, can whine,
Nay, he can bellow, bray, or bark—
Was ever sike a beuk-larn'd clerk,
That speaks all linguas of the ark!

"To draw in proselytes like bees,
With pleasing twang he tones his prose,
He gives his handkerchief a squeeze,
And draws John Calvin through his nose.
Motive on motive he obtrudes,
With slip-stocking similitudes,
Eight uses more, and so concludes.

"When monarchy began to bleed,
And treason had a fine new name;
When Thames was balderdash'd with Tweed,
And pulpits did like beacons flame;

That preach up thee for God; dispense thy
laws;
And with thy stum ferment thy fainting cause!
Fresh fumes of madness raise; and toil and
sweat ²⁷¹

To make the formidable cripple great.
Yet should thy crimes succeed, should lawless
power

Compass those ends thy greedy hopes devour,
Thy canting friends thy mortal foes would be, ²⁷³
Thy God and their's will never long agree;
For thine (if thou hast any) must be one
That lets the world and human-kind alone:
A jolly god, that passes hours too well
To promise heaven, or threaten us with hell: ²⁸⁰
That unconcern'd can at rebellion sit,
And wink at crimes he did himself commit.
A tyrant their's; the heaven their priesthood
paints

A conventicle of gloomy sullen saints;
A heaven like Bedlam, slovenly and sad;
Fore-doom'd for souls, with false religion mad. ²⁸³

Without a vision poets can foreshow

What all but fools by common sense may know:
If true succession from our isle should fail, ²⁸⁹
And crowds profane with impious arms prevail,
Not thou, nor those thy factious arts engage,
Shall reap that harvest of rebellious rage,
With which thou flatterest thy decrepit age. ²⁹¹
The swelling poison of the several sects,
Which, wanting vent, the nation's health infects,
Shall burst its bag; and fighting out their way,
The various venoms on each other prey.

The presbyter, puff'd up with spiritual pride,
Shall on the necks of the lewd nobles ride:
His brethren damn, the civil power defy; ³⁰⁰
And parcel out republic prelacy.
But short shall be his reign: his rigid yoke
And tyrant power will puny sects provoke;
And frogs and toads, and all their tadpole train,
Will croak to heaven for help, from this devouring
crane. ³⁰⁵

The cut-throat sword and clamorous gown shall
jar,

In sharing their ill-gotten spoils of war:
Chiefs shall be grudged the part which they
pretend;

Lords envy lords, and friends with every friend
About their impious merit shall contend. ³¹⁰
The surly commons shall respect deny,
And jumble peerage out with property.
Their general either shall his trust betray,
And force the crowd to arbitrary sway;
Or they, suspecting his ambitious aim, ³¹⁵

When Jeroboam's calves were rear'd,
And Laud was neither loved nor fear'd,
This Gospel-Comet first appear'd." ^{Tonn.}

Ver. 293. ——— *thy decrepit age*] This appearance of
Shaftesbury, who however was now little more than sixty,
is also described in "Tony's Lamentation," published about
the same time as "The Medal" was.

"Alas! poor unfortunate Tony,
Where now must thou hide thy old head?
That has not so much as one cmony
Dares own the great things thou hast said.

"Ungrateful, unsensible oulies,
To leave your decrepit patron
To the merciless rage of the bullies
And tries in every lampoon!"

Tonn.
G 2

In hate of kings shall cast anew the frame;
 And thrust out Collatine that bore their name.
 Thus inborn broils the factions would engage,
 Or wars of exiled heirs, or foreign rage,
 Till halting vengeance overtook our age:

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And our wild labours wearied into rest,
 Reclined us on a rightful monarch's breast.

— Pudet hæc opprobria, vobis
 Et dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.

RELIGIO LAICI;

OR, A LAYMAN'S FAITH.

THE PREFACE.

A POEM with so bold a title, and a name prefixed from which the handling of so serious a subject would not be expected, may reasonably oblige the author to say somewhat in defence, both of himself and of his undertaking. In the first place, if it be objected to me that, being a layman, I ought not to have concerned myself with speculations, which belong to the profession of divinity; I could answer, that perhaps laymen, with equal advantages of parts and knowledge, are not the most incompetent judges of sacred things; but in the due sense of my own weakness and want of learning I plead not this: I pretend not to make myself a judge of faith in others, but only to make a confession of my own. I lay no unhallowed hand upon the ark, but wait on it with the reverence that becomes me at a distance. In the next place I will ingenuously confess, that the helps I have used in this small treatise, were many of them taken from the works of our own reverend divines of the Church of England; so that the weapons with which I combat irreligion, are already consecrated; though I suppose they may be taken down as lawfully as the sword of Goliath was by David, when they are to be employed for the common cause against the enemies of piety. I intend not by this to entitle them to any of my errors, which yet I hope are only those of charity to mankind; and such as my own charity has caused me to commit, that of others may more easily excuse. Being naturally inclined to scepticism in philosophy, I have no reason to impose my opinions in a subject which is above it, but whatever they are, I submit them with all reverence to my mother Church, accounting them no further mine, than as they are authorised, or at least uncondemned by her. And, indeed, to secure myself on this side, I have used the necessary precaution of showing this paper before it was published to a judicious and learned friend, a man indefatigably zealous in the service of the Church and State; and whose writings have highly deserved of both. He was pleased to approve the body of the discourse, and I hope he is more my friend than to do it out of complaisance: it is true he had too good a taste to like it all; and, amongst some other faults, recommended to my second view, what I have written perhaps too boldly on St. Athanasius, which he advised me wholly to omit. I am sensible enough that I had done more prudently to have followed his opinion: but then I could not have satisfied myself that I had done honestly not to have written what was my own. It has always been my thought, that heathens who never did, nor without miracle could, hear of the name of Christ, were yet in a possibility of salvation. Neither will it enter easily into my belief, that before the coming of our Saviour, the whole world, excepting only the Jewish nation, should lie under the inevitable necessity of everlasting punishment, for want of that revelation, which was confined to so small a spot of ground as that of Palestine. Among the sons of Noah we read of one only who was accursed; and if a blessing in the ripeness of time was reserved for Japheth (of whose progeny we are) it seems unaccountable to me, why so many generations of the same offspring, as preceded our Saviour in the flesh, should be all involved in one common condemnation, and yet that their posterity should be entitled to the hopes of salvation: as if a bill of exclusion had passed only on the fathers, which debarred not the sons from their succession. Or that so many ages had been delivered over to hell, and so many reserved for heaven, and that the devil had the first choice, and God the next

Truly I am apt to think, that the revealed religion which was taught by Noah to all his sons, might continue for some ages in the whole posterity. That afterwards it was included wholly in the family of Shem is manifest; but when the progenies of Cham and Japheth swarmed into colonies, and those colonies were subdivided into many others, in process of time their descendants lost by little and little the primitive and purer rites of divine worship, retaining only the notion of one deity; to which succeeding generations added others: for men took their degrees in those ages from conquerors to gods. Revelation being thus eclipsed to almost all mankind, the light of nature as the next in dignity was substituted; and that is it which St. Paul concludes to be the rule of the heathens, and by which they are hereafter to be judged. If my supposition be true, then the consequence which I have assumed in my poem may be also true; namely, that Deism, or the principles of natural worship, are only the faint remnants or dying flames of revealed religion in the posterity of Noah: and that our modern philosophers, nay and some of our philosophising divines, have too much exalted the faculties of our souls, when they have maintained that, by their force, mankind has been able to find out that there is one supreme agent or intellectual being which we call God: that praise and prayer are his due worship; and the rest of those deducements, which I am confident are the remote effects of revelation, and unattainable by our discourse, I mean as simply considered, and without the benefit of divine illumination. So that we have not lifted up ourselves to God, by the weak pinions of our reason, but he has been pleased to descend to us; and what Socrates said of him, what Plato writ, and the rest of the heathen philosophers of several nations, is all no more than the twilight of revelation, after the sun of it was set in the race of Noah. That there is something above us, some principle of motion, our reason can apprehend, though it cannot discover what it is by its own virtue. And indeed 'tis very improbable, that we, who by the strength of our faculties cannot enter into the knowledge of any Being, not so much as of our own, should be able to find out, by them, that supreme nature, which we cannot otherwise define than by saying it is infinite; as if infinite were definable, or infinity a subject for our narrow understanding. They who would prove religion by reason, do but weaken the cause which they endeavour to support; it is to take away the pillars from our faith, and to prop it only with a twig; it is to design a tower like that of Babel, which, if it were possible, as it is not, to reach heaven, would come to nothing by the confusion of the workmen. For every man is building a several way; impotently conceited of his own model and his own materials: reason is always striving, and always at a loss; and of necessity it must so come to pass, while it is exercised about that which is not its own proper object. Let us be content at last to know God by his own methods; at least, so much of him as he is pleased to reveal to us in the sacred Scriptures: to apprehend them to be the word of God is all our reason has to do; for all beyond it is the work of faith, which is the seal of heaven impressed upon our human understanding.

And now for what concerns the holy bishop Athanasius, the preface of whose creed seems inconsistent with my opinion; which is, that heathens may possibly be saved: in the first place I desire it may be considered that it is the preface only, not the creed itself, which, till I am better informed, is of too hard a digestion for my charity. 'Tis not that I am ignorant how many several texts of Scripture seemingly support that cause; but neither am I ignorant how all those texts may receive a kinder, and more mollified interpretation. Every man who is read in Church history, knows that belief was drawn up after a long contestation with Arius, concerning the divinity of our blessed Saviour, and his being one substance with the Father; and that thus compiled it was sent abroad among the Christian Churches, as a kind of test, which whosoever took was looked on as an orthodox believer. It is manifest from hence, that the heathen part of the empire was not concerned in it, for its business was not to distinguish betwixt Pagans and Christians, but betwixt Heretics and true Believers. This, well considered, takes off the heavy weight of censure, which I would willingly avoid, from so venerable a man; for if this proportion, "whosoever will be saved," be restrained only to those to whom it was intended, and for whom it was composed, I mean the Christians; then the anathema reaches not the Heathens, who had never heard of Christ, and were nothing interested in that dispute. After all I am far from blaming even that prefatory addition to the creed, and as far from cavilling at the continuation of it in the liturgy of the Church, where on the days appointed it is publicly read: for I suppose there is the same reason for it now, in opposition to the Socinians, as there was then against the Arians; the one being a Heresy, which seems to have been refined out of the other; and with how much plausibility of reason it combats our religion, with so much more caution to be avoided: and therefore the prudence of our Church is to be commended, which has

interposed her authority for the recommendation of this creed. Yet to such as are grounded in the true belief, those explanatory creeds, the Nicene and this of Athanasius, might perhaps be spared ; for what is supernatural, will always be a mystery in spite of exposition, and for my own part, the plain Apostles' creed is most suitable to my weak understanding, as the simplest diet is the most easy of digestion.

I have dwelt longer on this subject than I intended, and longer than perhaps I ought ; for having laid down, as my foundation, that the Scripture is a rule ; that in all things needful to salvation it is clear, sufficient, and ordained by God Almighty for that purpose, I have left myself no right to interpret obscure places, such as concern the possibility of eternal happiness to heathens : because whatsoever is obscure is concluded not necessary to be known.

But, by asserting the Scripture to be the canon of our faith, I have unavoidably created to myself two sorts of enemies : the Papists indeed, more directly, because they have kept the Scripture from us what they could ; and have reserved to themselves a right of interpreting what they have delivered under the pretence of infallibility : and the Fanatics more collaterally, because they have assumed what amounts to an infallibility, in the private spirit : and have detorted those texts of Scripture which are not necessary to salvation, to the damnable uses of sedition, disturbance, and destruction of the civil government. To begin with the Papists, and to speak freely, I think them the less dangerous, at least in appearance, to our present state, for not only the penal laws are in force against them, and their number is contemptible ; but also their peerage and commons are excluded from parliament, and consequently those laws in no probability of being repealed. A general and uninterrupted plot of their Clergy, ever since the Reformation, I suppose all Protestants believe ; for it is not reasonable to think but that so many of their orders, as were outed from their fat possessions, would endeavour a re-entrance against those whom they account heretics. As for the late design, Mr. Coleman's letters, for aught I know, are the best evidence ; and what they discover, without wire-drawing their sense, or malicious glosses, all men of reason conclude credible. If there be anything more than this required of me, I must believe it as well as I am able, in spite of the witnesses, and out of a decent conformity to the votes of parliament ; for I suppose the Fanatics will not allow the private spirit in this case. Here the infallibility is at least in one part of the government ; and our understandings as well as our wills are represented. But to return to Roman Catholics, how can we be secure from the practice of Jesuited Papists in that religion ? For not two or three of that order, as some of them would impose upon us, but almost the whole body of them are of opinion, that their infallible master has a right over kings, not only in spirituals but temporals. Not to name Marianna, Bellarmine, Emanuel Sa, Molina, Santarel, Simancha, and at least twenty others of foreign countries ; we can produce of our own nation, Campian, and Doleman or Parsons, besides many are named whom I have not read, who all of them attest this doctrine, that the Pope can depose and give away the right of any sovereign prince, *si vel paulum deflexerit*, if he shall never so little warp : but if he once comes to be excommunicated, then the bond of obedience is taken off from subjects ; and they may and ought to drive him, like another Nebuchadnezzar, *ex hominum Christianorum dominatu*, from exercising dominion over Christians ; and to this they are bound by virtue of divine precept, and by all the ties of conscience under no less penalty than damnation. If they answer me, as a learned priest has lately written, that this doctrine of the Jesuits is not *de fide* ; and that consequently they are not obliged by it, they must pardon me, if I think they have said nothing to the purpose ; for it is a maxim in their Church, where points of faith are not decided, and that doctors are of contrary opinions, they may follow which part they please ; but more safely the most received and most authorized. And their champion Bellarmine has told the world, in his apology, that the king of England is a vassal to the Pope, *ratione directi domini*, and that he holds in villanage of his Roman anlord. Which is no new claim put in for England. Our chronicles are his authentic witnesses, that king John was deposed by the same plea, and Philip Augustus admitted tenant. And which makes the more for Bellarmine, the French king was again ejected when our king submitted to the Church, and the crown received under the sordid condition of a vassalage.

It is not sufficient for the more moderate and well-meaning Papists, of which I doubt not there are many, to produce the evidences of their loyalty to the late king, and to declare their innocency in this plot : I will grant their behaviour, in the first, to have been as loyal and as brave as they desire ; and will be willing to hold them excused as to the second, I mean when it comes to my turn, and after my betters ; for it is a madness to be sober alone, while the nation continues drunk : but that

saying of their father Cres. is still running in my head, that they may be dispensed with in their obedience to an heretic prince, while the necessity of the times shall oblige them to it: for that, as another of them tells us, is only the effect of Christian prudence; but when once they shall get power to shake him off, an heretic is no lawful king, and consequently to rise against him is no rebellion. I should be glad, therefore, that they would follow the advice which was charitably given them by a reverend prelate of our Church; namely, that they would join in a public act of disowning and detesting those Jesuitic principles; and subscribe to all doctrines which deny the Pope's authority of deposing kings, and releasing subjects from their oath of allegiance: to which I should think they might easily be induced, if it be true that this present Pope has condemned the doctrine of king-killing, a thesis of the Jesuits, amongst others, *ex cathedra*, as they call it, or in open consistory.

Leaving them therefore in so fair a way, if they please themselves, of satisfying all reasonable men of their sincerity and good meaning to the government, I shall make bold to consider that other extreme of our religion, I mean the Fanatics, or Schismatics, of the English Church. Since the Bible has been translated into our tongue, they have used it so, as if their business was not to be saved but to be damned by its contents. If we consider only them, better had it been for the English nation that it had still remained in the original Greek and Hebrew, or at least in the honest Latin of St. Jerome, than that several texts in it should have been prevaricated to the destruction of that government which put it into so ungrateful hands.

How many heresies the first translation of Tindal produced in few years, let my lord Herbert's history of Henry the Eighth inform you; inasmuch, that for the gross errors in it, and the great mischiefs it occasioned, a sentence passed on the first edition of the Bible, too shameful almost to be repeated. After the short reign of Edward the Sixth, who had continued to carry on the Reformation on other principles than it was begun, every one knows that not only the chief promoters of that work, but many others, whose consciences would not dispense with Popery, were forced, for fear of persecution, to change climates: from whence returning at the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, many of them who had been in France, and at Geneva, brought back the rigid opinions and imperious discipline of Calvin, to graft upon our Reformation. Which, though they cunningly concealed at first, as well knowing how nauseously that drug would go down in a lawful Monarchy, which was prescribed for a rebellious Commonwealth, yet they always kept it in reserve, and were never wanting to themselves either in court or parliament, when either they had any prospect of a numerous party of fanatic members of the one, or the encouragement of any favourite in the other, whose covetousness was gazing at the patrimony of the Church. They who will consult the works of our venerable Hooker, or the account of his life, or more particularly the letter written to him on this subject, by George Cranmer, may see by what gradations they proceeded; from the dislike of cap and surplice, the very next step was admonitions to the parliament against the whole government ecclesiastical: then came out volumes in English and Latin in defence of their tenets: and immediately practices were set on foot to erect their discipline without authority. Those not succeeding, satire and railing was the next: and Martin Mar-prelate, the Marvel of those times, was the first presbyterian scribbler; who sanctified libels and scurrility to the use of the good old cause. Which was done says my author, upon this account; that their serious treatises having been fully answered and refuted, they might compass by railing what they had lost by reasoning; and, when their cause was sunk in court and parliament, they might at least hedge in a stake amongst the rabble: for to their ignorance all things are wit which are abusive; but if Church and State were made the theme, then the doctoral degree of wit was to be taken at Billingsgate. even the most saintlike of the party, though they durst not excuse this contempt and vilifying of the government, yet were pleased, and grinned at it with a pious smile; and called it a judgment of God against the hierarchy. Thus sectaries, we may see, were born with teeth, foul-mouthed and scurrilous from their infancy: and if spiritual pride, violence, contempt of superiors, and slander, had been the marks of orthodox belief, the presbytery and the rest of our schismatics, which are their spawn, were always the most viable church in the Christian world.

It is true, the government was too strong at that time for a rebellion; but to show what proficiency they had made in Calvin's school, even then their mouths watered at it: for two of their gifted brotherhood, Hacket and Coppinger, as the story tells us, got up into a pease-cart, and harangued the people, to dispose them to an insurrection, and to establish their discipline by force: so that however it comes about, that now they celebrate queen Elizabeth's birth-night, as that of their saint

and patroness; yet then they were for doing the work of the Lord by arms against her; and in all probability they wanted but a fanatic lord mayor and two sheriffs of their party, to have compassed it.

Our venerable Hooker, after many admonitions which he had given them, towards the end of his preface, breaks out into this prophetic speech: "There is in every one of these considerations most just cause to fear, lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence," (meaning the presbyterian discipline,) "should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent, than they would be for them to remedy."

How fatally this Cassandra has foretold we know too well by sad experience: the seeds were sown in the time of queen Elizabeth, the bloody harvest ripened in the reign of king Charles the Martyr: and because all the sheaves could not be carried off without shedding some of the loose grains, another crop is too likely to follow; nay, I fear it is unavoidable if the conventiclers be permitted still to scatter.

A man may be suffered to quote an adversary to our religion, when he speaks truth: and it is the observation of Maimbourg, in his History of Calvinism, that wherever that discipline was planted and embraced, rebellion, civil war, and misery, attended it. And how indeed should it happen otherwise? Reformation of Church and State has always been the ground of our divisions in England. While we were Papists, our holy father rid us, by pretending authority out of the Scriptures to depose princes; when we shook off his authority, the sectaries furnished themselves with the same weapons; and out of the same magazine, the Bible: so that the Scriptures, which are in themselves the greatest security of governors, as commanding express obedience to them, are now turned to their destruction; and never since the Reformation has there wanted a text of their interpreting to authorise a rebel. And it is to be noted by the way, that the doctrines of king-killing and deposing, which have been taken up only by the worst party of the Papists, the most frontless flatterers of the Pope's authority, have been espoused, defended, and are still maintained by the whole body of Nonconformists and republicans. It is but dubbing themselves the people of God, which it is the interest of their preachers to tell them they are, and their own interest to believe; and after that, they cannot dip into the Bible, but one text or other will turn up for their purpose: if they are under persecution, as they call it, then that is a mark of their election; if they flourish, then God works miracles for their deliverance, and the spirits are to possess the earth.

They may think themselves to be too roughly handled in this paper; but I who know best how far I could have gone on this subject, must be bold to tell them they are spared: though at the same time I am not ignorant that they interpret the mildness of a writer to them, as they do the mercy of the government; in the one they think it fear, and conclude it weakness in the other. The best way for them to confute me is, as I before advised the Papists, to disclaim their principles and renounce their practices. We shall all be glad to think them true Englishmen when they obey the King, and true Protestants when they conform to the Church-discipline.

It remains that I acquaint the reader, that these verses were written for an ingenious young gentleman my friend, upon his translation of The Critical History of the Old Testament, composed by the learned father Simon: the verses therefore are addressed to the translator of that work, and the style of them is, what it ought to be, epistolary.

If any one be so lamentable a critic as to require the smoothness, the numbers, and the turn of heroic poetry in this poem; I must tell him, that if he has not read Horace, I have studied him, and hope the style of his epistles is not ill imitated here. The expressions of a poem designed purely for instruction, ought to be plain and natural, and yet majestic; for here the poem is presumed to be a kind of lawgiver, and those three qualities which I have named, are proper to the legislative style. The florid, elevated, and figurative way is for the passions; for love and hatred, fear and anger, are begotten in the soul, by showing their objects out of their true proportion, either greater than the life or loss: but instruction is to be given by showing them what they naturally are. A man is to be cheated into passion, but to be reasoned into truth.

RELIGIO LAICI.

Dim as the borrow'd beams of moon and stars
 To lonely, weary, wandering travellers,
 Is Reason to the soul : and as on high,
 Those rolling fires discover but the sky,
 Not light us here : so Reason's glimmering ray⁵
 Was lent, not to assure our doubtful way,
 But guide us upward to a better day.
 And as those nightly tapers disappear,
 When day's bright lord ascends our hemisphere ;
 So pale grows Reason at Religion's sight ;¹⁰
 So dies, and so dissolves in supernatural light.
 Some few, whose lamp shone brighter, have been
 led

From cause to cause, to nature's secret head ;
 And found that one first principle must be :
 But what, or who, that UNIVERSAL HE ;¹⁵
 Whether some soul encompassing this ball,
 Unmade, unmoved ; yet making, moving all ;
 Or various atoms' interfering dance
 Leap'd into form, the noble work of chance ;
 Or this great all was from eternity ;²⁰
 Not even the Stagirate himself could see ;
 And Epicurus guess'd as well as he :
 As blindly groped they for a future state ;
 As rashly judged of providence and fate :
 But least of all could their endeavours find*²⁵
 What most concern'd the good of human kind :
 For happiness was never to be found ;
 But vanish'd from 'em like enchanted ground.
 One thought Content the good to be enjoy'd :³⁰
 This every little accident destroy'd :
 The wiser madmen did for Virtue toil,
 A thorny or at best a barren soil :

Ver. 5 — [*Reason's glimmering ray*] If man was really corrupted, and had lost in great measure the knowledge of the true religion of nature ; then, the expediency and the usefulness of a revelation was not the less, merely because reason, if rightly exercised, (and it was not) was capable of discovering all the necessary principles of morality : nay, indeed, the advantage of revelation is as evident, as it would have been, if men were actually and unavoidably ignorant of the great truths of religion.

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 15. — [*that universal He*] In the valuable and curious translations lately given us from the Sanskreet language, we find many wonderful and sublime descriptions of the Deity, particularly in the Baghyat-Geeta, an episode in the Mahabarat, a poem of the highest antiquity in India ; where are the following words ; pages 94 and 95, translated by Mr. Wilkins.
 "O mighty being," says Arjoon, "who art the prime Creator, eternal God of gods, the world's mansion. Thou art the incorruptible being, distinct from all things transient. Thou art before all gods, the ancient Poorosh and the supreme supporter of the universe. Thou knowest all things, and art worthy to be known ; thou art the supreme mansion, and by thee, O infinite form, the universe was spread abroad. Reverence be unto thee before and behind ; reverence be unto thee on all sides : O thou who art all in all. Infinite is thy power and thy glory. Thou art the father of all things, animate and inanimate." Dr. J. WARTON.

* Opinions of the several sects of philosophers concerning the *summum bonum*. Marginal Note, orig. edit.

In Pleasure some their glutton souls would steep,
 But found their line too short, the well too deep ;
 And leaky vessels which no bliss could keep¹⁵
 Thus anxious thoughts in endless circles roll,
 Without a centre where to fix the soul :
 In this wild maze their vain endeavours end :
 How can the less the greater comprehend ?
 Or finite reason reach Infinity ?⁴⁰

For what could fathom God were more than Ha.

The Deist thinks he stands on firmer ground ;*
 Cries *εὐρεκα*, the mighty secret's found :
 God is that spring of good ; supreme, and best ;
 We made to serve, and in that service blest ;⁴⁵
 If so, some rules of worship must be given,
 Distributed alike to all by Heaven :
 Else God were partial, and to some denied
 The means his justice should for all provide.
 This general worship is to PRAISE and PRAY :⁵⁰
 One part to borrow blessings, one to pay :
 And when frail nature slides into offence,
 The sacrifice for crimes is penitence.

Yet since the effects of providence, we find,
 Are variously dispensed to human kind ;⁵⁵
 That vice triumphs, and virtue suffers here,
 A brand that sovereign justice cannot bear ;
 Our reason prompts us to a future state :
 The last appeal from fortune and from fate :
 Where God's all-righteous ways will be declared ;
 The bad meet punishment, the good reward.⁶¹

Thus man by his own strength to heaven would soar : †

And would not be obliged to God for more.
 Vain, wretched creature, how art thou misled
 To think thy wit these god-like notions bred !⁶⁵
 These truths are not the product of thy mind,
 But dropt from Heaven, and of a nobler kind.
 Reveal'd Religion first inform'd thy sight,
 And Reason saw not, till Faith sprung the light.

* System of Deism. Marginal Note, orig. edit.

Ver. 42. [*The Deist thinks*] To a serious and religious deist, who should say, he cannot embrace Christianity, on account of the many difficulties and seeming absurdities with which it is overloaded, we might surely reply—first, Are you certain that these seeming absurdities are the true and genuine doctrines of Christianity, and not added to it by fantastic and fanatical commentators ? and secondly, Are there no such difficulties and absurdities as you complain of in revelation, to be found also in deism ? What can you say, of an uncaused cause of every thing ? of a being who has no relation to time or space ? of a being whose infinite goodness lay dormant for so many ages ? and, as Milton says, who built so late ? How do you reconcile omniscience and prescience with the contingency and freedom of the human will ? How will you fully and adequately account for the introduction and existence of moral and natural evil, under the government of a being infinitely powerful, good and wise ? What clear ideas have you on these subjects ? If you reject Christianity on the score of the difficulties which you complain of, you ought, to act consistently, to reject deism also.

Dr. J. WARTON.

† Of revealed religion. Marginal Note, orig. edit.

Hence all thy natural worship takes the source :
 'Tis revelation what thou think'st discourse. 71
 Else how com'st thou to see these truths so clear,
 Which so obscure to Heathens did appear?

Not Plato these, nor Aristotle found :
 Nor he whose wisdom oracles renown'd.* 75
 Hast thou a wit so deep, or so sublime,
 Or canst thou lower dive, or higher climb?
 Canst thou by reason more of Godhead know
 Than Plutarch, Seneca, or Cicero?
 Those giant wits in happier ages born, 80
 (When arms and arts did Greece and Rome
 adorn.)

Knew no such system : no such piles could raise
 Of natural worship, built on prayer and praise
 To one sole God.

Nor did remorse to expiate sin prescribe : 85
 But slew their fellow-creatures for a bribe :
 The guiltless victim groan'd for their offence ;
 And cruelty and blood was penitence.
 If sheep and oxen could atone for men,
 Ah ! at how cheap a rate the rich might sin ; 90
 And great oppressors might Heaven's wrath
 beguile,

By offering his own creatures for a spoil !
 Dar'st thou, poor worm, offend Infinity?
 And must the terms of peace be given by thee?
 Then thou art Justice in the last appeal ; 95
 Thy easy God instructs thee to rebel :
 And, like a king remote, and weak, must take
 What satisfaction thou art pleased to make.

But if there be a power too just and strong, 100
 To wink at crimes, and bear unpunish'd wrong ;
 Look humbly upward, see his will disclose
 The forfeit first, and then the fine impose :
 A mulct thy poverty could never pay,
 Had not eternal wisdom found the way :
 And with celestial wealth supplied thy store : 105
 His justice makes the fine, his mercy quits the
 score.

See God descending in thy human frame ;
 The offended suffering in the offender's name ;
 All thy misdeeds to him imputed see,
 And all his righteousness devolved on thee. 110
 For granting we have sinn'd, and that the
 offence

Of man is made against Omnipotence,
 Some price that bears proportion must be paid ;
 And infinite with infinite be weigh'd.
 See then the Deist lost : remorse for vice, 115
 Not paid ; or paid, inadequate in price .
 What farther means can Reason now direct,
 Or what relief from human wit expect ?

* Socrates. Marginal Note, orig. edit.

Ver. 76. *Hast thou a wit so deep, or so sublime,
 Or canst thou lower dive, or higher climb?
 Canst thou by reason more of Godhead know, &c.]*

Although, in the manner of these interrogations, Dryden
 has obviously borne in mind the solemn language of Scrip-
 ture, it is also plain that in his application of it he has de-
 tracted from its grandeur and impressiveness. From the
 conceit of the poet we turn with admiration to the words of
 the patriarch :—"Canst thou by searching find out God?
 canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as
 high as heaven ; what canst thou do? deeper than hell,
 what canst thou know?" Job xl. 7, 8. TORD.

Ver. 98 [What satisfaction] "Through by the light of
 nature it was indeed exceeding probable and to be hoped
 for, that God would forgive sin upon true and real repent-
 ance ; yet it could not be proved, that he was absolutely
 obliged to do so, or that he would certainly do so. Hence
 arises the importance, utility, and comfort of revelation."
 Dr. J. WATSON.

That shows us sick ; and sadly are we sure
 Still to be sick, till Heaven reveal the cure : 120
 If then Heaven's will must needs be understood,
 (Which must, if we want cure, and Heaven be
 good.)

Let all records of will reveal'd be shown ;
 With Scripture all in equal balance thrown,
 And our one sacred book will be that one. 125

Proof needs not here, for whether we compare
 That impious, idle, superstitious ware
 Of rites, lustrations, offerings, (which before,
 In various ages, various countries bore,)
 With Christian faith and virtues, we shall find 130
 None answering the great ends of human kind,
 But this one rule of life, that shows us best
 How God may be appeased, and mortals blest.
 Whether from length of time its worth we draw,
 The world is scarce more ancient than the law :
 Heaven's early care prescribed for every age ; 135
 First, in the soul ; and after, in the page.
 Or, whether more abstractedly we look,
 Or on the writers, or the written book,
 Whence, but from Heaven, could men unskill'd
 in arts, 140

In several ages born, in several parts,
 Weave such agreeing truths ? or how, or why,
 Should all conspire to cheat us with a lie?
 Unask'd their pains, ungrateful their advice,
 Starving their gain, and martyrdom their price. 145

If on the book itself we cast our view,
 Concurrent heathens prove the story true :
 The doctrine, miracles ; which must convince,
 For Heaven in them appeals to human sense .
 And though they prove not, they confirm the
 cause, 150

When what is taught agrees with nature's laws.

Then for the style, majestic and divine,
 It speaks no less than God in every line :
 Commanding words, whose force is still the
 same

As the first fiat that produced our frame. 155
 All faths beside, or did by arms ascend,
 Or sense indulged has made mankind their friend :
 This only doctrine does our lusts oppose :

Unfod by nature's soil, in which it grows ;
 Cross to our interests, curbing sense and sin ; 160
 Oppress'd without, and undermined within,
 It thrives through pain ; its own tormentors tires ;
 And with a stubborn patience still aspires.

To what can Reason such effects assign
 Transcending nature, but to laws divine ? 165
 Which in that sacred volume are contain'd ;
 Sufficient, clear, and for that use ordain'd.

But stay : the Deist here will urge anew,*
 No supernatural worship can be true :
 Because a general law is that alone 170
 Which must to all, and every where, be known :

Ver. 162. — *its own tormentors tires,*] Origen says
 clearly and decisively, that but few persons died for their
 faith in Christ ; a passage that of itself is sufficient to show,
 that the number of martyrs has been greatly exaggerated,
 and confirms the famous opinion of Dodwell, in his Dissert.
 Cypricæ. But Dodwell has been frequently answered,
 Dr. J. WATSON.

* Objection of the Deist. M. N. Orig. edit.

Ver. 170. *Because a general law*] The objections, which
 are futile enough, that are urged against Christianity, from
 the want of its *universality*, are all of them fully answered
 by *Lea*, in his "Considerations on the Theory of Religion,"
 and by that close reasoner, Mr. *Samuel Jenyns*, in his "Treat-
 ise of the Origin of Evil," p. 183, where he demonstrates

A style so large as not this book can claim,
Nor ought that bears reveal'd religion's name.
'Tis said the sound of a Messiah's birth
Is gone through all the habitable earth : 175
But still that text must be confined alone
To what was then inhabited and known :
And what provision could from thence accrue
To Indian souls, and worlds discover'd new ?
In other parts it helps, that, ages past, 180
The Scriptures there were known, and were
embraced,
Till Sin spread once again the shades of night :
What 's that to these who never saw the light ?
Of all objections this indeed is chief *
To startle reason, stagger frail belief : 185
We grant, 'tis true, that Heaven from human
sense
Has hid the secret paths of Providence :
But boundless wisdom, boundless mercy, may
Find even for those bewilder'd souls a way :
If from his nature foes may pity claim, 190
Much more may strangers who ne'er heard his
name.
And though no name be for salvation known,
But that of his eternal Son's alone ;
Who knows how far transcending goodness can
Extend the merits of that Son to man ? 195
Who knows what reasons may his mercy lead ;
Or ignorance invincible may plead ?
Not only charity bids hope the best,
But more the great apostle has express'd :
That if the Gentiles, whom no law inspired, 200
By nature did what was by law required ;
They, who the written rule had never known,
Were to themselves both rule and law alone :
To nature's plain indictment they shall plead, 204
And by their conscience be condemn'd or freed.

the impossibility of this universality of revelation from the modes of existence of all human affairs. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver 177. *To what was then inhabited.* The whole earth itself is but a little spot, that bears no proportion at all to the universe; and in all probability the large and numberless orbs of heaven cannot but be supposed to be filled with beings more capable than we to show forth the praise and glory of their Almighty Creator, and more worthy to be the objects of his care and love. To which other beings, in other parts of the universe, God may have made discoveries of his will, according to their several wants and capacities, in ways of which we can know nothing, and in which we have no concern. Dr. J. WARTON.

* The objection answered. M. N. Orig. edit.

Ver. 187. — *the secret paths* "In the common affairs of life," says *Dalguy* most admirably, "common experience is sufficient to direct us. But will common experience serve to guide our judgment concerning the *fall* and *redemption* of mankind? From what we see every day, can we explain the *commencement*, or foretell the *dissolution* of the world? Or can we undertake to prescribe to infinite Wisdom, at *what time*, and in *what manner*, and by *what steps*, he shall convey the knowledge of true religion over the face of the whole earth? To judge of events like these, we should be conversant with the history of other planets; should know the nature, the circumstances, the conduct of their several inhabitants; should be distinctly informed of God's various dispensations to all the different orders of rational beings." This, the reader must allow, is a most rational and complete comment on this whole passage of Dryden, and is worth his most serious attention. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver 195. *Extend the merits* "As no man ever denied," says Clarke, "but that the benefit of the death of Christ extended *backward* to those who lived before his appearance in the world, so no man can prove but that the same benefit may likewise extend itself *forward* to those who never heard of his appearance, though they lived *after* it." Dr. J. WARTON.

Most righteous doom! because a rule reveal'd
Is none to those from whom it was conceal'd.
Then those who follow'd Reason's dictates right,
Lived up, and lifted high their natural light;
With Socrates may see their Maker's face, 210
While thousand rubric-martyrs want a place.
Nor does it balk my charity, to find
The Egyptian bishop of another mind :
For though his creed eternal truth contains,
'Tis hard for man to doom to endless pains 215
All who believed not all his zeal required ;
Unless he first could prove he was inspired.
Then let us either think he meant to say
This faith, where publish'd, was the only way ;
Or else conclude, that, Arius to confute, 220
The good old man, too eager in dispute,
Flew high ; and, as his Christian fury rose,
Damn'd all for heretics who durst oppose.

Thus far my charity this path has tried ; *
(A much unskilful, but well-meaning guide :) 225
Yet what they are, ev'n these crude thoughts were
bred

By reading that which better thou hast read :
Thy matchless author's work : which thou, my
friend,

By well translating better dost commend :

Ver. 213. *The Egyptian bishop* [Baronius, Bona, Bellarmine, and Rives, think *Athanasius* wrote the creed that goes under his name; but many modern critics ascribe it to a Latin writer, *Vigilius*, bishop of *Tapsus*, in Africa; and it is not to be found in almost any manuscript of *Athanasius's* works, and the style's more like a Latin than a Greek writer, nor does St. Cyril, of Alexandria, nor the Council of Ephesus, ever urge it, or make mention of it in the arguments used against the heresies of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*. The famous book of *Servetus*, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, is in a vile obscure style. Lib. 7. per Mich. *Servetum*, alias *Reus* ab Arragone Hispanum, 1531. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 214. *For though his creed* Many very serious Christians devoutly wish with *Tillotson*, "that we were fairly rid of this creed, which they look upon as the greatest blemish in our *Liturgy*." This is not a place to enter into controversy concerning it. We may just transiently observe the wonderful absurdity of declaring in one sentence, that the doctrine of the Trinity is *incomprehensible*, and in the very next an attempt to *explain* it. Nothing can be more imperfect and unsatisfactory than the history of the famous and important Council of *Nice* on this subject, for neither the time or place in which it was assembled, nor the number of those who sat in it, nor even the name of the bishop who presided on it, have ever been clearly ascertained. See *Valsius* on *Eusebius*, and *Asseman's* *Bibl. Oriental.* and *Mosheim*, Vol. I. p. 387. That excellent man and writer, Dr. Clarke, has thus expressed himself on this important doctrine, in words that contain all that can justly be said on it:—"The self-existent Cause and Father of all things did, before all ages," says Clarke, "in an incomprehensible manner, beget or produce a Divine person, styled the *Logos*, the *Word*, or *Son of God*, in whom dwells the fulness of divine perfection, excepting absolute *Supremacy*, *Independency*, or *Self-Origination*." Bishop Pearson maintains the very same opinion of the Son with Dr. Clarke, concerning the absolute equality of the Son to the Father, yet was never censured for this opinion, as Clarke has been, with much acrimony and injustice. Dr. J. WARTON.

* Digression to the translator of *Father Simon's* Critical History of the Old Testament. M. N. Orig. edit.

Ver. 228. *Thy matchless author's* The professed design of *Father Simon*, in his *Critical History*, was to collect and represent the many difficulties that are to be found in the text of the Sacred Scriptures, in order to infer the absolute necessity of receiving the Romish doctrine of oral tradition, and some infallible interpreter. The Church of Rome, therefore, embraced his opinion, which was certainly artful and insidious, and aimed at the truth and authenticity of the Scriptures; and such it was deemed to be by many able divines both at home and abroad. And I remember Dr. Balguy often mentioned it, as a work intended to undermine Christianity. Infidel writers have not failed to

Those youthful hours which, of thy equals most
In toys have squander'd, or in vice have lost, 241
Those hours hast thou to nobler use employ'd ;
And the severe delights of truth enjoy'd
Witness this weighty book, in which appears
The crabbed toil of many thoughtful years, 243
Spent by thy author, in the sifting care
Of Rabbins' old sophisticated ware
From gold divine ; which he who well can sort
May afterwards make algebra a sport.
A treasure, which if country curates buy, 249
They Junius and Tremellius may defy :
Save pains in various readings and translations,
And without Hebrew make most learn'd quota-
tions.

A work so full with various learning fraught,
So nicely ponder'd, yet so strongly wrought, 245
As Nature's height and Art's last hand required :
As much as man could compass, uninspired.
Where we may see what errors have been made
Both in the copiers and translators' trade
How Jewish, Popish, interests have prevail'd, 250
And where infallibility has fail'd.

For some, who have his secret meaning guess'd,
Have found our author not too much a priest :
For fashion-sake he seems to have recourse
To Pope, and Councils, and Tradition's force : 255
But he that old traditions could subdue,
Could not but find the weakness of the new ;
If Scripture, though derived from heavenly
birth,

Has been but carelessly preserved on earth ;
If God's own people, who of God before 260
Knew what we know, and had been promised more,
In fuller terms, of Heaven's assisting care,
And who did neither time nor study spare
To keep this book untainted, unperplex'd,
Let in gross errors to corrupt the text, 265
Omitted paragraphs, embroil'd the sense,
With vain traditions stopp'd the gaping fence,
Which every common hand pull'd up with ease :
What safety from such brushwood-helps as these ?
If written words from time are not secured, 270
How can we think have oral sounds endured ?
Which thus transmitted, if one mouth has fail'd,
Immortal lies on ages are entail'd :

And that some such have been, is proved too
plain ;

If we consider Interest, Church, and Gain. 275

Oh, but, says one, Tradition set aside,*
Where can we hope for an unerring guide ?
For since the original Scripture has been lost,
All copies disagreeing, maim'd the most,

avail themselves of these objections. *Collins*, in his *Discourse on Free-Thinking*, has dwelt much on the various readings of the Scriptures, and he was most effectually and most irrefragably answered by *Bentley*, in his *Phileteuthus Lysenensis*. No part of the *Characteristics* seems to have been more elaborately written, than the last part of his third volume, where he ridicules various readings, texts, glosses, complements, editions, &c. and where the old gentleman, whom he introduces as the chief speaker, certainly meant himself. Dryden certainly did not perceive the mischief that lurked in this treatise of *Simon*, which he so highly commends his young friend *Hampden* for translating. Dr J. WARTON.

Dr. Warton's authority for calling Dryden's young friend by the name of *Hampden* is probably derived from *Derrick's* assertion ; for which there appears no authority ; the initials of this young friend being given as H. D.

* Of the infallibility of tradition in general. M. N. Orig. edit.

Or Christian faith can have no certain ground, 280
Or truth in Church Tradition must be found.

Such an omniscient Church we wish indeed ;
'Twere worth both Testaments ; and cast in the
Creed :

But if this mother be a guide so sure,
As can all doubts resolve, all truth secure, 285
Then her infallibility, as well,
Where copies are corrupt or lame, can tell,
Restore lost canon with as little pains,
As truly explicate what still remains :
Which yet no Council dare pretend to do, 290
Unless like Esdras they could write it new :
Strange confidence, still to interpret true,
Yet not be sure that all they have explain'd,
Is in the blest original contain'd.

More safe, and much more modest 'tis, to say 295
God would not leave mankind without a way :
And that the Scriptures, though not every where
Free from corruption, or entire, or clear,
Are uncorrupt, sufficient, clear, entire, 300
In all things which our needful faith require
If others in the same glass better see,
'Tis for themselves they look, but not for me :
For my salvation must its doom receive,
Not from what others but what I believe.

Must all tradition then be set aside ? * 305

This to affirm were ignorance or pride.
Are there not many points, some needful sure
To saving faith, that Scripture leaves obscure ?
Which every sect will wrest a several way,
(For what one sect interprets, all sects may :) 310
We hold, and say we prove from Scripture plain,
That Christ is God ; the bold Socinian
From the same Scripture urges he's but man.
Now what appeal can end the important suit ?
Both parts talk loudly, but the rule is mute. 315

Shall I speak plain, and in a nation free
Assume an honest layman's liberty ?
I think, (according to my little skill,
To my own mother-church submitting still)
That many have been saved, and many nay, 320
Who never heard this question brought in play.
The unletter'd Christian, who believes in gross,
Plods on to Heaven, and ne'er is at a loss :
For the strait-gate would be made straiter
yet,

Were none admitted there but men of wit. 325

Ver. 282. *Such an omniscient Church*] The doctrines of Popery have soiled and obscured the pure doctrines of Christianity, just as the smoke of their many tapers and incense-pots have damaged the figures of *Michael Angelo* in the Last Judgment. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 286. *Then her infallibility*] But in this infallible Church there have been as many different and discordant opinions, as among the various sects of Protestants. One Pope has excommunicated another, and one Council issued a severe anathema against another. The idea of establishing an uniformity of opinions on religious subjects, is founded on a perfect ignorance of the nature of man.

" — solos erodis habendos
Esse Deos, quos ipse colis ? "

JUVENAL. 8. 15, v. 35.

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 300. *In all things*] This argument is urged with much force and precision, in the *Eloquence Chrétienne*, of *M. Gisbert* : which was a favourite book of the great Lord Somers, and wrought a great effect in his way of thinking in religious matters. *Elijah Fenton* communicated this anecdote, as a fact he well knew, to Mr. Walter Haarte. Dr. J. WARTON.

* Objection in behalf of tradition urged by Father *Simon*. M. N. Orig. edit.

The few by nature form'd, with learning fraught,
Born to instruct, as others to be taught,
Must study well the sacred page; and see
Which doctrine, this, or that, does best agree
With the whole tenor of the work divine: 330
And plainliest points to Heaven's reveal'd
design:

Which exposition flows from genuine sense;
And which is forced by wit and eloquence.
Not that tradition's parts are useless here:
When general, old, disinterest'd and clear: 335
That ancient Fathers thus expound the page,
Gives truth the reverend majesty of age:
Confirms its force, by bidding every test;
For best authority's next rules are best.
And still the nearer to the spring we go, 340
More limpid, more unsoil'd the waters flow.
Thus, first traditions were a proof alone;
Could we be certain such they were, so known.
But since some flaws in long descent may be, 345
They make not truth but probability.
Even Arius and Pelagius durst provoke
To what the centuries preceding spoke.
Such difference is there in an oft-told tale:
But truth by its own sinews will prevail.
Tradition written therefore more commends 350
Authority, than what from voice descends:
And thus, as perfect as its kind can be,
Rolls down to us the sacred history:
Which from the Universal Church received,
Is tried, and after, for itself believed. 355

The partial Papists would infer from hence*
Their Church, in last resort, should judge the
sense.

But first they would assume, with wondrous
art,†

Themselves to be the whole, who are but part
Of that vast frame, the Church; yet grant they
were 360

The handers down, can they from thence infer
A right to interpret? or would they alone,
Who brought the present, claim it for their
own?

The book's a common largess to mankind;
Not more for them than every man design'd; 365
The welcome news is in the letter found:
The carrier's not commission'd to expound.
It speaks itself, and what it does contain,
In all things needful to be known, is plain.

In times o'ergrown with rust and ignorance,
A gainful trade their clergy did advance: 371
When want of learning kept the laymen low,
And none but priests were authorised to know:
When what small knowledge was, in them did
dwell,

And he a god who could but read or spell: 375
Then mother Church did mightily prevail:
She parcel'd out the Bible by retail:
But still expounded what she sold or gave,
To keep it in her power to damn and save.
Scripture was scarce, and as the market went, 380
Poor laymen took salvation on content;
As needy men take money good or bad:
God's word they had not, but the priest's they
had.

Yet, whate'er false conveyances they made, 385
The lawyer still was certain to be paid.

In those dark times they learn'd their knack so
well,

That by long use they grew infallible:
At last, a knowing age began to inquire
If they the book, or that did them inspire:
And, making narrower search, they found, though 390
late,

That what they thought the priest's, was their
estate;

Taught by the will produced, (the written word,)
How long they had been cheated on record.
Then, every man who saw the title fair
Claim'd a child's part, and put in for a share: 395
Consulted soberly his private good,
And saved himself as cheap as e'er he could.

'Tis true, my friend, (and far be flattery hence,)
This good has full as bad a consequence:
The book thus put in every vulgar hand, 400
Which each presumed he best could understand,
The common rule was made the common prey;
And at the mercy of the rabble lay.

The tender page with horny fists was gall'd;
And he was gifted most that loudest bawl'd: 405
The spirit gave the doctoral degree:
And every member of a company
Was of his trade, and of the Bible, free.
Plain truths enough for needful use they found:
But men would still be itching to expound: 410
Each was ambitious of the obscurest place,
No measure ta'en from knowledge, all from
grace.

Study and pains were now no more their care;
Texts were explain'd by fasting and by prayer:
This was the fruit the private spirit brought: 415
Occasion'd by great zeal and little thought.
While crowds unlearn'd, with rude devotion
warm,

About the sacred viands buzz and swarm,
The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood;
And turns to maggots what was meant for food. 420
A thousand daily sects rise up and die;
A thousand more the perish'd race supply:
So all we make of Heaven's discover'd will,
Is, not to have it, or to use it ill.
The danger's much the same; on several shelves
If others wreck us, or we wreck ourselves. 425

What then remains, but, waiving each extreme,
The tides of ignorance and pride to stem?
Neither so rich a treasure to forego?

Nor proudly seek beyond our power to know:
Faith is not built on disquisitions vain; 431
The things we must believe are few and plain:
But since men will believe more than they need,
And every man will make himself a creed,
In doubtful questions 'tis the safest way 435

To learn what unsuspected ancients say:
For 'tis not likely we should higher soar
In search of Heaven, than all the Church before:
Nor can we be deceived, unless we see
The Scripture and the Fathers disagree. 440

If after all they stand suspected still,
(For no man's faith depends upon his will):
'Tis some relief, that points not clearly known,
Without much hazard may be let alone:

And after hearing what our Church can say, 445
If still our reason runs another way,
That private reason 'tis more just to curb,
Than by disputes the public peace disturb.
For points obscure are of small use to learn:
But common quiet is mankind's concern. 450

* The second objection. M. N. Orig. edit.

† Answer to the objection. M. N. Orig. edit.

Thus have I made my own opinions clear;
Yet neither praise expect nor censure fear:

Ver 451. — *my own opinions clear*.] All the arguments which Dryden has here put together in defence of revelation, must appear stale and trite to us, who since his time have had the happiness of reading such treatises as Clarke on the Attributes, Butler's Analogy, Berkley's Alciphron, Bishop Sherlock's Sermons, Watson's Apology, Hurd on Prophecy, Soame Jenyns' Treatise, Jortin's Discourses, Paley's Evidences, and Laidner's Credibility. Dr. J. WARTON.

And this unpolish'd rugged verse I chose,
As fittest for discourse, and nearest prose:
For while from sacred truth I do not swerve, 41
Tom Sternhold's, or Tom Shadwell's rhymes will serve.

Ver 453. — *rugged verse*] An old expression. Thus in P. Fletcher's *Pisc. Eclogues*, edit. 1633, p. 19:—

"Time is my foe, and hates my *rugged* rimes."

And Fletcher adopted it from Spenser. TODD.

THRENODIA AUGUSTALIS:

A FUNERAL PINDARIC POEM.

SACRED TO THE HAPPY MEMORY OF KING CHARLES II.

I.

Thus long my grief has kept me dumb:
Sure there's a lethargy in mighty woe,
Tears stand congeal'd, and cannot flow;
And the sad soul retires into her inmost room:

Tears, for a stroke foreseen, afford relief; 5
But, unprovided for a sudden blow,
Like Niobe we marble grow;
And petrify with grief.

Our British heaven was all serene,
No threatening cloud was nigh, 10
Not the least wrinkle to deform the sky;
We lived as unconcern'd and happily

As the first age in nature's golden scene;
Supine amidst our flowing store, 15
We slept securely, and we dreamt of more:
When suddenly the thunder-clap was heard,
It took us unprepared and out of guard,
Already lost before we fear'd.

The amazing news of Charles at once were spread, 20
At once the general voice declared,
"Our gracious prince was dead."

No sickness known before, no slow disease,
To soften grief by just degrees:

But like an hurricane on Indian seas, 25
The tempest rose;
An unexpected burst of woes:

Ver. 1. *Thus long my grief*] The following just, though severe sentence, has been passed on this Threnodia, by one who was always willing, if possible, to extenuate the blemishes of our poet. "Its first and obvious defect is the irregularity of its metre, to which the ears of that age, however, were accustomed. What is worse, it has neither tenderness nor dignity; it is neither magnificent nor pathetic. He seems to look round him for images which he cannot find, and what he has he distorts by endeavouring to enlarge them. He is, he says, petrified with grief, but the marble relents, and trickles in a joke. There is throughout the composition a desire of splendour without wealth. In the conclusion, he seems too much pleased with the prospect of the new reign, to have lamented his old master with much sincerity."—Dr. Johnson. Dr. J. WARTON

Ver. 22. *No sickness known before,*] Original edition. TODD.

With scarce a breathing space betwixt,
This now becalm'd, and perishing the next.
As if great Atlas from his height
Should sink beneath his heavenly weight, 30
And with a mighty flaw, the flaming wall
(As once it shall)

Should gape immense, and rushing down, o'er-
whelm this nether ball;
So swift and so surprising was our fear:
Out Atlas fell indeed; but Hercules was near. 35

II.

His pious brother, sure the best

Who ever bore that name,
Was newly risen from his rest,
And, with a fervent flame,

His usual morning vows had just address'd 40
For his dear sovereign's health;
And hoped to have them heard,

In long increase of years,
In honour, fame, and wealth:
Guiltless of greatness thus he always pray'd, 45
Nor knew nor wish'd those vows he made
On his own head should be repaid.

Soon as the ill-omen'd rumour reach'd his ear,
(Ill news is wing'd with fate, and flies apace),
Who can describe the amazement of his face! 50
Horror in all his pomp was there,
Mute and magnificent without a tear:

And then the hero first was seen to fear.
Half unarray'd he ran to his relief,
So hasty and so artless was his grief: 55
Approaching greatness met him with her charms
Of power and future state;

But look'd so ghastly in a brother's fate,
He shook her from his arms.

Arrived within the mournful room, he saw 60
A wild distraction, void of awe,
And arbitrary grief, unbounded by a law.

God's image, God's anointed lay
Without motion, pulse, or breath,
A senseless lump of sacred clay, 65
An image now of death.

Amidst his sad attendants' groans and cries,
 The lines of that adored forgiving face,
 Distorted from their native grace;
 An iron slumber sat on his majestic eyes. 70
 The pious duke—Forbear, audacious muse,
 No terms thy feeble art can use
 Are able to adorn so vast a woe:
 The grief of all the rest like subject-grief did
 show,
 His like a sovereign did transcend; 75
 No wife, no brother, such a grief could know,
 Nor any name but friend.

III.

O wondrous changes of a fatal scene,
 Still varying to the last!
 Heaven, though its hard decree was past, 80
 Seem'd pointing to a gracious turn again:
 And Death's uplifted arm arrested in its haste.
 Heaven half repented of the doom,
 And almost grieved it had foreseen,
 What by foresight it will'd eternally to come. 85
 Mercy above did hourly plead
 For her resemblance here below;
 And mild forgiveness intercede
 To stop the coming blow.
 New miracles approach'd the etherial throne, 90
 Such as his wondrous life had often lately known,
 And urged that still they might be shown.
 On earth his pious brother pray'd and vow'd,
 Renouncing greatness at so dear a rate,
 Himself defending what he cou'd, 95
 From all the glories of his future fate.
 With him the innumerable crowd,
 Of armed prayers
 Knock'd at the gates of heaven, and knock'd
 aloud;
 The first well-meaning rude petitioners. 100
 All for his life assail'd the throne,
 All would have bribed the skies by offering up
 their own.
 So great a throng not heaven itself could bar;
 'Twas almost borne by force as in the giants' war.
 The prayers, at least, for his reprieve were 105
 heard;
 His death, like Hezekiah's, was deferr'd:
 Against the sun the shadow went;
 Five days, those five degrees, were lent
 To form our patience and prepare the event.
 The second causes took the swift command, 110
 The medicinal head, the ready hand,

Ver 70. *An iron slumber sat on his majestic eyes*] From Virgil, *Æn.* x. 745.

"Olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
 Somnus," &c.

See Sir P. Sidney's *Arcadia*, Lib. iii. "But with that Argalus came out of his sound, and lifting vp his languishing eyes (which a painefull rest and iron sleep did seeke to lock vp) seeing her," &c. Todd.

Ver. 74.

*The grief of all the rest like subject-grief did show,
 His like a sovereign did transcend;*

Just as the Dauphiness was dying, 1690, the bishop of Meaux, Bossuet, who attended her, said to Louis XIVth. who was then in her chamber, "Your Majesty had better retire;" "No, no," cried the king, "it is right I should see how my equals die." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 95. — what he cou'd,] Orig. edit. Todd.

Ver. 111. *The medicinal head;*] Orig. edit. *med'cinal*. Todd.

All eager to perform their part;
 All but eternal doom was conquer'd by their art:
 Once more the fleeting soul came back
 To inspire the mortal frame; 115
 And in the body took a doubtful stand,
 Doubtful and hovering like expiring flame,
 That mounts and falls by turns, and trembles o'er
 the brand.

IV.

The joyful short-lived news soon spread around,
 Took the same train, the same impetuous bound:
 The drooping town in smiles again was dress'd, 121
 Gladness in every face express'd,
 Their eyes before their tongues confess'd.
 Men met each other with erected look,
 The steps were higher that they took; 125
 Friends to congratulate their friends made haste,
 And long inveterate foes saluted as they pass'd:
 Above the heroic James appear'd
 Exalted more because he more had fear'd:
 His manly heart, whose noble pride 130
 Was still above
 Dissembled hate or varnish'd love,
 Its more than common transport could not hide;
 But like an eagle* rode in triumph o'er the tide. 135
 Thus in alternate course,
 The tyrant passions, hope and fear,
 Did in extremes appear,
 And flash'd upon the soul with equal force.
 Thus, at half ebb, a rolling sea
 Returns and wins upon the shore; 140
 The watery herd, affrighted at the roar,
 Rest on their fins awhile, and stay,
 Then backward take their wondering way:
 The prophet wonders more than they,
 At prodigies but rarely seen before, 145
 And cries, a king must fall, or kingdoms change
 their sway.
 Such were our counter-tides at land, and so
 Presaging of the fatal blow,
 In their prodigious ebb and flow.
 The royal soul, that, like the labouring moon, 150
 By charms of art was hurried down,
 Forced with regret to leave her native sphere,
 Came but awhile on liking here:
 Soon weary of the painful strife,
 And made but faint essays of life: 155
 An evening light
 Soon shut in night;
 A strong distemper, and a weak relief,
 Short intervals of joy, and long returns of grief.

V.

The sons of art all medicines tried, 160
 And every noble remedy applied;
 With emulation each essay'd
 His utmost skill, nay more, they pray'd:
 Never was losing game with better conduct
 play'd.

Ver. 126. *Friends to congratulate, &c*] *Each to congratulate his friend, &c.* Original edit. Todd.

* *An eagle* is a tide swelling above another tide, which I myself observed on the river Trent. Marg. Note, orig. edit.

Ver. 160. — *all medicines*] Orig. edit.: *all med'cines*. Todd.

Ver. 164. *Never was losing game*] Orig. edit.: *Was never losing game, &c.* Todd.

Ibid. *Never was losing game*! A most vulgar ill-placed allusion Dr. J. WARTON

Death never won a stake with greater toil, 163
Nor o'er was fate so near a foil :
But like a fortress on a rock,
The impregnable disease their vain attempts did
mock ;

They mined it near, they batter'd from afar 170
With all the cannon of the medicinal war ;
No gentle means could be essay'd,
'Twas beyond parley when the siege was laid :

The extremest ways they first ordain,
Prescribing such intolerable pain, 175
As none but Caesar could sustain :
Undaunted Caesar underwent

The malice of their art, nor bent
Beneath what'er their pious rigour could invent :
In five such days he suffer'd more 180
Than any suffer'd in his reign before ;

More, infinitely more, than he,
Against the worst of rebels, could decree,
A traitor, or twice pardon'd enemy.
Now art was tired without success,
No racks could make the stubborn malady 185
confess.

The vain insurancers of life,
And he who most perform'd and promised less,
Even Short himself forsook the unequal strife.
Death and despair was in their looks, 190
No longer they consult their memories or books ;
Like helpless friends, who view from shore
The labouring ship, and hear the tempest roar ;
So stood they with their arms across ;
Not to assist but to deplore 195
The inevitable loss.

VI.

Death was denounced ; that frightful sound
Which even the best can hardly bear,
He took the summons void of fear ;
And unconcernedly cast his eyes around ;
As if to find and dare the grisly challenger. 200
What death could do he lately tried,
When in four days he more than died.
The same assurance all his words did grace ;
The same majestic mildness held its place :
Nor lost the monarch in his dying face. 205
Intrepid, pious, merciful, and brave,
He look'd as when he conquer'd and forgave.

VII.

As if some angel had been sent
To lengthen out his government,
And to foretel as many years again,
As he had number'd in his happy reign,
So cheerfully he took the doom
Of his departing breath ;
Nor shrunk nor step aside for death ;
But with unalter'd pace kept on ;
Providing for events to come,
When he resign'd the throne.
Still he maintain'd his kingly state ;
And grew familiar with his fate.
Kind, good, and gracious, to the last, 220
On all he loved before his dying beams he cast :
Oh, truly good, and truly great,
For glorious as he rose, benignly so he set !
All that on earth he held most dear,
He recommended to his care, 225

To whom both Heaven
The right had given,
And his own love bequeath'd supreme command :
He took and press'd that ever loyal hand,
Which could in peace secure his reign, 230
Which could in wars his power maintain,
That hand on which no plighted vows were ever
vain.

Well for so great a trust he chose
A prince who never disobey'd :
Not when the most severe commands were 235
laid ;

Nor want, nor exile with his duty weigh'd :
A prince on whom, if Heaven its eyes could
close,
The welfare of the world it safely might repose.

VIII.

That king who lived to God's own heart,
Yet less serenely died than he :
Charles left behind no harsh decree
For schoolmen with laborious art
To salve from cruelty :

Those, for whom love could no excuses frame,
He graciously forgot to name. 245

Thus far my muse, though rudely, has design'd
Some faint resemblance of his godlike mind :

But neither pen nor pencil can express
The parting brothers' tenderness :

Though that's a term too mean and low ;
The blest above a kinder word may know : 250

But what they did, and what they said,
The monarch who triumphant went,
The militant who staid,

Like painters when their height'ning arts are
spent 255

I cast into a shade.

That all-forgiving king,
The type of Him above,
That inexhausted spring
Of clemency and love ; 260

Himself to his next self accused,
And ask'd that pardon which he nor refused :

For faults not his, for guilt and crimes
Of godless men, and of rebellious times : 265

For an hard exile, kindly meant,
When his ungrateful country sent
Their best Camillus into banishment :

And forced their sovereign's act, they could not
his consent.

Oh, how much rather had that injured chief
Repeated all his sufferings past ! 270

Than hear a pardon begg'd at last,
Which given could give the dying no relief :

He bent, he sunk beneath his grief :
His dauntless heart would fain have held 275

From weeping, but his eyes rebell'd.
Perhaps the godlike hero in his breast
Disdain'd, or was ashamed, to show

So weak, so womanish a woe,
Which yet the brother and the friend so plen-
teously confess'd.

IX.

Amidst that silent shower, the royal mind 280
An easy passage found,
And left its sacred earth behind

Nor mumbling groan express'd, nor labouring
sound,
Nor any least tumultuous breath :

Calm was his life, and quiet was his death. 235
Soft as those gentle whispers were,
In which the Almighty did appear;
By the still voice the prophet knew him there.
That peace which made thy prosperous reign to
shine,
That peace thou leav'st to thy imperial line, 290
That peace, oh happy shade, be ever thine!

x.

For all those joys thy restoration brought,
For all the miracles it wrought,
For all the healing balm thy mercy pour'd
Into the nation's bleeding wound, 295
And care that after kept it sound,
For numerous blessings yearly shower'd,
And property with plenty crown'd;
For freedom, still maintain'd alive,
Freedom, which in no other land will thrive, 300
Freedom, an English subject's sole prerogative,
Without whose charms even peace would be
But a dull quiet slavery:
For these and more, accept our pious praise;
'Tis all the subsidy 305
The present age can raise,
The rest is charged on late posterity.
Posterity is charged the more,
Because the large abounding store
To them and to their heirs is still entail'd by 310
thee.

Succession of a long descent
Which chastely in the channels ran,
And from our demi-gods began,
Equal almost to time in its extent,
Through hazards numberless and great, 315
Thou hast derived this mighty blessing down,
And fix'd the fairest gem that decks the imperial
crown:

Not faction, when it shook thy regal seat,
Not senates, insolently loud,
Those echoes of a thoughtless crowd, 320
Not foreign or domestic treachery,
Could warp thy soul to their unjust decree.
So much thy foes thy manly mind mistook,
Who judged it by the mildness of thy look:
Like a well-temper'd sword it bent at will; 325
But kept the native toughness of the steel.

xi.

Be true, O Clio, to thy hero's name!
But draw him strictly so,
That all who view the piece may know;
He needs no trappings of fictitious fame: 330

Ver. 238. *By the still voice*] Orig. edit.: By the still
sound, &c. Todd.

Ibid. Alluding to 1 Kings xix. 12: "And after the fire a
still small voice." See also the marginal reading of Job iv. 16:
"I heard a still voice, saying, Shall mortal man be more
just than God?" Todd.

Ver. 319. *Not senates, insolently loud,
Those echoes of a thoughtless crowd,*

So Cowper, in a nervous and animated strain—

"Thy senate is a scene of civil jar,
Chaos of contraries at war,
Where sharp and solid, phlegmatic and light,
Discordant atoms meet, contend, and fight;
Where Obstinacy takes its sturdy stand,
To disconcert what Policy has plann'd;
Where Policy is busied all night long
In setting right what Faction has set wrong."

Expos. 113. Vol. I.
JOHN WARTON.

The load's too weighty: thou may'st choose
Some parts of praise, and some refuse:
Write, that his annals may be thought more
lavish than the muse.

In scanty truth thou hast confined 335
The virtues of a royal mind,
Forgiving, bounteous, humble, just, and kind:
His conversation, wit, and parts,
His knowledge in the noblest useful arts,
Were such, dead authors could not give;
But habitudes of those who live; 340
Who, lighting him, did greater lights receive:
He drain'd from all, and all they knew;
His apprehension quick, his judgment true:
That the most learn'd, with shame, confess 345
His knowledge more, his reading only less.

xii.

Amidst the peaceful triumphs of his reign,
What wonder if the kindly beams he shed
Reviv'd the drooping arts again,
If Science raised her head, 350
And soft Humanity that from rebellion fled:
Our isle, indeed, too fruitful was before;
But all uncultivated lay
Out of the solar walk and heaven's high way;
With rank Geneva weeds run o'er,
And cockle, at the best, amidst the corn it bore:
The royal husbandman appear'd, 355
And plough'd, and sow'd, and till'd,
The thorns he rooted out, the rubbish clear'd,
And bless'd the obedient field.
When straight a double harvest rose; 360
Such as the swarthy Indian mows;
Or happier climates near the line,
Or paradise manured, and drest by hands divine.

xiii.

As when the new-born phoenix takes his way, 365
His rich paternal regions to survey,

Ver. 348. *Reviv'd the drooping arts*] Charles was very
instrumental in founding and promoting the Royal Society;
but it has been said, it may be doubted whether the institu-
tions of academies have contributed to the promotion of
science and literature. Neither Copernicus nor Kepler
were members of any academy; nor was Newton member
of our Royal Society till he had made his most important
discoveries. None of the great inventions have been owing
to academies. But it may be added, that *Alexander* assisted
Aristotle with a vast collection of animals; the caliph
Almorav encouraged philosophy; and without the French
academy, *Maupeflus* would not have undertaken his Phi-
losophical Journey; nor *Tournefort* his Voyages, without
the encouragement of Louis XIV. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 364. *As when the new-born phoenix, &c.*] Dryden
had probably Sannazarius in view, De Partu Virg. lib. ii.

"— Quails nostrum cum tendit in orbem,
Purpureis rudiat pennis nitidissima phoenix,
Quam variae circum volucres comitantur sentem," &c.
TODD.

Ibid. *As when the new-born phoenix takes his way,
His rich paternal regions to survey,
Of airy choristers a numerous train
Attend his wondrous progress o'er the plain;*

Imitated from Buchanan:

"Sic ubi de patris rediivivus funere Phoenix
Aurora ad populos redit, et cunabula secum
Ipse sua, et cineres patris, inferiasque decoris
Fert humeris; quacunq; citis aemigat alis,
Indigenae comitantur aves, celebrantque canoro
Agmine: non illas species incognita tantum
Aut picturata captant spectacula pennae."

Buchanan. Silv. p. 59.

JOHN WARTON.

H

Of airy choristers a numerous train
Attend his wondrous progress o'er the plain ;
So, rising from his father's urn,
So glorious did our Charles return ;
The officious Muses came along, 370
A gay harmonious quire, like angels ever young :
The Muse that mourns him now his happy tri-
umph sung.

Even they could thrive in his auspicious reign ;
And such a plenteous crop they bore
Of purest and well-winnow'd grain, 375
As Britain never knew before.
Though little was their hire, and light their gain,
Yet somewhat to their share he threw ;
Fed from his hand they sung and flew,
Like birds of paradise that lived on morning 380
dew.

Oh, never let their lays his name forget !
The pension of a prince's praise is great.
Live then, thou great encourager of arts,
Live ever in our thankful hearts ;
Live blest above, almost invoked below ; 385
Live and receive this pious vow,
Our patron once, our guardian angel now.
Thou Fabius of a sinking state,
Who didst by wise delays divert our fate,
When faction like a tempest rose, 390
In death's most hideous form,
Then art to rage thou didst oppose,
To weather out the storm :
Not quitting thy supreme command,
Thou held'st the rudder with a steady hand, 395
Till safely on the shore the bark did land :
The bark that all our blessings brought,
Charged with thyself and James, a doubly royal
fraught.

xiv.
Oh frail estate of human things,
And slippery hopes below ! 400
Now to our cost your emptiness we know,
For 'tis a lesson dearly bought,
Assurance here is never to be sought.
The best, and best beloved of kings,
And best deserving to be so, 405
When scarce he had escaped the fatal blow
Of faction and conspiracy,
Death did his promised hopes destroy :
He toil'd, he gain'd, but lived not to enjoy.
What mists of Providence are these 410
Through which we cannot see !
So saints, by supernatural power set free,
Are left at last in martyrdom to die ;
Such is the end of oft repeated miracles.
Forgive me, Heaven, that impious thought ; 415
'Twas grief for Charles, to madness wrought,
That question'd thy supreme decree !
Thou didst his gracious reign prolong,
Even in thy saints' and angels' wrong,
His fellow-citizens of immortality : 420
For twelve long years of exile borne,
Twice twelve we number'd since his blest return :

Ver. 380. *Like birds of paradise that lived on morning dew.*
Tavernier, the excellent French traveller, says, that it is a
vulgar error that the birds of paradise have no legs: the
fact is, that they gorge and over-fill themselves by feeding
on the nutmeg-trees, from which they fall down in a kind of
intoxication, and the emmet eats off their legs. Louis XIII.
had one of these birds, and a very beautiful one, that had
two legs. JOHN WARTON.

So strictly wert thou just to pay,
Even to the dribble of a day.
Yet still we murmur, and complain 425
The quails and manna should no longer rain ;
Those miracles 'twas needless to renew ;
The chosen flock has now the promised land in
view.

xv.
A warlike prince ascends the regal state,
A prince long exercised by fate : 430
Long may he keep, though he obtains it late.
Heroes in Heaven's peculiar mould are cast,
They and their poets are not form'd in haste ;
Man was the first in God's design, and man was
made the last.
False heroes, made by flattery so, 435
Heaven can strike out, like sparkles, at a blow ;
But ere a prince is to perfection brought,
He costs Omnipotence a second thought.
With toil and sweat, 440
With hardening cold, and forming heat,
The Cyclops did their strokes repeat,
Before the impenetrable shield was wrought.
It looks as if the Maker would not own
The noble work for his,
Before 'twas tried and found a masterpiece. 445

xvi.
View then a monarch ripen'd for a throne.
Alcides thus his race began,
O'er infancy he swiftly ran ;
The future god at first was more than man :
Dangers and toils, and Juno's hate, 450
Even o'er his cradle lay in wait ;
And there he grappled first with fate :
In his young hands the hissing snakes he press'd,
So early was the deity confess'd ;
Thus by degrees he rose to Jove's imperial 455
seat ;
Thus difficulties prove a soul legitimately great.
Like his, our hero's infancy was tried :
Betimes the furies did their snakes provide ;
And to his infant arms oppose 460
His father's rebels, and his brother's foes ;
The more oppress, the higher still he rose ;
Those were the preludes of his fate,
That form'd his manhood, to subdue
The hydra of a many-headed hissing crew.

xvii.
As after Numa's peaceful reign 465
The martial Ancus did the sceptre wield,
Furbish'd the rusty sword again,
Resumed the long-forgotten shield,
And led the Latins to the dusty field ;
So James the drowsy gonius wakes 470
Of Britain long entranced in charms,
Restive and slumbering on its arms :
'Tis roused, and with a new-strung nerve the spear
already shakes.
No neighing of the warrior steeds,
No drum, or louder trumpet, needs 475
To inspire the coward, warm the cold ;
His voice, his sole appearance, makes them bold
Gaul and Batavia dread the impending blow ;
Too well the vigour of that arm they know ;
They lick the dust, and crouch beneath their 480
fatal foe.

Long may they fear this awful prince,
And not provoke his lingering sword;
Peace is their only sure defence,
Their best security his word:
In all the changes of his doubtful state, 485
His truth, like Heaven's, was kept inviolate,
For him to promise is to make it fate.
His valour can triumph o'er land and main;
With broken oaths his fame he will not stain;
With conquest basely bought, and with inglorious 490
gain.

xviii.

For once, O Heaven, unfold thy adamant book;
And let his wondering senate see,
If not thy firm immutable decree,
At least the second page of strong contingency;
Such as consists with wills originally free: 495
Let them with glad amazement look
On what their happiness may be:
Let them not still be obstinately blind,
Still to divert the good thou hast design'd, 500
Or with malignant penury,
To starve the royal virtues of his mind.

Faith is a Christian's and a subject's test;
Oh, give them to believe, and they are surely
blest.

They do; and with a distant view I see 505
The amended vows of English loyalty.
And all beyond that object, there appears
The long retinue of a prosperous reign,
A series of successful years,
In orderly array, a martial, manly train.
Behold ev'n the remoter shores, 510
A conquering navy proudly spread;
The British cannon formidably roars;
While starting from his cozy bed,
The asserted Ocean rears his reverend head,
To view and recognize his ancient lord again; 515
And with a willing hand restores
The fasces of the main.

Ver. 512. *The British cannon, &c.*] This conclusion is truly spirited, and the prophecy has been abundantly verified. Dryden gives the British king the proper title of *ancient lord of the ocean*. Camden, in his *Britannia*, had before denominated our island *the lady of the sea*; a very just and emphatical distinction: *Esto perpetua!* Todd.

TO MY FRIEND MR. J. NORTHLEIGH.

AUTHOR OF "THE PARALLEL,"

ON HIS TRIUMPH OF THE BRITISH MONARCHY.

So Joseph, yet a youth, expounded well
The boding dream, and did th' event foretell;
Judged by the past, and drew the Parallel.
Thus early Solomon the truth explored,
The right awarded, and the babe restored.
Thus Daniel, ere to prophecy he grew,
The perjured Presbyters did first subdue,
And freed Susanna from the canting crew.

Well may our Monarchy triumphant stand,
While warlike James protects both sea and 11
land;
And, under covert of his sevenfold shield,
Thou send'st thy shafts to scour the distant 5
field.
By law thy powerful pen has set us free;
Thou studiest that, and that may study thee.

THE HIND AND THE PANTHER.

A POEM. IN THREE PARTS.

— Antiquam exquirite matrem.
Et vera, incessu, patuit Dea.—VING.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE nation is in too high a ferment for me to expect either fair war, or even so much as fair quarter from a reader of the opposite party. All men are engaged either on this side or that; and though Conscience is the common *Word*, which is given by both, yet if a writer fall among enemies, and cannot give the marks of *their* conscience, he is knocked down before the reasons of his own are heard. A preface, therefore, which is but a bespeaking of favour, is altogether useless. What I desire the reader should know concerning me, he will find in the body of the poem, if he have but the patience to peruse it. Only this advertisement let him take beforehand, which relates to the merits of the cause. No general characters of parties (call them either Sects or Churches) can be so fully and exactly drawn, as to comprehend all the several members of them; at least all such as are received under that denomination. For example: there are some of the Church by law established who envy not liberty of conscience to Dissenters; as being well satisfied that, according to their own principles, they ought not to persecute them. Yet these, by reason of their fewness, I could not distinguish from the numbers of the rest, with whom they are embodied in one common name. On the other side, there are many of our Sects, and more indeed than I could reasonably have hoped, who have withdrawn themselves from the communion of the Panther, and embraced this gracious indulgence of his Majesty in point of toleration. But neither to the one nor the other of these is this satire any way intended: it is aimed only at the refractory and disobedient on either side. For those who are come over to the royal party are consequently supposed to be out of gun-shot. Our physicians have observed, that, in process of time, some diseases have abated of their virulence, and have in a manner worn out their malignity, so as to be no longer mortal, and why may not I suppose the same concerning some of those who have formerly been enemies to Kingly Government, as well as Catholic Religion? I hope they have now another notion of both, as having found, by comfortable experience, that the doctrine of persecution is far from being an article of our faith.

It is not for any private man to censure the proceedings of a foreign prince; but without suspicion of flattery, I may praise our own, who has taken contrary measures, and those more suitable to the spirit of Christianity. Some of the Dissenters, in their addresses to his Majesty, have said, "That he has restored God to his empire over conscience." I confess I dare not stretch the figure to so great a boldness; but I may safely say, that conscience is the royalty and prerogative of every private man. He is absolute in his own breast, and accountable to no earthly power for that which passes only betwixt God and him. Those who are driven into the fold are, generally speaking, rather made hypocrites than converts.

This indulgence being granted to all the sects, it ought in reason to be expected that they should both receive it, and receive it thankfully. For, at this time of day, to refuse the benefit, and adhere to those whom they have esteemed their persecutors, what is it else but publicly to own that they suffered not before for conscience sake, but only out of pride and obstinacy, to separate from a Church for those impositions which they now judge may be lawfully obeyed? After they have so long contended for their classical ordination (not to speak of rites and ceremonies), will they at length

submit to an episcopal? If they can go so far out of complaisance to their old enemies, methinks a little reason should persuade them to take another step, and see whether that would lead them.

Of the receiving this toleration thankfully I shall say no more, than that they ought, and I doubt not, they will, consider from what hands they received it. It is not from a Cyrus, a heathen prince, and a foreigner, but from a Christian king, their native sovereign, who expects a return in specie from them, that the kindness which he has graciously shown them may be retaliated on those of his own persuasion.

As for the poem in general, I will only thus far satisfy the reader, that it was neither imposed on me, nor so much as the subject given me by any man. It was written during the last winter and the beginning of this spring, though with long interruptions of ill-health and other hindrances. About a fortnight before I had finished it, his Majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience came abroad; which, if I had so soon expected, I might have spared myself the labour of writing many things which are contained in the third part of it. But I was always in some hope, that the Church of England might have been persuaded to have taken off the Penal Laws and the Test, which was one design of the poem when I proposed to myself the writing of it.

It is evident that some part of it was only occasional, and not first intended: I mean that defence of myself, to which every honest man is bound, when he is injuriously attacked in print; and I refer myself to the judgment of those who have read the Answer to the Defence of the late King's papers and that of the Duchess (in which last I was concerned) how charitably I have been represented there. I am now informed both of the author and supervisors of his pamphlet, and will reply when I think he can affront me: for I am of Socrates's opinion, that all creatures cannot. In the mean time let him consider whether he deserved not a more severe reprehension than I gave him formerly, for using so little respect to the memory of those whom he pretended to answer; and at his leisure look out for some original treatise of Humility, written by any Protestant in English (I believe I may say in any other tongue): for the magnified piece of Duncomb on that subject, which either he must mean or none, and with which another of his fellows has upbraided me, was translated from the Spanish of Rodriguez; though with the omission of the seventeenth, the twenty-fourth, the twenty-fifth, and the last chapter, which will be found in comparing of the books.

He would have insinuated to the world that her late Highness died not a Roman Catholic. He declares himself to be now satisfied to the contrary, in which he has given up the cause; for matter of fact was the principal debate betwixt us. In the mean time, he would dispute the motives of her change; how preposterously, let all men judge, when he seemed to deny the subject of the controversy, the change itself. And because I would not take up this ridiculous challenge, he tells the world I cannot argue: but he may as well infer that a Catholic cannot fast, because he will not take up the cudgels against Mrs. James, to confute the Protestant religion.

I have but one word more to say concerning the poem as such, and abstracting from the matters, either religious or civil, which are handled in it. The first part, consisting most in general characters and narration, I have endeavoured to raise, and give it the majestic turn of heroic poetry. The second, being matter of dispute, and chiefly concerning Church Authority, I was obliged to make as plain and perspicuous as possibly I could; yet not wholly neglecting the numbers, though I had not frequent occasions for the magnificence of verse. The third, which has more of the nature of domestic conversation, is, or ought to be, more free and familiar than the two former.

There are in it two Episodes, or Fables, which are interwoven with the main design; so that they are properly parts of it, though they are also distinct stories of themselves. In both of these I have made use of the common places of Satire, whether true or false, which are urged by the members of the one Church against the other: at which I hope no reader of either party will be scandalised, because they are not of my invention, but as old, to my knowledge, as the times of Boccace and Chaucer on the one side, and as those of the Reformation on the other.

THE HIND AND THE PANTHER.*

A MILK-WHITE Hind, immortal and unchanged,
Fed on the lawns, and in the forest ranged;

* This piece is a defence of the Roman Catholic Church, by way of dialogue between a Hind, who represents the Church of Rome, and a Panther, who sustains the character of the Church of England. These two beasts very learnedly debate the principal points controverted between the two Churches, as transubstantiation, infallibility, church-authority, &c. This poem was immediately attacked by the wits; particularly by Montague, afterwards Earl of Halifax, and Prior, who joined in writing *The Hind and Panther*, parodied in the *Story of the Country Mouse and the City Mouse*. DERRICK.

There is a pointed allusion to this poem, in a satire entitled *Eccobolus Britannicus*, or *A Memento to the Jacobites of the higher order*; in which, indeed, many of Dryden's phrases and sentiments are introduced, and printed in the Italic character. This satire is worthy of perusal. It occurs in "The loyal and impartial Satyrst, containing eight Miscellaneous Poems, &c. Lond. 1694."

ECCEBOLUS BRITANNICUS, &c.

You, whom Religion sets so loose about,
That you want charity to fill it out;
You that can't swear (that might consist with love)
Yet curse and damn like the great Lateran Jove;
Remember him who lately seem'd to say,
What is Religion but a solemn play?
We do but act a while, and then give o'er;
And, when we quit this stage, we are no more.
In vain men hope th' abyss of light to see,
No spirits wait in hollow trees beneath,
Nor is there any bellowing after death,
'Tis all but vain and senseless poetry:
Death shuts the comick scene; when parted hence
None ever cried, *What am I, or from whence?*
No demons walk; no glancing eye-balls rove;
But horrid stillness then invades the soul.
Great souls discern not when the leap's too wide;
Heroes will be for ever changing side.
And since religions vary like the wind,
Who would to one be curstly confin'd?
He that can servilely creep after one
Is safe, but ne'er shall reach promotion.
Sell Plays for Legends, (that's the way to prosper.)
I'll part with scenes for a more costly shrine;
Philus for Bragdet, or Saint Katherine,
Buzarrs and Escapades for Pater Noster,
My Mawmin for Lewis; and I hope
To find a new Almanzor in the Pope
Rome's Church, tho' once a whore, now cannot be;
She must be chaste, because she's lov'd by me.
How dear is Mother-Church, how charming fair,
To a distressed sinner in despair!
The world shall see I'll turn, because I dare.
As once Empedocles to get a name,
Wing'd with ambition to be thought a god,
O'er unfrequented hills, and peaks untrod,
Pass'd into scorching *Ætna's* liquid flame:
So to be dubb'd a saint, and fill a story
From *fairy land*, and dark enchanted isle,
From mountains of the moon, and head of Nile,
Immortal Bays will pass to Purgatory.

2.

But, ha! what strange new project here is shewn,
So long kept secret, and so lately known?
As if our old plot modestly withdrawn,
And here in private were brought forth anew.
New almanacks foretel some change at hand,
When bear-skinn'd men in floating castles land;
And all our hopes, like old men's children, be
Blasted and wither'd in their infancy.
Parsons and Curates careless of their charge,
And safe in holy ease, now live at large;

Without unspotted, innocent within,
She fear'd no danger, for she knew no sin.

Unguarded leave their posts, away they fie;
And all dissolved in New Allegiance lie.

The Prelates are protected by the Bar,
Dull heroes fatten still with spoils of war;
Ah! why should a worse fortune be design'd
For him that wrote the *Panther* and the *Hind*!

Is this the state his Holiness has given?
Is this our Cape of Hope, and promised haven?
This province my Unhappy Change has got,
This portion is the losing Convert's lot.

This region my false wandering steps have found,
And fortune flies me like enchanted ground.

Best take th' occasion, and this time forsake,
While time is given; Ho, Brother Teague, awake,
If thou art he; but, ah! how sunk in tone!

How changed from proud Bullero to O Hone!
How faded all thy laurels are! I see

My fate too soon, and my own change in thee.

Into what wild distraction am I brought!
I'm lost, and caught in my own web of thought:

I burn, I'm all on fire, I more than burn:

Stand off, I have not leisure yet to turn.

What have these bears, these bears, and dirty swine,

These heretick dogs, to do with me or mine?

I'll ne'er repent of such a gallant crime:

When Wits are down, dull Fops will watch their time.

Our fame is husht'd, as hope itself lay dead,

And *Rome* begins to nod her drooping head,

The little *Teagues* in dreams their howls repeat,

And weeping laurels with the night-dew sweat:

Panthers are now at rest, but fear denies

Sleep to my *Hind*, and to her *Poet's* eyes.

This spirited poem, I should add, is in the title-page only of the *Miscellany* inscribed, *To the truly Orthodox Critic and Post, J. D—n, Esq.* TODD.

Ver 1. *A milk-white Hind*.] It is impossible to add any thing to the just criticism, the true wit, and well-pointed ridicule, with which Mr. Montague and Mr. Prior attacked and exposed the matchless absurdity of the plan of this poem in the following words:—

"The favourers of the *Hind* and *Panther* will be apt to say in its defence, that the best things are capable of being turned to ridicule; that *Iliad* has been burlesqued, and *Virgil* travestied, without suffering any thing in their reputation from that buffoonery; and that, in like manner, the *Hind* and the *Panther* may be an exact poem, though 'tis the subject of our merrily. But there is this difference, that those authors are wrested from their true sense, and thus naturally falls into ridicule; there is nothing represented here as monstrous and unnatural, which is not so equally in the original. First, as to the general design, is it not as easy to imagine two mice bickering each other, and supping at the Devil, as to suppose a hind entertaining the panther at a hermit's cell, discussing the greatest mysteries of religion, and telling you her son *Rodriguez* writ very good Spanish? What can be more improbable and contradictory to the rules and examples of all fables, and to the very design and use of them? They were first begun and raised to the highest perfection in the eastern countries, where they wrote in signs, and spoke in parables, and delivered the most useful precepts in delightful stories; which for their aptness were entertaining to the most judicious, and led the vulgar into understanding by surprising them with their novelty, and fixing their attention. All their fables carry a double meaning, the story is one and entire; the characters the same throughout, not broken or changed, and always conformable to the nature of the creature they introduce. They never tell you, that the dog which snapt at a shadow lost his troop of horses—that would be unintelligible—a piece of flesh is proper for him to drop, and the reader will apply it to mankind. They would not say that the daw, who was so proud of her borrowed plumes, looked very ridiculous when *Rodriguez* came and took away all the book but the 17th, 24th, and 25th chapters.

Yet had she oft been chased with horns and hounds,
And Scythian shafts; and many winged wounds
Aim'd at her heart; was often forced to fly,
And doom'd to death though fated not to die.

Not so her young, for their unequal line
Was hero's make, half human, half divine.
Their earthly mould obnoxious was to fate,
The immortal part assumed immortal state.
Of these a slaughter'd army lay in blood,
Extended o'er the Caledonian wood,
Their native walk, whose vocal blood arose,
And cried for pardon on their perjured foes.
Their fate was fruitful, and the sanguine seed,
Endued with souls, increased the sacred breed.
So captive Israel multiplied in chains,
A numerous exile, and enjoy'd her pains.
With grief and gladness mix'd the mother view'd

Her martyr'd offspring, and their race renew'd;
Their corpse to perish, but their kind to last,
So much the deathless plant the dying fruit surpass'd.

Panting and pensive now she ranged alone,
And wander'd in the kingdoms, once her own.
The common hunt, though from their rage restrain'd

By sovereign power, her company disdain'd;
Grinn'd as they pass'd, and with a glaring eye
Gave gloomy signs of secret enmity.
'Tis true she bounded by, and tripp'd so light,
They had not time to take a steady sight.
For truth has such a face and such a mien,
As to be loved needs only to be seen.

which she stole from him. But this is his new way of telling a story, and confounding the moral and the fable together.

"Before the word was written, said the Hind,
Our Saviour preach'd the faith to all mankind.

"What relation has the hind to our Saviour? Or what notion have we of a panther's bible? If you say he means the Church, how does the Church feed on lawns, or range the forest? Let it be always a Church, or always the cloven-footed beast, for we cannot bear his shifting the scene every line. If it is absurd in comedies to make a peasant talk in the strain of a hero, or a country wench use the language of a court, how monstrous is it to make a priest of a hind, and a parson of a panther! To bring them in disputing with all the formalities and terms of the school! Though, as to the arguments themselves, tho' we confess, are suited to the capacity of the beasts; and if we would suppose a hind expressing herself about these matters, she would talk at that rate." Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 1. — *Hind*.] It is singular, that in the most curious account of old *Sanskrit* Fables, given to us by Mr. Wilkins, entitled *Hætopades*, or Amicable Instruction, animals, like our hind and panther, are sometimes absurdly introduced as arguing on subjects of theology; a tiger is described as devout, and praising chaity and religious duties; an old mouse is well versed in *Neete Sastias*, or system of policy and ethics; and a cat reads religious books. Mr. Wilkins translated the *Mahabarat*, an epic poem, and Sir William Jones the *Sacountala*, a drama of a surprising early date, and an invaluable curiosity on account of the manners described in it. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 14. — *the Caledonian wood*.] The ravages and disorders committed by the Scotch covenanters gave occasion to these lines. DERRICK.

Ver. 21. — *the mother view'd*] Original edition: their mother. TODD.

Ver. 29. *Giv'n'd as they pass'd, and with a glaring eye Gave gloomy signs, &c.*

Dryden here, I think, had Milton in his mind. See *Par. Lost*, x. 713

"— or, with countenance grim,
Glared on him passing." TODD.

The bloody Bear, an independent beast,
Unlick'd to form, in groans her hate express'd.
Among the timorous kind the quaking Hare
Profess'd neutrality, but would not swear.
Next her the buffoon Ape, as atheists use,
Mimick'd all sects, and had his own to choose: "Still when the Lion look'd, his knees he bent,
And paid at church a courtier's compliment.
The bristled Baptist Boar, impure as he,
(But whiten'd with the foam of sanctity,)

Ver. 35. *The bloody Bear, an independent beast*.] The Independents were a sect of Protestants, who held, that "each church, within itself, had sufficient power to do everything relative to church-government." They sprung up amidst the confusions of Charles the First's reign, about the year 1643. Walker calls them a composition of Jews, Christians, and Turks. See his *History of Independency*, p. 1, 27; for which he was committed by Cromwell to the Tower. See *Echard's History of England*, vol. ii. p. 435, for an account of their rise. Butler calls them,

"The maggots of corrupted texts."—Hud. p. 3. v. 10.

And our author, in his *Religio Laici*, says,

"The fly-blown text creates a crawling brood,
And turns to maggots what was meant for food."

Because that, in order to infuse into people a notion that they had a right to choose their own pastors, they corrupted this text: *Wherefore, brethren, look you out from among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost, whom ye (instead of we) may appoint over this business.* Acts vi. 3. Field is said to have been the first printer of this forgery, and to have received for it £1500. Be that as it may, it is certainly to be found in several of his editions of the Bible, particularly in his fine folio of 1659-60, and his octavo of 1661. DERRICK.

Ver. 37. — *the quaking Hare*

Profess'd neutrality, but would not swear.]

The Quakers; so called from certain tremblings and convulsions with which they appear to be seized at their religious meetings. They decline all military employments; reject the use of arms, which they call profane and carnal weapons; and refuse the oath. Their affirmation is now admitted by act of Parliament, in our justiciary courts, as of equal force to an oath taken by a person of any other persuasion upon the gospel. DERRICK.

Ver. 39. *Next her the buffoon Ape*.] No particular sect is meant by the buffoon ape, but libertines and latitudinarians, persons ready to conform to anything to serve their turn. DERRICK.

Ver. 43. *The bristled Baptist Boar*.] The unexampl'd absurdities of the principles and practices of the Anabaptists were too inviting and copious a subject for Swift not to seize, and enabled him to give some of the finest touches of ridicule in his Tale of a Tub.

"Having, from his manner of living, frequent occasions to wash himself, he would often leap over head and ears into the water, though it were in the midst of the winter, but was always observed to come out again much *durier*, if possible, than when he went in.

"He was the first that ever found out the secret of contriving a *soporiferous* medicine to be conveyed in at the ears: it was a compound of sulphur and balm of Gilead, with a little *Pilgrim's Progress* salve.

"He wore a large plaister of artificial acoustics on his stomach, with the fervour of which he could set himself a *groaning*, like the famous *booby*, upon application of a red-hot iron.

"He would stand in the turning of a street, and calling to those who passed by, would cry to one, *Worthy Sir, do me the honour of a good slap in the chops*: to another, *Honest friend, pray favour me with a handsome kick on the arse*. *Madam, shall I entreat a small box on the ear from your ladyship's fair hand?* Noble apt n, lend a reasonable thwack, for the love of God, with the cane of yours, over these poor shoulders. And when he had, by such earnest solicitations, made a shift to procure a basting sufficient to swell up his fancy and sides, he would return home extremely comforted, and full of terrible accounts of what he had undergone for the public good. Observe this stroke (said he, shewing his bare shoulders) a plaguy janitary gave it me this very morning at seven o'clock, as with much ado I was driving off the great Turk. Neighbours of mine, this broken head deserves a plaister; had poor Jack been tender of his noddle, you would have seen the Pope and the French King long before this time of day among your wives and your warehouses. Dear Christians, the Great Mogul was come as

With fat pollutions fill'd the sacred place,
And mountains level'd in his furious race;
So first rebellion founded was in grace.
But since the mighty ravage, which he made
In German forests, had his guilt betray'd,
With broken tusks, and with a borrow'd name,
He shunn'd the vengeance, and conceal'd the
shame;
So lurk'd in sects unseen. With greater guile
False Reynard fed on consecrated spoil:
The graceless beast by Athanasius first
Was chased from Nice; then, by Socinus nursed,
His impious race their blasphemy renew'd,
And nature's King through nature's optics
view'd.

Reversed they view'd him lessen'd to their eye,
Nor in an infant could a God desecry:
New swarming sects to this obliquely tend,
Hence they began, and here they all will end.

What weight of ancient witness can prevail,
If private reason hold the public scale?
But, gracious God, how well dost thou provide
For erring judgments an unerring guide!
Thy throne is darkness in the abyss of light,
A blaze of glory that forbids the sight.
Oh, teach me to believe thee thus conceal'd,
And search no further than thyself reveal'd;
But her alone for my director take,
Whom thou hast promised never to forsake!
My thoughtless youth was wing'd with vain desires;
My manhood, long misled by wandering fires,
Follow'd false lights; and, when their glimpse
was gone,

My pride struck out new sparkles of her own. 75
Such was I, such by nature still I am;
Be thine the glory, and be mine the shame.
Good life be now my task. my doubts are done:
What more could fright my faith, than three in one?
Can I believe eternal God could lie 80
Disguised in mortal mould and infancy?
That the great Maker of the world could die?
And after that trust my imperfect sense,
Which calls in question his omnipotence?

far as Whitechapel, and you may think these poor sides, that he hath not (God bless us) already swallowed up man, woman, and child." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ibid. *The distressed Baptist Boar, &c.* The Anabaptists, who reject infant baptism, and baptize only adults by immersion. DERRICK.

Ver. 49. *In German forests, had his guilt betray'd.* They succeeded to the rise of Lutheranism in Germany about the year 1521, and committed innumerable acts of violence, particularly in Munster. DERRICK.

Ver. 53. *False Reynard fed on consecrated spoil:*
The graceless beast, &c.
This alludes to the persecution of the Arians, and the rise of the Socinians. DERRICK.

Ver. 64. — *how well dost thou provide*
For erring judgments an unerring guide!
Here our author allows of the infallibility of the Pope, and the authority of the Church, contrary to his position in *Religio Laici*, line 282.

"Such an omniscient Church we wish," &c.
And then proceeds to thank God for his own conversion!
DERRICK.

Ver. 82. *Maker of the world could die!* Of all the numerous artists who have exercised their talents on this subject, *M. Angelo* seems to have treated it in the most skilful and striking manner. In a picture of the Passion, he has represented the Virgin looking at her crucified Son, without grief, without regret, without tears. He supposes her interested in this great mystery, and therefore makes her bear this view of his death with a kind of sublime tranquillity and unmovedness. Dr. J. WARTON.

Can I my reason to my faith compel, 85
And shall my sight, and touch, and taste rebel?
Superior faculties are set aside;
Shall their subservient organs be my guide?
Then let the moon usurp the rule of day,
And winking tapers show the sun his way; 90
For what my senses can themselves perceive,
I need no revelation to believe.
Can they who say the Host should be desecr'd
By sense, define a body glorified?
Impassable, and penetrating parts? 95
Let them declare by what mysterious arts
He shot that body through the opposing might
Of bolts and bars impervious to the light,
And stood before his train confess'd in open
sight.

For since thus wondrously he pass'd, 'tis plain 100
One single place two bodies did contain.
And sure the same Omnipotence as well
Can make one body in more places dwell.
Let reason then at her own quarry fly,
But how can finite grasp infinity?

'Tis urg'd again, that faith did first commence
By miracles, which are appeals to sense,
And thence concluded, that our sense must be
The motive still of credibility.
For later ages must on former wait, 110
And what began belief, must propagate.

But winnow well this thought, and you shall
find

'Tis light as chaff that flies before the wind.
Were all those wonders wrought by power divine,
As means or ends of some more deep design? 115
Most sure as means, whose end was this alone,
To prove the Godhead of the eternal Son.
God thus asserted, man is to believe
Beyond what sense and reason can conceive,
And for mysterious things of faith rely 120
On the propound, Heaven's authority.
If then our faith we for our guide admit,
Vain is the farther search of human wit,

Ver. 85. *Can I my reason to my faith compel,* Dryden here advances the doctrine of transubstantiation, which he reconciles to the Divine Omnipotence, and entirely disclaims the use of reason in discussing it. DERRICK.

Ver. 95. *Impassable,* *Impassible.* Original edition.
TODD.

Ver. 99. *And stood before his train confess'd in open sight.*

"— *per noctem in luce refulsit*
Alma parens, confessa Deam."
His mind was so thoroughly imbued with Virgil, that he fell into perpetual and involuntary imitations of him.
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 100. — *thus wondrously he pass'd.* This is urg'd as an irresistible defence of the doctrine of transubstantiation. But how different the two cases! Our Saviour, by his own power, could miraculously enter the room where his disciples were assembled. But the priest himself makes this Saviour just before he swallows him. The disciples saw with their own eyes the figure and body of Christ, but in the *wafer* surely Christ is not seen.

Dr. J. WARTON.
Ver. 101. *One single place.* The doctrine of transubstantiation is so singularly absurd (perhaps blasphemous) as hardly to deserve a serious refutation. Mr. Pope told Mr. Richardson, that Gay, going to Mr. Titcum, (who was the intimate friend of himself, Swift, Craggs, and Addison) to ask him, when he was dying, as he was a papist, if he would have a priest, "No," said he, "what should I do with them?" But I would rather have one of them than one of yours, of the two. Our fools (continued Titcum) write great books to prove that *bread is God*; but your booby (meaning Tillotson) has wrote a long argument to prove that *bread is bread*. Dr. J. WARTON.

As when the building gains a surer stay,
We take the useless scaffolding away. 125
Reason by sense no more can understand;
The game is play'd into another hand,
Why choose we then like blunders to creep
Along the coast, and land in view to keep,
When safely we may launch into the deep? 130
In the same vessel which our Saviour bore,
Himself the pilot, let us leave the shore,
And with a better guide a better world explore.
Could he his Godhead veil with flesh and blood,
And not veil these again to be our food? 135
His grace in both is equal in extent;
The first affords us life, the second nourishment.
And if he can, why all this frantic pain
To construe what his clearest words contain,
And make a riddle what he made so plain? 140
To take up half on trust, and half to try,
Name it not faith, but bungling bigotry.
Both knave and fool the merchant we may call,
To pay great sums, and to compound the small -
For who would break with Heaven, and would 145
not break for all?

Rest then, my soul, from endless anguish freed:
Nor sciences thy gude, nor sense thy creed.
Faith is the best ensurer of thy bliss;
The bank above must fail before the venture
miss.
But heaven and heaven-born faith are far from
thee, 150
Thou first apostate to divinity.
Unkenne'd range in thy Polonian plains;
A fiercer foe the insatiate Wolf remains.
Too boastful Britain, please thyself no more,
That beasts of prey are banish'd from thy shore:
The Bear, the Boar, and every savage name, 155
Wild in effect, though in appearance tame,
Lay waste thy woods, destroy thy blissful bower,
And, muzzled though they seem, the mutes
devour.

More haughty than the rest, the wolfish race
Appear with belly gaunt, and fawnish'd face:
Never was so deform'd a beast of grace.
His ragged tail betwixt his legs he wears,
Close clapp'd for shame; but his rough crest he
rears, 160
And pricks up his predestinating ears.
His wild disorder'd walk, his haggard eyes,
Did all the bestial citizens surprise.
Though fear'd and hated, yet he ruled awhile
As captain or companion of the spoil.

Ver. 153. — *the insatiate Wolf, &c.*] Butler, in the first canto of *Hudibras*, says, that the Presbyterians
"—— prove their doctrine orthodox
By apostolic blows and knocks"

The general description given of them here is very severe: they hold the doctrine of predestination, or a decree of God from all eternity, to save a certain number of persons, from thence called the elect.

"A sect" (of whom *Hudibras* says a little lower) "whose chief devotion lies
In odd perverse antipathies."

Such as reputing the eating of Christmas-pies and plum porridge sinful, nay, they prohibited all sorts of merriment at that holy festival, and not only abolished it by order of council, dated Dec. 22, 1657, but changed it into a fast. They wore, during the confusions about Oliver's time, black caps, that left their ears bare, their hair being cropped round quite close; wherefore the *wolf*, the emblem of Presbytery, is here said to

Prick up his predestinating ears.

DERRICK.

Full many a year his hateful head had been 170
For tribute paid, nor since in Cambria seen:
The last of all the litter 'scaped by chance,
And from Geneva first infested France.
Some authors thus his pedigree will trace,
But others write him of an upstart race; 175
Because of Wickliff's brood no mark he brings,
But his innate antipathy to kings.

Ver. 172. *The last of all the litter*] Calvin, the person here pointed at, was, it must be allowed, a man of very extensive genius, much learning, industry, penetration, and piety, and the most persuasive eloquence. He was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in July, 1509. To escape the threats of Francis the First, he retired to Basil, where he published his Christian Institutions, and prefixed to them his famous dedication to Francis I. Calvin was asthmatic, and delivered his sermons slowly: a man at Geneva got his livelihood by writing them down as he pronounced them. "Sapit Calvinus (says Scaliger) quod in apocalypsin non scripsit." We might have expected that Dryden would have been censured the strong Calvinistical turn of some of the articles of the Church of England. Burnet has defended the article concerning predestination. The greatest part of the first English reformers were, says Mosheim, absolute Sublapsarians. James I. censured a preacher, Ed. Symson, for advancing some Arminian tenets, 1616, and he was forced to make a public recantation before the king. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 176. *Because of Wickliff's brood*] Wickliff flourished about the year 1384. John Huss, 1415. Jerome of Prague, 1415. This great triumvirate, we should remember, sowed the first seeds of that reformation, of which Luther and Calvin have alone reaped the glory, and of which our countryman had the honour of being the first. To whom justice is done by the learned and candid Mosheim, in his excellent Ecclesiastical History, much improved by the translation of the learned Mr. Maclean.

Among all the enemies of the Mendicant orders, none has been transmitted to posterity with more exalted encomiums on the one hand, or blacker calumnies on the other, than John Wickliff, professor of divinity at Oxford, and afterwards rector of Lutterworth; who, according to the testimony of the writers of these times, was a man of an enterprising genius, and extraordinary learning. In the year 1360, animated by the example of Richard, archbishop of Armagh, the first of all defended the statutes and privileges of the university of Oxford against all the orders of the Mendicants, and had the courage to throw out some slight reproofs against the popes, their principal patrons, which no true Briton ever imputed to him as a crime. After this, in the year 1367, he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury-hall, in the university of Oxford, by Simon Langham, archbishop of Canterbury, who substituted a monk in his place: upon which he appealed to pope Urban V., who confirmed the sentence of the archbishop against him, on account of the freedom with which he had inveighed against the monastic orders. Highly exasperated at this treatment, he threw off all restraint, and not only attacked all the monks, and their scandalous irregularities, but even the pontifical power itself, and other ecclesiastical abuses, both in his sermons and writings. From hence he proceeded to yet greater lengths, and, detesting the wretched superstition of the times, refused, with great acuteness and spirit, the absurd notions that were generally received in religious matters, and not only exhorted the laity to study the scriptures, but also translated into English these divine books, in order to render the perusal of them more universal.

Though neither the doctrine of Wickliff was void of error, nor his life without reproach, yet it must be confessed that the changes he attempted to introduce, both in the faith and discipline of the Church, were, in many respects, wise, useful, and salutary.

The monks, whom Wickliff had principally exasperated, commenced a violent prosecution against him at the court of Gregory XI., who, in the year 1377, ordered Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to take cognizance of the affair, in a council held at London. Imminent as this danger evidently was, Wickliff escaped it by the interest of the Duke of Lancaster, and some other peers, who had a high regard for him. And soon after the death of Gregory XI. the fatal schism of the Romish church commenced, during which there was one pope at Rome and another at Avignon; so that, of course, this controversy lay dormant a long time. But no sooner was this embroiled state of affairs tolerably settled, than the process against him was

These last deduce him from the Helvetian kind,
Who near the Lemna lake his consort lined :
That fiery Zuinglius first the affection bred, 180
And meagre Calvin bless'd the nuptial bed.
In Israel some believe him whelp'd long since,
When the proud Sanhedrim oppress'd the prince,
Or, since he will be Jew, derive him higher,
When Corah with his brethren did conspire 185
From Moses' hand the sovereign sway to wrest,
And Aaron of his ephod to devest :
Till opening earth made way for all to pass,
And could not bear the burden of a class.

revived by William de Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1383, and was carried on with great vehemence in two councils held at London and Oxford. The event was, that of the twenty-three opinions for which Wickliff had been prosecuted by the monks, ten were condemned as heresies, and thirteen as errors. He himself, however, returned in safety to Lutterworth, where he died peaceably in the year 1387. This latter attack was much more dangerous than the former, but by what means he got safely through it, whether by interest of the court, or by denying or obviating his opinions, is to this day a secret. He left many followers in England, and other countries, who were styled Wickliffites and Lollards, which last was a term of popular reproach, translated from the Flemish tongue into English. Wherever they could be found, they were terribly persecuted by the inquisitors, and other instruments of papal vengeance; and, in the Council of Constance, in the year 1416, the memory and opinions of Wickliff were condemned by a solemn decree; and about thirteen years after, his bones were dug up, and publicly burnt.

Of all the reformers, Melancthon appears to have been the most elegant scholar, and to have had the best taste. His Latin translation of Euripides was excellent. Father Paul valued Ocam above all the schoolmen. Luther objected to preaching on the Apocalypse. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 180. *That fiery Zuinglius*] His conduct and share in the Reformation is thus impartially stated by Mosheim:—"While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff was thus upon the decline in Germany, they received a mortal wound in Switzerland from Ulric Zuingle, a canon of Zurich, whose extensive learning and uncommon sagacity were accompanied with the most heroic intrepidity and resolution. It must even be acknowledged, that this eminent man had perceived some rays of the truth before Luther came to an open rupture with the Church of Rome. He was, however, afterwards still further animated by the example, and instructed by the writings, of the Saxon reformer; and thus his zeal for the good cause acquired new strength and vigour. For he not only explained the sacred writings in his public discourses to the people, but also gave, in the year 1519, a signal proof of his courage, by opposing, with the greatest resolution and success, the ministry of a certain Italian monk, whose name was Samson, and who was carrying on, in Switzerland, the impious traffic of indulgences, with the same impudence that Tetzel had done in Germany. This was the first remarkable event that prepared the way for the reformation among the Helvetic cantons. In process of time, Zuingle pursued, with steadiness and resolution, the design that he had begun with such courage and success. His noble efforts were seconded by some other learned men, educated in Germany, who became his colleagues, and the companions of his labours; and who, jointly with him, succeeded so far in removing the credulity of a deluded people, that the pope's supremacy was rejected and denied in the greatest part of Switzerland. It is indeed to be observed, that Zuingle did not always use the same methods of conversion that were employed by Luther; no, upon particular occasions, did he discountenance the use of violent measures against such as adhered with obstinacy to the superstitions of their ancestors. He is also said to have attributed to the civil magistrate such an extensive power in ecclesiastical affairs as is quite inconsistent with the essence and genius of religion. But, upon the whole, even envy must acknowledge, that his intentions were upright, and his designs worthy of the highest approbation." Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 183. *When the proud Sanhedrim, &c.*] On this line, in the original edition, the following marginal note occurs:—"Vid. *Orig. to Heyl Hist. of Presb.*" TODD.

Ver. 187. — *of his ephod to devest:*] Thus the orig. edit., and rightly. TODD.

The Fox and he came shuffled in the dark, 190
If ever they were stow'd in Noah's ark :
Perhaps not made; for all their barking train
The Dog (a common species) will contain.
And some wild curs, who from their masters ran,
Abhorring the supremacy of man, 195
In woods and caves the rebel-race began.

O happy pair, how well have you increased !
What ills in Church and State have you redress'd !
With teeth untried, and rudiments of claws, 200
Your first essay was on your native laws
Those having torn with ease, and trampled down,
Your fangs you fasten'd on the nutted crown,
And freed from God and monarchy your town.

What though your native kennel still be small,
Bounded betwixt a puddle and a wall ; 205
Yet your victorious colonies are sent
Where the north ocean girds the continent.
Quicken'd with fire below, your monsters breed
In fenny Holland, and in fruitful Tweed :
And, like the first, the last affects to be 210
Drawn to the dregs of a democracy.

As, where in fields the fairy rounds are seen,
A rank sour herbage rises on the green ;
So, springing where those midnight elves advance,
Rebellion prints the footsteps of the dance. 215
Such are their doctrines, such contempt they show

To Heaven above, and to their prince below,
As none but traitors and blasphemers know.
God, like the tyrant of the skies, is placed,
And kings, like slaves, beneath the crowd 220
debased.

So fulsome is their food, that flocks refuse
To bite, and only dogs for physic use.
As, where the lightning runs along the ground,
No husbandry can heal the blasting wound ;
Nor bladed grass, nor bearded corn succeeds, 225
But scales of scurf and putrefaction breeds :
Such wars, such waste, such fiery tracks of dearth

Their zeal has left, and such a toemless earth.
But, as the poisons of the deadliest kind
Are to their own unhappy coasts confined ; 230
As only Indian shades of sight deprive,
And magic plants will but in Colchos thrive ;
So Presbytery and pestilential zeal
Can only flourish in a commonweal.

From Celtic woods is chased the wolfish crew ;
But ah ! some pity e'en to brutes is due : 235

Ver. 216. *Such are their doctrines,*] He does not mention John Huss and Jerome of Prague, two chief promoters of the Reformation. L'Enfant, in his History of the War of the Hussites, says, that two English students becoming acquainted with John Huss at Prague, having painted, in the porch of their house, a representation of our Saviour entering into Jerusalem upon an ass, with crowds following him on foot, and on the other side the pope riding a horse magnificently caparisoned, and attended with guards, drums, and haliboy, Huss was so delighted with this picture, that he mentioned and commended it in his sermons, and the whole city crowded to see it. This was the beginning of John Huss's attachment to the opinions of Wickliff. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 235. *From Celtic woods is chased the wolfish crew :*] This passage alludes to the revocation of the edict of Nantz, by which two millions of the Reformed Church were proscribed, and two hundred thousand drove into foreign countries; a proceeding that must throw an eternal blot on the reign of Louis XIV. The remainder of this paragraph does great honour to Dryden, as it manifests, that whatever faults he had, a persecuting spirit was not one of them. DERRICK.

Their native walks, methinks, they might enjoy,
 Curb'd of their native malice to destroy.
 Of all the tyrannies on human kind,
 The worst is that which persecutes the mind. 240
 Let us but weigh at what offence we strike,
 'Tis but because we cannot think alike.
 In punishing of this, we overthrow
 The laws of nations and of nature too.
 Beasts are the subjects of tyrannic sway,
 Where still the stronger on the weaker prey.
 Man only of a softer mould is made,
 Not for his fellows' ruin, but their aid:
 Created kind, beneficent and free,
 The noble image of the Deity. 250

One portion of informing fire was given
 To brutes, the inferior family of Heaven:
 The Smith Divine, as with a careless beat,
 Struck out the mute creation at a heat:
 But, when arrived at last to human race,
 The Godhead took a deep considering space;
 And, to distinguish man from all the rest,
 Unlock'd the sacred treasures of his breast;
 And mercy mix'd with reason did impart,
 One to his head, the other to his heart: 260
 Reason to rule, but mercy to forgive:
 The first is law, the last prerogative.
 And like his mind his outward form appear'd,
 When, issuing naked, to the wondering herd,
 He charm'd their eyes; and, for they loved, they
 fear'd: 265

Not arm'd with horns of arbitrary might,
 Or claws to seize their furry spoils in fight,
 Or with increase of feet to o'ertake them in their
 flight:
 Of easy shape, and pliant every way;
 Confessing still the softness of his clay, 270
 And kind as kings upon their coronation day:
 With open hands, and with extended space
 Of arms, to satisfy a large embrace.
 Thus kneaded up with milk, the new-made
 man

His kingdom o'er his kindred world began:
 Till knowledge misapplied, misunderstood,
 And pride of empire sour'd his balmy blood.
 Then, first rebelling, his own stamp he coins;
 The murderer Cain was latent in his loins:
 And blood began its first and loudest cry, 280
 For differing worship of the Deity.
 Thus persecution rose, and further space
 Produced the mighty hunter of his race.
 Not so the blessed Pan his flock increased,
 Content to fold them from the famish'd beast: 285
 Mild were his laws; the Sheep and harmless
 Hind

Were never of the persecuting kind.
 Such pity now the pious pastor shows,
 Such mercy from the British Lion flows,
 That both provide protection from their foes. 290

Oh happy regions, Italy and Spain,
 Which never did those monsters entertain!
 The Wolf, the Bear, the Boar, can there advance
 No native claim of just inheritance;
 And self-preserving laws, severe in show, 295
 May guard their fences from the invading foe.
 Where birth has placed them, let them safely
 share

The common benefit of vital air.

Ver. 280. — *protection from their foes*] The original edition has — *protection for* their foes. TORD.

Themselves unarm'd, let them live unarm'd;
 Their jaws disabled and their claws disarm'd: 300
 Here, only in nocturnal howlings bold,
 They dare not seize the Hind, nor leap the fold.
 More powerful, and as vigilant as they,
 The Lion awfully forbids the prey.
 Their rage repress'd though pinch'd with famine
 sore, 305

They stand aloof, and tremble at his roar:
 Much is their hunger, but their fear is more.
 These are the chief: to none will the Muse describe 310
 And stand, like Adam, naming every beast,
 Were weary work: nor will the Muse describe
 A slimy-born and sun-begotten tribe;
 Who, far from steeples and their sacred sound,
 In fields their sullen conventicles found.
 These gross, half-animating lumps I leave;
 Nor can I think what thoughts they can conceive.
 But if they think at all, 'tis sure no higher 315
 Than matter, put in motion, may aspire:
 Souls that can scarce ferment their mass of clay:
 So drossy, so divisible are they,
 As would but serve pure bodies for allay: 320
 Such souls as shards produce, such beetle things
 As only buzz to heaven with evening wings;
 Strike in the dark, offending but by chance,
 Such are the blindfold blows of ignorance.
 They know not beings, and but hate a name; 325
 To them the Hind and Panther are the same.

The Panther, sure the noblest, next the Hind,
 And fairest creature of the spotted kind;
 Oh, could her in-born stains be wash'd away,
 She were too good to be a beast of prey! 330
 How can I praise, or blame, and not offend,
 Or how divide the frailty from the friend?
 Her faults and virtues lie so mix'd, that she
 Nor wholly stands condemn'd, nor wholly free.
 Then, like her injured Lion, let me speak; 335
 He cannot bend her, and he would not break.
 Unkind already, and estranged in part,
 The Wolf begins to share her wandering heart.
 Though unpolluted yet with actual ill,
 She half commits, who sins but in her will. 340
 If, as our dreaming Platonists report,
 There could be spirits of a middle sort,
 Too black for heaven, and yet too white for hell,
 Who just dropp'd half way down, nor lower fell;
 So poised, so gently she descends from high, 345
 It seems a soft dismission from the sky.
 Her house not ancient, whatso'er pretence
 Her clergy heralds make in her defence;
 A second century not half-way run,
 Since the new honours of her blood begun. 350
 A Lion, old, obscene, and furious made
 By lust, compress'd her mother in a shade;
 Then, by a left-hand marriage, weds the dame,
 Covering adultery with a specious name:
 So Schism begot; and Sacrilege and she, 355
 A well-match'd pair, got graceless Heresy.
 God's and kings' rebels have the same good cause,
 To trample down divine and human laws:

Ver. 339. *Though unpolluted yet with actual ill,
 She half commits, who sins but in her will.*]

So the energetic moralist Juvenal:
 "Nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitet ullum
 Facti crimen habet." — *Sat. xiii.* 209

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 354. *Covering adultery with a specious name:*] "Con
 jugium vocat, hoc pretestat nomine culpam." — *Virgil*
Æneid. iv. JOHN WARTON.

Both would be call'd reformers, and their hate
 Alike destructive both to Church and State : 350
 The fruit proclaims the plant; a lawless prince
 By luxury reform'd incontinence;
 By ruins, charity; by riots, abstinence.
 Confessions, fasts, and penance set aside;
 Oh, with what ease we follow such a guide, 355
 Where souls are starved, and senses gratified !
 Where marriage-pleasures midnight prayer supply,
 And matin bells (a melancholy cry)
 Are tuned to merrier notes, Increase and multiply.
 Religion shows a rosy-colour'd face; 370
 Not hatter'd out with drudging works of grace:
 A down-hill reformation rolls apace.
 What flesh and blood would crowd the narrow
 gate,
 Or, till they waste their pamper'd paunches,
 wait ?
 All would be happy at the cheapest rate. 375
 Though our lean faith these rigid laws has
 given,
 The full-fed Mussulman goes fat to heaven;
 For his Arabian prophet with delights
 Of sense allured his eastern proselytes.
 The jolly Luther, reading him, began 380
 To interpret Scriptures by his Alcoran;
 To grub the thorns beneath our tender feet,
 And make the paths of Paradise more sweet :
 Bethought him of a wife ere half-way gone,
 For 'twas uneasy travelling alone; 385
 And, in this masquerade of mirth and love,
 Mistook the bliss of heaven for Bacchanals above.
 Sure he presumed of praise, who came to stock
 The ethereal pastures with so fair a flock,
 Burnish'd, and batten on their food, to show
 Their diligence of careful herds below. 391

Ver. 380. *The jolly Luther.*] This is a very undeserved and depreciating epithet applied to this great reformer. In the judicious reflections which my learned and ingenious friend Dr. Sturges has made, on what Mr. Milner calls a History of Winchester, but which ought to have been entitled, *An Apology for Popery*, with hints and hopes of its re-establishment in this country, there is a character of Luther drawn with such truth, and so masterly a pencil, that I shall here give the reader the pleasure of considering it, as an antidote to the severe sarcasms scattered up and down in this poem by Dryden against this extraordinary man.

"It required a degree of perseverance and intrepidity not less than that of which Luther was possessed, to make him engage in the arduous contest, to support him throughout its continuance, and finally to give him such success in it, as to carry off from the allegiance of Rome, either under his own immediate standard, or that of the allies connected with him by a common cause, so large a proportion of her subjects. For to him must be in great measure attributed all the branches of the Reformation, which spread over the different parts of Europe, after he had planted it in Germany. A wonderful achievement this, for a private German monk; and an instance, amongst many others, with what inconsiderable and apparently inadequate instruments the most important purposes of Providence are accomplished. Luther was in his manners and writings coarse, presuming, and impetuous; but these were qualities allied to those which alone made him capable of supplanting well the extraordinary character in which he appeared. I have always been struck with his translating the whole Bible into German, which is a classical book in that language, and has, I believe, as a translation, maintained high credit down to later times, as a singular proof of learning and ability. Whoever well considers the difficulty of *one man's* executing such a work at a period when the knowledge of the original language was rare, and the assistances of sacred criticism and literature (which have been since so much multiplied) were inconsiderable and scanty, will probably be inclined to agree with me in this opinion." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 391. *Their diligence, &c.*] *The diligence, &c.* Original edition. Tonn.

Our Panther, though like these she changed
 her head,
 Yet, as the mistress of a monarch's bed,
 Her front erect with majesty she bore,
 The crosier wielded, and the mitre wore. 393
 Her upper part of decent discipline
 Show'd affectation of an ancient line;
 And Fathers, Councils, Church and Church's head,
 Were on her reverend phylacteries read.
 But what disgraced and disavow'd the rest, 400
 Was Calvin's brand, that stigmatised the beast.
 Thus, like a creature of a double kind,
 In her own labyrinth she lives confined.
 To foreign lands no sound of her is come,
 Humbly content to be despised at home. 405
 Such is her faith, where good cannot be had,
 At least she leaves the refuse of the bad :
 Nice in her choice of ill, though not of best,
 And least deform'd, because reform'd the least.
 In doubtful points betwixt her differing friends, 410
 Where one for substance, one for sign contends,
 Their contradicting terms she strives to join;
 Sign shall be substance, substance shall be sign.
 A real presence all her sons allow,
 And yet 'tis flat idolatry to bow, 415
 Because the Godhead's there they know not how.
 Her novices are taught that bread and wine
 Are but the visible and outward sign,
 Received by those who in communion join.
 But the inward grace, or the thing signified, 420
 His blood and body, who to save us died;
 The faithful this thing signified receive;
 What is't those faithful then partake or leave ?
 For what is signified and understood,
 Is, by her own confession, flesh and blood. 425
 Then, by the same acknowledgment, we know
 They take the sign, and take the substance too.
 The literal sense is hard to flesh and blood,
 But nonsense never can be understood.
 Her wild belief on every wave is toss'd; 430
 But sure no church can better morals boast :
 True to her king her principles are found;
 Oh, that her practice were but half so sound !
 Steadfast in various turns of state she stood,
 And seal'd her vow'd affection with her blood : 435
 Nor will I meanly tax her constancy,
 That interest or oblige ment made the tie,
 Bound to the fate of murder'd monarchy.

Ver. 409. *And least deform'd, because reform'd the least.*] Original edition. Derrick has—because *deformed* the least. Tonn.

Ver. 411. — *one for substance, one for sign contends.*] Luther asserted the real presence under the different substances of bread and of wine; but this only in the act of receiving the sacrament: whereas Zuinglius affirmed, that the bread and wine, or the elements, were only types, the figure and representation of the body and blood of Christ. DERRICK.

Ver. 429 *But nonsense*] The unparalleled absurdity and impleity of some questions proposed to be discussed in the schools, makes one shudder to read them, and improper to translate.—They are to be found in the third volume of Henry Stephens's *Apology for Herodotus*, p. 127. "*Utrum Deus potuisset suppositare mulierem, vel diabolum, vel asinum, vel silicem, vel cucurbitam: et si suppositasset cucurbitam, quemadmodum fieret concionatura, editura miracula, et quoniam modo fuisset fixa cruci.*" Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 430. *Her wild belief on every wave is toss'd.*] St. Paul, Eph. iv. 14. St. James, i. 6.—"He that wavereth is like a wave of the sea driven with the wind and tossed." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 436. *Nor will I meanly tax her constancy.*] "No King, no Bishop!" was a common saying in King Charles the

Before the sounding axe so falls the vine,
Whose tender branches round the poplar twine; 440
She chose her ruin, and resign'd her life,
In death undaunted as an Indian wife:
A rare example! but some souls we see
Grow hard, and stiffen with adversity:
Yet those by fortune's favours are undone; 445
Resolved, into a baser form they run,
And bore the wind, but cannot bear the sun.
Let this be Nature's frailty, or her fate,
Or * Isgrim's counsel, her new-chosen mate;
Still she's the fairest of the fallen crew, 450
No mother more indulgent, but the true.

Pierce to her foes, yet fears her force to try,
Because she wants innate authority;
For how can she constrain them to obey,
Who has herself cast off the lawful sway? 455
Rebellion equals all, and those, who toil
In common theft, will share the common spoil.
Let her produce the title and the right
Against her old superiors first to fight;
If she reform by text, e'en that's as plain 460
For her own rebels to reform again,
As long as words a different sense will bear,
And each may be his own interpreter,
Our airy faith will no foundation find:
The word's a weathercock for every wind: 465
The Bear, the Fox, the Wolf, by turns prevail;
The most in power supplies the present gale.
The wretched Panther cries aloud for aid
To Church and Councils, whom she first betray'd; 470
No help from Fathers or Tradition's train:
Those ancient guides she taught us to disdain,
And by that Scripture, which she once abused
To reformation, stands herself accused.
What bills for breach of laws can she prefer,
Expounding which she owns herself may err? 475
And, after all her winding ways are tried,
If doubts arise, she slips herself aside,
And leaves the private conscience for the guide.
If then that conscience set the offender free,
It bars her claim to Church authority. 480
How can she censure, or what crime pretend,
But Scripture may be construed to defend?
E'en those, whom for rebellion she transmits
To civil power, her doctrine first acquits;
Because no disobedience can ensue, 485
Where no submission to a judge is due;
Each judging for himself, by her consent,
Whom thus absolved she sends to punishment.
Suppose the magistrate revenge her cause,
'Tis only for transgressing human laws. 490

First's time, and sufficiently verified during the interregnum. This whole passage is a real compliment to the Church as by law established; and shows that Dryden could speak impartially even of a cause that he had deserted; which cause he handsomely compares to

ver. 442. — *an Indian wife*.] Whose constancy is become a proverb: since when their deceased husbands are either to be buried or burned, to manifest their affection, they throw themselves either into the same grave, or on the funeral pile. DERRICK.

Ibid. *In death undaunted as an Indian wife*.] This barbarous custom has perhaps never been so well described as in the following lines of Propertius, 10th Elegy, 15 v. 3 lib.

"Felix Eois lex funeris una maritis" &c. &c.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 447. *And bore the wind, but cannot bear the sun*.] An allusion to an Æsopic fable, to which he alludes again with more force and elegance in the character of the Good Parson, where see the note. JOHN WARTON.

* The wolf. Orig. edit.

How answering to its end a Church is made,
Whose power is but to counsel and persuade?
Oh solid rock, on which secure she stands!
Eternal house, not built with mortal hands!
Oh sure defence against the infernal gate, 495
A patent during pleasure of the state!

Thus is the Panther neither loved nor fear'd,
A meer mock queen of a divided herd;
Whom soon by lawful power she might control,

Herself a part submitted to the whole. 500
Then, as the moon who first receives the light
By which she makes our nether regions bright,
So might she shine, reflecting from afar
The rays she borrow'd from a better star;
Big with the beams, which from her mother's 505
flow,

And reigning o'er the rising tides below:
Now, mixing with a savage crowd, she goes,
And meanly flatters her inveterate foes,
Ruled while she rules, and losing every hour
Her wretched remnants of precarious power. 510

One evening, while the cooler shade she sought,
Revolving many a melancholy thought,
Alone she walk'd, and look'd around in vain,
With rueful visage, for her vanish'd train:
None of her sylvan subjects made their court; 515
Levées and couchées pass'd without resort.

So hardly can usurpers manage well
Those whom they first instructed to rebel.
More liberty begets desire for more;
The hunger still increases with the store. 520

Without respect they brush'd along the wood,
Each in his clan, and fill'd with loathsome food,
Ask'd no permission to the neighbouring flood.

The Panther, full of inward discontent,
Since they would go, before them wisely went; 525

Supplying want of power by drinking first;
As if she gave them leave to quench their thirst.

Among the rest, the Hind, with fearful face,
Beheld from far the common watering place,

Nor durst approach; till with an awful roar 530
The sovereign Lion bade her fear no more.

Encouraged thus, she brought her younglings
nigh,

Watching the motions of her patron's eye,
And drank a sober draught; the rest amazed

Stood mutely still, and on the stranger gazed; 535
Survey'd her part by part, and sought to find

The ten-horn'd monster in the harmless Hind,
Such as the Wolf and Panther had design'd.

They thought at first they dream'd; for 'twas
offence

With them to question certitude of sense, 540
Their guide in faith: but nearer when they drew,

And had the faultless object full in view,
Lord, how they all admired her heavenly hue!

Some, who before her fellowship disdain'd,
Scarce, and but scarce, from in-born rage re-

strain'd, 545
Now frisk'd about her, and did kindred feign'd.

Whether for love or interest, every sect
Of all the savage nation show'd respect.

The viceroy Panther could not awe the herd;
The more the company, the less they fear'd. 550

The surly Wolf with secret envy burst,
Yet could not howl; the Hind had seen him first:

But what he durst not speak, the Panther durst.

For when the herd, sufficed, did late repair
To ferny heaths, and to their forest lair, 555

She made a mannerly excuse to stay,
 Proffering the Hind to wait her half the way:
 That, since the sky was clear, an hour of talk
 Might help her to beguile the tedious walk.
 With much good-will the motion was embraced,
 To chat a while on their adventures past: 551
 Nor had the grateful Hind so soon forgot
 Her friend and fellow-sufferer in the plot.
 Yet wondering how of late she grew estranged,
 Her forehead cloudy, and her countenance
 changed, 555
 She thought this hour the occasion would pre-
 sent
 To learn her secret cause of discontent,
 Which well she hoped might be with ease re-
 dress'd,
 Considering her a well-bred civil beast,
 And more a gentlewoman than the rest. 570
 After some common talk what rumours ran,
 The lady of the spotted muff began.

THE SECOND PART.

DAME, said the Panther, times are mended well,
 Since late among the Philistines you fell.
 The toils were pitch'd, a spacious tract of 575
 ground
 With expert hunters was encompass'd round;
 The inclosure narrow'd; the sagacious power
 Of hounds and death drew nearer every hour.
 'Tis true, the younger Lion 'scaped the snare,
 But all your priestly calves lay struggling 580
 there;
 As sacrifices on their altars laid;
 While you, their careful mother, wisely fled,
 Not trusting destiny to save your head.
 For, what'er promises you have applied
 To your unfailing Church, the surer side 585
 Is four fair legs in danger to provide.
 And what'er tales of Peter's chair you tell,
 Yet, saving reverence of the miracle,
 The better luck was yours to 'scape so well.
 As I remember, said the sober Hind, 590
 These toils were for your own dear self design'd,
 As well as me; and with the self-same throw,
 To catch the quarry and the vermin too.
 (Forgive the slanderous tongues that call'd you
 so.) 595
 Howe'er you take it now, the common cry
 Then ran you down for your rank loyalty.
 Besides, in Popery they thought you nursed,
 (As evil tongues will ever speak the worst,) 599
 Because some forms, and ceremonies some
 You kept, and stood in the main question dumb.
 Dumb you were born indeed; but thinking long,
 The Test, it seems, at last has loosed your tongue.

Ver. 562. *Nor had the grateful Hind so soon forgot
 Her friend and fellow-sufferer in the plot.*

The Popish plot; the contrivers of which were Presbyterians, Latitudinarians, and Republicans, who had before shown themselves enemies to the Protestant as well as the Popish Church. This explanation is farther confirmed in our notes on Absalom and Achitophel, and those on the Medal. DERRICK.

Ver. 602. *The Test, it seems, at last has loosed your tongue.*

And to explain what your forefathers meant
 By real presence in the sacrament,
 After long fencing push'd against a wall, 605
 Your salvo comes, that he's not there at all:
 There changed your faith, and what may change
 may fall.
 Who can believe what varies every day,
 Nor ever was, nor will be at a stay?
 Tortures may force the tongue untruths to 610
 tell,
 And I ne'er own'd myself infallible,
 Replied the Panther: grant such presence were,
 Yet in your sense I never own'd it there.
 A real virtue we by faith receive,
 And that we in the sacrament believe. 615
 Then, said the Hind, as you the matter state,
 Not only Jesuits can equivocate;
 For real, as you now the word expound,
 From solid substance dwindles to a sound.
 Methinks an Æsop's fable you repeat; 620
 You know who took the shadow for the meat:
 Your Church's substance thus you change at
 will,

And yet retain your former figure still.
 I freely grant you spoke to save your life;
 For then you lay beneath the butcher's knife. 625
 Long time you fought, redoubled battery bore,
 But, after all, against yourself you swore;

The Test act, passed in 1772-3, enjoined the abjuration of the real presence in the sacrament. DERRICK.

Ver. 609. *Nor ever was, nor will be at a stay!* "And never continueth in one stay."—Burial Service. JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 617. *Not only Jesuits* It is worth remarking that many years before the French Revolution, the greatest blow the Church of Rome ever received was by the expulsion of the large, and opulent, and able body of the Jesuits; effected on the very same day in conjunction by the crowns of Spain, Portugal, and France, and authorized by the Pope himself. It is marvellous that this society could continue so long, after it had been so irretrievably exposed and satirized by the wit, the eloquence, and the piety of Pascal. This perhaps is the most capital piece of controversy that ever was written. The Jesuits, when they were expelled, had long lost their character for literature. For near fifty years before this event, they had produced no extraordinary work, and had turned all their thoughts and abilities to mean court intrigues, and to various branches of commerce. It is well if they do not turn this very disposition to some unforeseen advantage, and disseminate principles, and form sects, injurious to the peace of society, and the liberty and prosperity of Europe. I beg leave to add, that among this learned body, I have always looked up to one with particular regard and respect; I mean, the great father Petau, of whom it is painful to add that he died in the Jesuits' College at Paris, abandoned and in want, for having said, that before the Council of Nice, the Church had not made any decision about the divinity of the Word. When Petau's physician told him on his death-bed he could not live two hours longer, "Then," said the father, "I beg you to accept of this book," giving him his *Rationarium Temporum*, "for the messenger of good news should always be rewarded."

The Abbé Boileau used to say of the Jesuits, "These gentlemen lengthen the creed, and shorten the decalogue." And in some MS. letters of Cardinal Fleury he says, "The Jesuits are excellent valets, but sad masters." "If the Jesuits," said Montesquieu, "had lived before Luther and Calvin, they would have been masters of the world."

There was a college of ex-Jesuits still left at Rome, 1793, who were often consulted by Pope Pius the Sixth, and the cardinals, particularly father Zachariah, who was intimate with the Jacobin Mamuchi. Charles III., king of Spain, never forgave the Jesuits for spreading the report that he was the son of Cardinal Albornoz, and not of Philip the Fifth. These Jesuits at Rome attributed the French revolution to their expulsion: saying, that they were the only order that kept alive and propagated the principles of the Christian religion. Dr F. WATSON.

Your former self. for every hour your form
Is chopp'd and changed, like winds before a
storm.

Thus fear and interest will prevail with some; 630
For all have not the gift of martyrdom.

The Panther grinn'd at this, and thus replied :

That men may err was never yet denied.

But, if that common principle be true,

The canon, dame, is level'd full at you. 635

But, shunning long disputes, I fain would see

That wondrous wight Infallibility.

Is he from heaven, this mighty champion, come ?

Or lodged below in subterranean Rome ?

First, seat him somewhere, and derive his
race, 640

Or else conclude that nothing has no place.

Suppose, (though I disown it,) said the Hind,

The certain mansion were not yet assign'd ;

The doubtful residence no proof can bring

Against the plain existence of the thing. 645

Because philosophers may disagree,

If sight by emission or reception be,

Shall it be thence infer'd I do not see ?

But you require an answer positive,

Which yet, when I demand, you dare not
give ; 650

For fallacies in universals live.

I then affirm that this unfailling guide

In Pope and General Councils must reside ;

Both lawful, both combined : what one decrees 655

By numerous votes, the other ratifies :

On this undoubted sense the Church relies.

'Tis true, some doctors in a scantier space,

I mean, in each apart, contract the place.

Some, who to greater length extend the line,

The Church's after-acceptation join. 660

This last circumference appears too wide ;

The Church diffused is by the Council tied ;

As members by their representatives

Obliged to laws, which Prince and Senate gives

Thus some contract, and some enlarge the
space : 665

In Pope and Council, who denies the place,

Assisted from above with God's unfailling grace ?

Those canons all the needful points contain ;

Their sense so obvious, and their words so plain, 670

That no disputes about the doubtful text

Have hitherto the labouring world perplex'd.

If any should in after-times appear,

New Councils must be call'd, to make the
meaning clear :

Because in them the power supreme resides ;

And all the promises are to the guides. 675

This may be taught with sound and safe defence :

But mark how sandy is your own pretence,

Who, setting Councils, Pope and Church aside,

Are every man his own presuming guide. 680

The sacred books, you say, are full and plain,

And every needful point of truth contain :

All, who can read, interpreters may be :

Thus, though your several Churches disagree,

Yet every saint has to himself alone

The secret of this philosophic stone. 685

These principles your jarring sects unite,

When differing doctors and disciples fight.

Though Luther, Zuingleus, Calvin, holy chiefs,

Have made a battle-royal of beliefs ;

Or, like wild horses, several ways have whirl'd 690

The tortured text about the Christian world ;

Each Jehu lashing on with furious force,

That Turk or Jew could not have used it worse ;

No matter what dissension leaders make,

Where every private man may save a stake : 695

Ruled by the Scripture and his own advice,

Each has a blind bye-path to Paradise ;

Where, driving in a circle, slow or fast,

Opposing sects are sure to meet at last.

A wondrous charity you have in store 700

For all reform'd to pass the narrow door :

So much, that Mahomet had scarcely more.

For he, kind prophet, was for damning none ;

But Christ and Moses were to save their own :

Himself was to secure his chosen race, 705

Though reason good for Turks to take the place,

And he allow'd to be the better man,

In virtue of his holier Alcoran.

True, said the Panther, I shall ne'er deny

My brethren may be saved as well as I : 710

Though Huguenots condemn our ordination,

Succession, ministerial vocation ;

And Luther, more mistaking what he read,

Ver. 699. *Opposing sects*] A great physician told 'Sir W. Temple, that in the fanatic times he found most of his patients so disturbed by troubles of conscience, and religious scruples and fears, that he was forced to play the divine with them before he could begin the physician. Old Mr. Richardson informs us that a cavalier physician made his Puritan patient, who consulted him in a stubborn bloody flux, drink up the Common Prayer-book boiled to a pulp, which he had found torn to pieces and scattered about the hall as he came in; swearing he would not prescribe for him till he had done so; when indeed he would otherwise have prescribed him boiled paper. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 702. *So much, that Mahomet*] It is worth remarking, because it is a fact, not very well known and allowed, that Mahomet the Second, when he had taken Constantinople, addressed the patriarch in the mildest and most benevolent terms, and installed him in his office with much ceremony. See page 229, Codini Antiquitat. Constant.; an extraordinary example of toleration. Bayle has taken great pains to prove that we ought not to ascribe the wide and rapid progress of Mahometism to its being a religion flattering the passions and corruptions, and agreeable, as is vulgarly said, to flesh and blood, for that in reality its moral precepts are very strict, rational, useful, and severe, and that it is burdened with many severe and troublesome prohibitions and ceremonies, such as drinking no wine, very frequent bathings, and repetitions of prayers, abstinence, and fastings, circumcision, and long and fatiguing pilgrimages. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 713. *And Luther,*] When Atterbury was a young man at Christ Church, he published, in the year 1687, an excellent pamphlet in defence of Luther, entitled, "An Answer to some Considerations on the Spirit of Martin Luther, and the original of the Reformation." It is written with spirit and strength of argument, and deserves to be more attended to than I think it has been. He has particularly defended Luther for his marriage with Catherine Bora, and for his condemning the absurd vows of celibacy, which occasioned some of the most enormous impurities and lewdness among unmarried priests, referring for proofs to Damianus's letter to Pope Nicholas the Second, in the eleventh century, and particularly to two remarkable passages, one in Erasmus, and the other in Coster; the former of whom says, in his Annotations on Timothy, "Quam innumeri sunt monachi publici incesti et impudici;" and the latter, "Sacerdos si fornicetur, aut domi concubinam habet, tametsi gravi sacrilegio se obstringat, gravius tamen peccat, si matrimonium contrahat."—Coster. Ench. cap. 15. To this I add, that Zuingleus, writing to the Swiss Cantons, reminds them of an edict issued by their ancestors.

Ver. 652. — *this unfailling guide*] When a Cardinal came to pay his usual compliments of congratulation on the day of the anniversary, and to wish Pope Benedict the Fourteenth many years to enjoy his high dignity, his Holiness said to him, "You are just returned from saying mass, and dare you utter such a falsehood, as to wish I may not soon make a vacancy in the papal chair?" knowing how earnestly the death of a pope is always wished for and expected. Dr. J. WARTON.

Misjoins the sacred body with the bread :
 Yet, lady, still remember I maintain, 715
 The word in needful points is only plain.
 Needless, or needful, I not now contend,
 For still you have a loop-hole for a friend,
 (Rejoind' the matron) : but the rule you lay
 Has led whole flocks, and leads them still 720
 astray,
 In weighty points, and full damnation's way.
 For did not Arius first, Socinus now,
 The Son's eternal Godhead disavow ?
 And did not these by gospel texts alone
 Condemn our doctrine, and maintain their own ?
 Have not all heretics the same pretence 725
 To plead the Scriptures in their own defence ?
 How did the Nicene Council then decide
 That strong debate ? was it by Scripture tried ?
 No, sure ; to that the rebel would not yield ; 730
 Squadrons of texts he marshall'd in the field :
 That was but civil war, an equal set,
 Where piles with piles, and eagles eagles met.
 With texts point-blank and plain he faced the foe,
 And did not Satan tempt our Saviour so ? 735
 The good old bishops took a simpler way ;
 Each ask'd but what he heard his father say,
 Or how he was instructed in his youth,
 And by tradition's force uphold the truth.

The Panther smiled at this ; And when, said she, 740

Were those first Councils disallow'd by me ?
 Or where did I at sure tradition strike,
 Provided still it were apostolic ?

Friend, said the Hind, you quit your former ground,
 Where all your faith you did on Scripture 745
 found :

Now 'tis tradition join'd with holy writ ;
 But thus your memory betrays your wit.
 No, said the Panther, for in that I view,
 Whon your tradition's forged, and when 'tis true.
 I set them by the rule, and, as they square, 750
 Or deviate from undoubted doctrine there,
 This oral fiction, that old faith declare.

HIND. The Council steer'd, it seems, a different course :

They tried the Scripture by tradition's force :
 But you tradition by the Scripture try ; 755
 Pursued by sects, from this to that you fly,
 Nor dare on one foundation to rely.
 The word is then deposed, and in this view,
 You rule the Scripture, not the Scripture you.
 Thus said the dame, and, smiling, thus pursued :
 I see, tradition then is disallow'd, 761

which enjoined every priest to keep a concubine, to prevent their attacking their neighbours' wives. See Father Paul, Book 1. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 714. *Misjoins the sacred* Transubstantiation is a doctrine so marvellously absurd, that it deserves not to be treated in a serious, but only in a ludicrous way. When Anne Askew was put to the torture in the Tower, for being a Protestant, during the tyranny of Henry VIII. she exclaimed, "I have taken pains to believe in God who made the world, and all men in it ; but cannot be easily persuaded that man was quite, and made God again." Christianity will never make any progress in the East Indies, wherever any missionary preaches this doctrine. A gentleman who had resided at Benares told me, that a sensible Brahmin said one day to him, "You see I abstain from all animal food ; but you, dreadful and blasphemous idea ! say you eat your own God." Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 730. — to that the rebel, &c] To those the rebel, &c Orig. edit. TODD.

When not evinced by Scripture to be true,
 And Scripture, as interpreted by you.
 But here you tread upon unfaithful ground ;
 Unless you could infallibly expound : 765
 Which you reject as odious Popery,
 And throw that doctrine back with scorn on me.
 Suppose we on things traditive divide,
 And both appeal to Scripture to decide ;
 By various texts we both uphold our claim, 770
 Nay, often, ground our titles on the same :
 After long labour lost, and time's expense,
 Both grant the words, and quarrel for the sense.
 Thus all disputes for ever must depend ;
 For no dumb rule can controversies end. 775
 Thus, when you said, Tradition must be tried
 By sacred writ, whose sense yourselves decide,
 You said no more, but that yourselves must be
 The judges of the Scripture sense, not we.
 Against our Church-tradition you declare, 780
 And yet your clerks would sit in Moses' chair :
 At least 'tis proved against your argument,
 The rule is far from plain, where all dissent.

If not by Scriptures, how can we be sure,
 Replied the Panther, what tradition's pure ? 785
 For you may palm upon us new for old :
 All, as they say, that glitters, is not gold.

How but by following her, replied the dame,
 To whom derived from sire to son they came ;
 Where every age does on another move, 790
 And trusts no farther than the next above ;
 Where all the rounds like Jacob's ladder rise,
 The lowest hid in earth, the topmost in the skies.

Sternly the savage did her answer mark,
 Her glowing eyeballs glittering in the dark, 795
 And said but this : Since lucra was your trade,
 Succeeding times such dreadful gaps have made,
 'Tis dangerous climbing : to your sons and you
 I leave the ladder, and its omen too.

HIND. The Panther's breath was ever fanned for sweet ; 800

But from the Wolf such wishes oft I meet :
 You learn'd this language from the Blatant Beast,
 Or rather did not speak, but were possess'd.
 As for your answer, 'tis but barely urged :
 You must evince tradition to be forged ; 805
 Produce plain proofs ; unblemish'd authors use,
 As ancient as those ages they accuse ;
 'Till when, 'tis not sufficient to defame :
 An old possession stands till elder quits the claim.

Then for our interest, which is named alone 810
 To load with envy, we retort your own.
 For when traditions in your faces fly,
 Resolving not to yield, you must decry.
 As, when the cause goes hard, the guilty man
 Excepts, and thus his jury all he can ; 815
 So, when you stand of other aid bereft,
 You to the Twelve Apostles would be left.

Ver. 802 *You learn'd this language from the Blatant Beast*, Spenser, in his excellent poem, called "The Faery Queen," shadows the moral virtues under the fictitious names of gallant heroes ; and some of the worst vices, (in regard they are most opposite to rational nature) under the counterfeit names of certain monstrous brutes, particularly he represents that pernicious vice of calumny or slander, by a deformed creature, which he calls *The Blatant Beast* ; whose property it was to defame all states and sorts of mankind, not sparing even princes, nor leaving the clearest honour untainted, that came within the steam of its contagious breath. DEARICK.

Your friend the Wolf did with more craft provide
To set those toys, traditions, quite aside;
And Fathers too, unless when, reason spent, 820
He cites them but sometimes for ornament.
But, madam Panther, you, though more sincere,
Are not so wise as your adulterer:
The private spirit is a better blind, 824
Than all the dodging tricks your authors find.
For they, who left the Scripture to the crowd,
Each for his own peculiar judge allow'd;
The way to please them, was to make them proud.
Thus, with full sails, they ran upon the shelf;
Who could suspect a cozenage from himself? 830
On his own reason safer 'tis to stand,
Than be deceived and damn'd at second hand.
But you, who Fathers and traditions take,
And garble some, and some you quite forsake, 835
Pretending Church-authority to fix,
And yet some grains of private spirit mix,
Are, like a mule, made up of differing seed,
And that's the reason why you never breed;
At least not propagate your kind abroad,
For home-dissenters are by statutes awed, 840
And yet they grow upon you every day,
While you, to speak the best, are at a stay,
For sects, that are extremes, abhor a middle way.

Like tricks of state, to stop a raging flood,
Or mollify a mad-brain'd senate's mood: 845
Of all expedients never one was good.
Well may they argue, (nor can you deny)
If we must fix on Church-authority,
Best on the best, the fountain, not the flood;
That must be better still, if this be good. 850
Shall she command, who has herself rebell'd?
Is Antichrist by Antichrist expell'd?
Did we a lawful tyranny displace,
To set aloft a bastard of the race?
Why all these wars to win the book, if we 855
Must not interpret for ourselves, but she?
Either be wholly slaves, or wholly free.
For purging fires traditions must not fight;
But they must prove episcopacy's right.
Thus those led horses are from service freed; 860
You never mount them but in time of need.
Like mercenaries, hired for home defence,
They will not serve against their native prince.
Against domestic foes of hierarchy
These are drawn forth, to make fanatics fly; 865
But, when they see their countrymen at hand,
Marching against them under Church-command,
Straight they forsake their colours, and disband.

Thus she, nor could the Panther well enlarge
With weak defence against so strong a charge, 870
But said: For what did Christ his word provide,
If still his Church must want a living guide?
And if all saving doctrines are not there,
Or sacred penmen could not make them clear, 875
From after-ages we should hope in vain
For truths, which men inspired could not explain.

Before the word was written, said the Hind,
Our Saviour preach'd his faith to human kind:
From his apostles the first age received
Eternal truth, and what they taught believed.

Ver. 840. — *home-dissenters are by statutes awed,*]
When Dryden wrote this, the penal statutes against dissenters were not repealed. DERRICK.

Ver. 868. — *forsakes their colours, &c.*] Orig. edit.
Derrick reads—*forsake their color.* Tonn.

Thus by tradition faith was planted first; 881
Succeeding flocks succeeding pastors nursed.
This was the way our wise Redeemer chose,
(Who sure could all things for the best dispose)
To fence his fold from their encroaching foes. 885
He could have writ himself, but well foresaw
The event would be like that of Moses' law;
Some difference would arise, some doubts remain,
Like those which yet the jarring Jews maintain.
No written laws can be so plain, so pure, 890
But wit may gloss, and malice may obscure;
Not those indited by his first command,
A prophet graved the text, an angel held his hand.

Thus faith was ere the written word appear'd,
And men believed, not what they read, but heard. 895

But since the apostles could not be confined
To these, or those, but severally design'd
Their large commission round the world to blow,
To spread their faith, they spread their labours too.

Yet still their absent flock their pains did share;
They hearken'd still, for love produces care. 901
And, as mistakes arose, or discords fell,
Or bold seducers taught them to rebel,
As charity grew cold, or faction hot,
Or long neglect their lessons had forgot, 905
For all their wants they wisely did provide,
And preaching by epistles was supplied:
So great physicians cannot all attend,
But some they visit, and to some they send.
Yet all those letters were not writ to all; 910
Nor first intended but occasional,
Their absent sermons; nor if they contain
All needful doctrines, are those doctrines plain.
Clearness by frequent preaching must be wrought;
They writ but seldom, but they daily taught. 915

And what one saint has said of holy Paul,
"He darkly writ," is true applied to all.
For this obscurity could Heaven provide
More prudently than by a living guide, 920
As doubts arose, the difference to decide?
A guide was therefore needful, therefore made;
And, if appointed, sure to be obey'd.
Thus, with due reverence to the apostles' writ,
By which my sons are taught, to which submit;
I think, those truths, their sacred works contain,
The Church alone can certainly explain; 925
That following ages, leaning on the past,
May rest upon the primitive at last.
Nor would I thence the word no rule infer,
But none without the Church-interpreter. 930
Because, as I have urged before, 'tis mute,
And is itself the subject of dispute.
But what the apostles their successors taught,
They to the next, from them to us is brought,
The undoubted sense which is in Scripture sought. 935

From hence the Church is arm'd, when errors rise,

To stop their entrance, and prevent surprise,
And, safe entrench'd within, her foes without defies.

By these all festering sores her councils heal,
Which time or has disclosed, or shall reveal; 940
For discord cannot end without a last appeal.
Nor can a council national decide,
But with subordination to her guide:
(I wish the cause were on that issue tried.)

Much less the Scripture; for suppose debate⁹⁴⁵
 Betwixt pretenders to a fair estate,
 Bequeath'd by some legator's last intent;
 (Such is our dying Saviour's testament.)
 The will is proved, is open'd, and is read;
 The doubtful heirs their differing titles plead:⁹⁵⁰
 All vouch the words their interest to maintain,
 And each pretends by those his cause is plain.
 Shall then the Testament award the right?¹
 No, that's the Hungary for which they fight,⁹⁵⁵
 The field of battle, subject of debate;
 The thing contended for, the fair estate.
 The sense is intricate, 'tis only clear
 What vowels and what consonants are there.
 Therefore 'tis plain, its meaning must be tried
 Before some judge appointed to decide.⁹⁶⁰

Suppose, the fair apostate said, I grant,
 The faithful flock some living guide should
 want,

Your arguments an endless chace pursue:
 Produce this vaunted leader to our view,
 This mighty Moses of the chosen crew.⁹⁶⁵

The dame, who saw her fainting foe retired,
 With force renew'd, to victory aspired;
 And, looking upward to her kindred sky,
 As once our Saviour own'd his Deity,
 Pronounced his words—"She whom ye seek
 am I."⁹⁷⁰

Nor less amazed this voice the Panther heard,
 Than were those Jews to hear a God declared.
 Then thus the matron modestly renew'd:
 Let all your prophets and their sects be view'd,
 And see to which of them yourselves think fit⁹⁷⁵
 The conduct of your conscience to submit:
 Each proselyte would vote his doctor best,
 With absolute exclusion to the rest:
 Thus would your Polish diet disagree,
 And end, as it began, in anarchy:⁹⁸⁰
 Yourself the fairest for election stand,
 Because you seem crown-general of the land:
 But soon against your superstitious lawn
 Some Presbyterian sabre would be drawn:
 In your establish'd laws of sovereignty⁹⁸⁵
 The rest some fundamental flaw would see,
 And call rebellion gospel-liberty.
 To Church-decrees your articles require
 Submission modified, if not entire.
 Homage denied, to censure you proceed:⁹⁹⁰
 But when Curtana will not do the deed,
 You lay that pointless clergy-weapon by,
 And to the laws, your sword of justice, fly.

Ver. 957. *The sense is intricate.*] In denying the use of the Bible to the bulk of the people, the followers of the Church of Rome exactly copy the conduct of the Brahmins in India. As their order had an exclusive right to read the sacred books, (says Robertson) to cultivate and to teach science, they could more effectually prevent all who were not members of it from acquiring any portion of information beyond what they were pleased to impart. When the free circulation of knowledge is not circumscribed by such restrictions, the whole community derives benefit from every new acquisition in science, the influence of which, both upon sentiment and conduct, extends insensibly from the few to the many, from the learned to the ignorant. But wherever the dominion of false religion is completely established, the body of the people gain nothing by the improvements in knowledge. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 989. — *Submission modified.*] So the original edition. DERRICK has *molify'd*. TORD.

Ver. 991. — *Curtana*] The name of King Edward the Confessor's sword without a point, an emblem of mercy, which is carried before our king and queen at their coronation. DERRICK.

Now this your sects the more unkindly take,
 (Those prying varlets hit the blots you make)⁹⁵⁵
 Because some ancient friends of yours declare,
 Your only rule of faith the Scriptures are,
 Interpreted by men of judgment sound,
 Which every sect will for themselves expound;
 Nor think less reverence to their doctors due¹⁰⁰⁰
 For sound interpretation, than to you.
 If then, by able heads, are understood
 Your brother prophets, who reform'd abroad;
 Those able heads expound a wiser way,
 That their own sheep their shepherd should obey.
 But if you mean yourselves are only sound,¹⁰⁰⁵
 That doctrine turns the Reformation round,
 And all the rest are false reformers found;
 Because in sundry points you stand alone,
 Not in communion join'd with any one;¹⁰¹⁰
 And therefore must be all the Church, or none.
 Then, 'till you have agreed whose judge is best,
 Against this forced submission they protest:
 While sound and sound a different sense explains,
 Both play at hardhead till they break their¹⁰¹⁵
 brains;

And from their chairs each other's force defy,
 While unregarded thunders vainly fly.
 I pass the rest, because your Church alone
 Of all usurpers best could fill the throne.
 But neither you, nor any sect beside,
 For this high office can be qualified,
 With necessary gifts required in such a guide.
 For that, which must direct the whole, must be
 Bound in one bond of faith and unity:¹⁰²⁰
 But all your several Churches disagree.¹⁰²⁵
 The consubstantiating Church and priest
 Refuse communion to the Calvinist:
 The French reform'd from preaching you re-
 strain,
 Because you judge their ordination vain;
 And so they judge of yours, but donors must¹⁰³⁰
 ordain.

In short, in doctrine, or in discipline,
 Not one reform'd can with another join:
 But all from each, as from damnation, fly;
 No union they pretend, but in Non-Popery.
 Nor, should their members in a synod meet,¹⁰³⁵
 Could any Church presume to mount the seat,
 Above the rest, their discords to decide;
 None would obey, but each would be the guide:
 And face to face dissensions would increase;
 For only distance now preserves the peace.¹⁰⁴⁰
 All in their turns accusers, and accused:
 Babel was never half so much confused:
 What one can plead, the rest can plead as well;
 For amongst equals lies no last appeal,
 And all confess themselves are fallible.¹⁰⁴⁵
 Now since you grant some necessary guide,
 All who can err are justly laid aside:
 Because a trust so sacred to confer
 Shows want of such a sure interpreter;
 And how can he be useful who can err?
 Then, granting that unerring guide we want,¹⁰⁵¹
 That such there is you stand obliged to grant:
 Our Saviour else were wanting to supply
 Our needs, and obviate that necessity.
 It then remains, that Church can only be¹⁰⁵⁵
 The guide, which owns unfailing certainty;

Ver. 1058. — *unfailing certainty*;) Our author's humanity would not suffer him, in his general defence of Popery, to justify the abominable institution of the inquisi-

Or else you slip your hold, and change your side,

Relapsing from a necessary guide.

But this annex'd condition of the crown,

Immunity from errors, you disown; ¹⁰⁸⁰

Here then you shrink, and lay your weak pretences down

For petty royalties you raise debate;

But this unfailing universal state

You shun; nor dare succeed to such a glorious weight;

And for that cause those promises detest, ¹⁰⁶⁵

With which our Saviour did his Church invest;

But strive to evade, and fear to find them true,

As conscious they were never meant to you:

All which the Mother-Church asserts her own,

And with unrivall'd claim ascends the throne. ¹⁰⁷¹

So when of old the almighty Father sate

In council, to redeem our ruin'd state,

Millions of millions, at a distance round,

Silent the sacred consistory crown'd,

To hear what mercy, mix'd with justice, could

propound: ¹⁰⁷⁵

All prompt, with eager pity, to fulfil

The full extent of their Creator's will.

tion. In the cathedral Church of Saragossa, there is a tomb of a famous inquisitor. Six very magnificent columns stand on his tomb, and to each of these columns is a Moor chained, ready to be burned. A fit model for the mausoleum of any hangman that died rich. How much are the fine tragedies of Polleux and Athaliah blemished by strokes of the most intemperate zeal, and absurd superstition, and abhorrence of heretics. "Does the daughter of David," says Jacob to Josabet, "speak to this priest of Baal? Are you not afraid lest the earth should instantly open, and pour out flames to devour you both? Or that these holy walls should suddenly fall, and crush you together?" Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver 1071. *So when of old*] The following next sixteen lines are perhaps the most splendid and sublime our author ever wrote. But the idea of them is manifestly taken from Milton, Book iii, where God is represented sitting on his throne, surrounded by all the sanctities of heaven, and speaking thus of the fate of Adam just after his fall:—

"Die he, or Justice must, unless for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid satisfaction, death for death.
Say, heavenly Powers; where shall we find such love?
Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
Man's mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save?
Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?
He ask'd, but all the heavenly quire stood mute,
And silence was in Heaven: on Man's behalf
Patron or intercessor none appear'd.
Much less that durst upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.
And now without redemption all mankind
Must have been lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulness dwells of love divine,
His dearest mediation thus renew'd:
Father, thy word is pass'd, Man shall find grace;
And shall grace not find means, that finds her way
The speediest of thy winged messengers,
To visit all thy creatures, and to all
Comes unprevented, unimplored, unsought?
Happy for man, so coming; he her aid
Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
Atonement for himself or offering meet,
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring:
Behold me then; me for him, life for life
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
Account me Man;—"

Butler, in his Analogy, a book which every rational Christian should read and meditate upon day and night, has, with the deepest penetration and acuteness, exhausted all the arguments that can be urged for the doctrine of redemption, of mediators, and vicarious punishment. Dr. J. WARTON.

But when the stern conditions were declared,
A mournful whisper through the host was heard,
And the whole hierarchy, with heads hung
down,

Submissively declined the ponderous proffer'd crown. ¹⁰⁵⁹

Then, not till then, the eternal Son from high
Rose in the strength of all the Deity;

Stood forth to accept the terms, and underwent
A weight which all the frame of heaven had bent, ¹⁰⁶³

Nor he himself could bear, but as Omnipotent.

Now, to remove the least remaining doubt,

That e'en the blear-eyed sects may find her out,

Behold what heavenly rays adorn her brows,

What from his wardrobe her beloved allows ¹⁰⁶⁰

To deck the wedding-day of his unspotted spouse.

Behold what marks of majesty she brings;

Richer than ancient heirs of eastern kings:

Her right hand holds the sceptre and the keys,

To show whom she commands, and who obeys:

With these to bind, or set the sinner free, ¹⁰⁶⁷

With that to assert spiritual royalty.

*One in herself, not rent by schism, but sound,

Entire, one solid shining diamond;

Not sparkles shatter'd into sects like you: ¹¹⁰⁰

One is the Church, and must be to be true:

One central principle of unity.

As undivided, so from errors free,

As one in faith, so one in sanctity.

Thus she, and none but she, the insulting rage

Of heretics opposed from age to age: ¹¹⁰⁵

Still when the giant-brood invades her throne,

She stoops from heaven, and meets them half

way down,

And with paternal thunder vindicates her crown.

But like Egyptian sorcerers you stand, ¹¹¹⁰

And vainly lift aloft your magic wand,

To sweep away the swarms of vermin from the land:

You could, like them, with like infernal force,

Produce the plague, but not arrest the course.

But when the boils and blotches, with disgrace

And public scandal, sat upon the face, ¹¹¹⁵

Themselves attack'd, the Magi strove no more,

They saw God's finger, and their fate deplore;

Themselves they could not cure of the dishonest

score.

Thus one, thus pure, behold her largely

spread, ¹¹²⁰

Like the fair ocean from her mother-bed;

From east to west triumphantly she rides,

All shores are water'd by her wealthy tides.

Ver. 1078. *But when the stern conditions were declared, A mournful whisper through the host was heard, And the whole hierarchy, with heads hung down, Submissively declined the ponderous proffer'd crown.*

Then, not till then, &c., &c.,

This is an imitation, but a very feeble one, of Milton's impressive description, *Par. Lost*, iii. 216.

"Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?

He ask'd, but all the heavenly quire stood mute,

And silence was in Heaven: on Man's behalf

Patron or intercessor none appear'd," &c. TOND.

• Marks of the Catholic Church from the Nicene Creed

Original edition.

Ver. 1115 ——— *boils and blotches,*] The original edition has *boils*. TOND

The gospel's sound, diffused from pole to pole,
Where winds can carry, and where waves can
roll, 1125

The selfsame doctrine of the sacred page
Convey'd to every clime, in every age.

Here let my sorrow give my satire place,
To raise new blushes on my British race;
Our sailing ships like common shoars we use,
And through our distant colonies diffuse 1131
The draught of dungeons, and the stench of stews.
Whom, when their home-bred honesty is lost,
We disembody on some far Indian coast:
Thieves, panders, pailiards, sins of every sort;
Those are the manufactures we export; 1136
And these the missionaries our zeal has made:
For, with my country's pardon be it said,
Religion is the least of all our trade.

Yet some improve their traffic more than we;
For they on gain, their only god, rely; 1141
And set a public price on piety.
Industrious of the needle and the chart,
They run full sail to their Japonian mart;
Prevention fear, and, prodigal of fame, 1145
Sell all of Christian to the very name;
Nor leave enough of that to hide their naked
shame.

Thus, of three marks, which in the creed we
view,

Not one of all can be applied to you:
Much less the fourth; in vain, alas! you seek 1151
The ambitious title of Apostolic:
God-like descent! 'tis well your blood can be
Proved noble in the third or fourth degree:
For all of ancient that you had before,
(I mean what is not borrow'd from our store)
Was error fulminated o'er and o'er; 1156
Old heresies condemn'd in ages past,
By care and time recover'd from the blast.

'Tis said with ease, but never can be proved,
The Church her old foundations has removed,

Ver. 1130. — *Like common shoars, &c.* Original edition. Todd.

Ver. 1138. *For, with my country's pardon be it said,
Religion is the least of all our trade.*

The same train of thought appears in Cowper's pathetic
Apostrophe to Omai, Task, Book i. p. 36.

"Alas! expect it not. We found no bait
To tempt us in thy country. Doing good,
Disinterested good, is not our trade;
We travel far, 'tis true, but not for nought;
And must be bribed to compass trade again,
By other hopes and richer hints than yours."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1159. *'Tis said with ease.* Dryden never seems to
have read the incomparable and unanswerable History of
the Council of Trent, which of itself, if no other treatise
remained, would alone be a complete refutation of the
absurdities and errors of Popery. Instead of answering the
treatise which the court of Rome was supposed to write
against the republic of Venice, entitled, *Scuttorio della
Liberta Veneta*, Father Paul thought it more effectual to
imitate the conduct of the Romans, who, to drive the Car-
thaginians out of Italy, carried the war into Africa itself,
and then attacked their enemies, and therefore he wrote the
history of the Council of Trent, and attacked the court of
Rome itself in its head-quarters. Father Paul was ac-
quainted with the doctrine of the circulation of the blood,
but borrowed the idea from Serretus. Wootton affirms,
that Serretus first discovered it. Pallavicini has enu-
merated 360 mistakes in Father Paul's history of the Council
of Trent; but what are these mistakes? only trivial,
unimportant errors of dates and names.

Cardinal Perroz says, "I visited Fra. Paolo at Venice.

And built new doctrines on unstable sands: 1161
Judge that, ye winds and rains: you proved her,
yet she stands.

Those ancient doctrines charged on her for
new,
Show when, and how, and from what hands they
grew.

We claim no power, when heresies grow bold,
To coin new faith, but still declare the old. 1165
How else could that obscene disease be purged,
When controverted texts are vainly urged?
To prove tradition new, there's somewhat more
Required, than saying, 'Twas not used before. 1170
Those monumental arms are never stirr'd,
Till schism or heresy call down Goliath's sword.

Thus, what you call corruptions, are, in truth,
The first plantations of the gospel's youth;
Old standard faith: but cast your eyes again,
And view those errors which new sects main-
tain, 1176

Or which of old disturb'd the Church's peaceful
reign;

And we can point each period of the time,
When they began, and who begot the crime;
Can calculate how long the eclipse endured, 1180
Who interposed, what digits were obscured:
Of all which are already pass'd away,
We know the rise, the progress, and decay.

Despair at our foundations then to strike,
Till you can prove your faith apostolic; 1185
A limpid stream drawn from the native source;
Succession lawful in a lineal course.
Prove any Church, opposed to this our head,
So one, so pure, so unconfin'dly spread,
Under one chief of the spiritual state, 1190
The members all combined, and all subordi-
nate.

Show such a seamless coat, from schism so free,
In no communion join'd with heresy.

If such a one you find, let truth prevail:

Till when your weights will in the balance
fall: 1195

A Church unprincipled kicks up the scale.

But if you cannot think (nor sure you can
Suppose in God what were unjust in man)

That He, the fountain of eternal grace,
Should suffer falsehood, for so long a space, 1200
To banish truth, and to usurp her place:

He appeared to be a sensible man—nothing more:" a judg-
ment worthy of a Cardinal.

Sir Henry Wootton assured King Charles, that Father
Paul, though naturally of a reserved temper, which was
heightened by the suspicions of his countrymen, yet opened
his inmost soul, and disclosed his secret opinions to Bishop
Bedell, with whom he contracted the strictest intimacy.
Sir Nathaniel Brent was privately sent to Venice to get a
copy of his history of the Council of Trent, which he secretly,
and with great personal danger, communicated, twelve
sheets at a time to archbishop Abbott, who employed him
in this transaction.

Giannone, in his admirable history of the Civil Govern-
ment of Naples, in forty books, has clearly proved that the
boasted donation of all Italy, supposed to have been made
by Constantine in the year 324, to Sylvester, Pope of Rome,
is a gross and shameful forgery. No wonder this able,
curious, and candid historian was afterwards seized by the
inquisition, and died in prison.

Clement VII. gave to his nephew Cardinal Hippolite, in
1537, the possession of all the benefices on the whole earth,
that should become vacant in six months. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1161. *And built new doctrines on unstable sands:*

*Judge that, ye winds and rains: you proved
her, yet she stands.]*

A scriptural allusion. JOHN WARTON.

That seven successive ages should be lost,
And preach damnation at their proper cost;
That all your erring ancestors should die,
Drown'd in the abyss of deep idolatry: 1205
If piety forbid such thoughts to rise,
Awake, and open your unwilling eyes:
God hath left nothing for each age undone,
From this to that wherein he sent his Son:
Then think but well of him, and half your work
is done. 1210

See how his Church, adorn'd with every grace,
With open arms, a kind forgiving face,
Stands ready to prevent her long-lost son's embrace.

Not more did Joseph o'er his brethren weep,
Nor less himself could from discovery keep, 1215
When in the crowd of suppliants they were seen,
And in their crew his best-loved Benjamin.
That pious Joseph in the Church behold,*
To feed your famine, and refuse your gold;
The Joseph you exiled, the Joseph whom you
sold. 1220

Thus, while with heavenly charity she spoke,
A streaming blaze the silent shadows broke;
Shot from the skies a cheerful azure light:
The birds obscene to forests wing'd their flight,
And gaping graves received the wand'ring guilty
spright. 1225

Such were the pleasing triumphs of the sky,
For James his late nocturnal victory;
The pledge of his almighty Patron's love,
The fireworks which his angels made above. 1230
I saw myself the lambent easy light †
Gild the brown horror, and dispel the night:
The messenger with speed the tidings bore;
News, which three labouring nations did restore;
But Heaven's own Nuntius was arrived before.

By this, the Hind had reach'd her lonely
cell, 1235

And vapours rose, and dews unwholesome fell.
When she, by frequent observation wise,
As one who long on heaven had fix'd her eyes,
Discern'd a change of weather in the skies. 1239

The western borders were with crimson spread,
The moon descending look'd all flaming red;
She thought good manners bound her to invite
The stranger dame to be her guest that night.

'Tis true, coarse diet, and a short repast, 1241
(She said) were weak inducements to the taste
Of one so nicely bred, and so unused to fast:
But what plain fare her cottage could afford,
A hearty welcome at a homely board,
Was freely hers; and, to supply the rest, 1250
An honest meaning, and an open breast:
Last, with content of mind, the poor man's
wealth,

A grace-cup to their common patron's health.
This she desired her to accept, and stay,
For fear she might be wilder'd in her way,

Ver. 1202. *That seven successive ages* [Nine successive ages. Orig. edit. Todd.

Ver. 1208. *God hath left, &c.* [Has left. Orig. edit. Todd.

Ver. 1214. *Not more did Joseph o'er his brethren weep,* [The very expression used in the pathetic and simple story of Joseph and his brethren. JOHN WARTON.

* The renunciation of the Benedictines to the Abbey lands. Orig. edit.

† *Poeta loquitur.* Orig. edit.

Because she wanted an unerring guide, 1255
And then the dew-drops on her silken hide
Her tender constitution did declare,
Too lady-like a long fatigue to bear,
And rough inclemencies of raw nocturnal air.
But most she fear'd that, travelling so late, 1260
Some evil-minded beasts might lie in wait,
And without witness wreak their hidden hate.

The Panther, though she lent a listening ear,
Had more of lion in her than to fear:
Yet wisely weighing, since she had to deal 1265
With many foes, their numbers might prevail,
Return'd her all the thanks she could afford;
And took her friendly hostess at her word:
Who, entering first her lowly roof, a shed
With hoary moss, and winding ivy spread, 1270
Honest enough to hide an humble hermit's head,
Thus graciously bespoke her welcome guest:
So might these walls, with your fair presence
blest,

Become your dwelling-place of everlasting rest;
Not for a night, or quick revolving year, 1275
Welcome an owner, not a sojourner.

This peaceful seat my poverty secures;
War seldom enters but where wealth allures:
Nor yet despise it; for this poor abode
Has oft received, and yet receives a God; 1280
A God, victorious of the Stygian race,
Here laid his sacred limbs, and sanctified the
place.

This mean retreat did mighty Pan contain:
Be emulous of him, and pomp disdain, 1285
And dare not to debase your soul to gain.

The silent stranger stood amazed to see
Contempt of wealth, and wilful poverty;
And, though ill habits are not soon controll'd,
A while suspended her desire of gold;
But civilly drew in her sharpen'd paws, 1290
Not violating hospitable laws,
And pacified her tail, and lick'd her frothy jaws.

The Hind did first her country cates provide;
Then couch'd herself securely by her side.

THE THIRD PART.

MUCH malice mingled with a little wit, 1295
Perhaps, may censure this mysterious writ:
Because the muse has peopled Caledon
With Panthers, Bears, and Wolves, and beasts un-
known,

As if we were not stock'd with monsters of our
own.

Let Æsop answer, who has set to view 1300
Such kinds as Greece and Phrygia never knew;
And mother Hubbard, in her homely dress,
Has sharply blamed a British Lioness;
That queen, whose feast the factious rabble keep,
Exposed obscenely naked and asleep. 1305

Ver. 1285. *And dare not to debase your soul to gain.*

"Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, et te quoque dignum
Finge deo."

In the whole passage he has an eye to the reception of
Æneas by Evander. JOHN WARTON.

Led by those great examples, may not I
The wanted organs of their words supply?
If men transact like brutes, 'tis equal then
For brutes to claim the privilege of men.

Others our Hind of folly will indite, 1370
To entertain a dangerous guest by night.
Let those remember, that she cannot die
'Till rolling time is lost in round eternity;
Nor need she fear the Panther, though untamed,
Because the Lion's peace was now proclaim'd. 1376
The wary savage would not give offence,
To forfeit the protection of her Prince,
But watch'd the time her vengeance to complete,

When all her furry sons in frequent Senate met;
Meanwhile she quench'd her fury at the flood, 1381
And with a lenten sallad cool'd her blood.
Their commons, though but coarse, were nothing scant,

Nor did their minds an equal banquet want.
For now the Hind, whose noble nature strove 1386
To express her plain simplicity of love,
Did all the honours of her house so well,
No sharp debates disturb'd the friendly meal.
She turn'd the talk, avoiding that extreme,
To common dangers past, a sadly-pleasing theme;
Remembr'ing every storm which toss'd the state, 1391
When both were objects of the public hate, 1391
And dropp'd a tear betwixt for her own children's fate.

Nor fail'd she then a full review to make
Of what the Panther suffer'd for her sake: 1396
Her lost esteem, her truth, her loyal care,
Her faith unshaken to an exiled heir,
Her strength to endure, her courage to defy;
Her choice of honourable infamy.
On these, prolixly thankful, she enlarged;
Then with acknowledgment herself she charged; 1401
For friendship, of itself an holy tie, 1401
Is made more sacred by adversity.
Now should they part, malicious tongues would say,

They met like chance companions on the way, 1405
Whom mutual fear of robbers had possess'd;
While danger lasted, kindness was profess'd;
But that once o'er, the short-lived union ends:
The road divides, and there divide the friends.

The Panther nodded when her speech was done, 1410
And thank'd her coldly in a hollow tone:
But said her gratitude had gone too far
For common offices of Christian care.
If to the lawful heir she had been true,
She paid but Cæsar what was Cæsar's due.
I might, she added, with like praise describe 1415
Your suffering sons, and so return your bribe:
But incense from my hands is poorly prized;
For gifts are scorn'd where givers are despised.
I served a turn, and then was cast away;
You, like the gaudy fly, your wings display, 1420
And sip the sweets, and bask in your great patron's day.

This heard, the matron was not slow to find
What sort of malady had seized her mind:

Ver. 1346. *While danger lasted, kindness was profess'd;
But that once o'er, the short-lived union ends.*

"Metus et terror imprime vincula caritatis, quæ ubi removers timore incipias."—Sallust, I believe JOHN WARTON.

Disdain, with gnawing envy, fell despite, 1365
And canker'd malice stood in open sight:
Ambition, interest, pride without control,
And jealousy, the jaundice of the soul;
Revenge, the bloody minister of ill,
With all the lean tormenters of the will.
'Twas easy now to guess from whence arose 1370
Her new-made union with her ancient foes,
Her forced civilities, her faint embrace,
Affected kindness with an alter'd face:
Yet durst she not too deeply probe the wound,
As hoping still the nobler parts were sound: 1375
But strove with anodynes to assuage the smart,
And mildly thus her medicine did impart.

Complaints of lovers help to ease their pain;
It shows a rest of kindness to complain;
A friendship loth to quit its former hold; 1380
And conscious merit may be justly bold.
But much more just your jealousy would show,
If other's good were injury to you:
Witness, ye heavens, how I rejoice to see
Rewarded worth and rising loyalty. 1385
Your warrior offspring that upheld the crown,
The scarlet honour of your peaceful gown,
Are the most pleasing objects I can find,
Charms to my sight, and cordials to my mind:
When virtue spoons before a prosperous gale, 1390
My heaving wishes help to fill the sail; 1391
And if my prayers for all the brave were heard,
Cæsar should still have such, and such should still reward.

The labour'd earth your pains have sow'd and till'd;

'Tis just you reap the product of the field: 1396
Your's be the harvest, 'tis the beggar's gain
To glean the fallings of the loaded wain.
Such scatter'd ears as are not worth your care,
Your charity, for alms, may safely spare, 1400
For alms are but the vehicles of prayer.
My daily bread is literally unprov'd;
I have no barns nor granaries to hoard.
If Cæsar to his own his hand extends,
Say which of yours his charity offends:
You know he largely gives to more than are his friends. 1405

Are you defrauded, when he feeds the poor?
Our mite decreases nothing of your store.
I am but few, and by your fare you see
My crying sins are not of luxury.
Some juster motive sure your mind withdraws,
And makes you break our friendship's holy laws; 1411

For barefaced envy is too base a cause.
Show more occasion for your discontent;
Your love, the Wolf, would help you to invent:
Some German quarrel, or, as times go now, 1415
Some French, where force is uppermost, will do.
When at the fountain's head, as merit ought
To claim the place, you take a swelling draught,
How easy 'tis an envious eye to throw,
And tax the sheep for troubling streams below;
Or call her (when no farther cause you find) 1421
An enemy profess'd of all your kind.
But then, perhaps, the wicked world would think,
The Wolf design'd to eat as well as drink.

Ver 1373 *Affected kindness with an alter'd face:* "And haush Unkindness alter'd eye."—Gray. JOHN WARTON.

Ver 1400 *For alms are but, &c.] And alms, &c.* Orig edit. Todd.

This last allusion gall'd the Panther more, ¹⁴²⁵
Because indeed it rubb'd upon the sore.
Yet seem'd she not to winch, though shrewdly
pain'd :

But thus her passive character maintain'd.

I never grudged, whate'er my foes report,
Your flaunting fortune in the Lion's court, ¹⁴³⁰
You have your day, or you are much belied,
But I am always on the suffering side :
You know my doctrine, and I need not say
I will not, but I cannot disobey.

On this firm principle I ever stood ; ¹⁴³⁵
He of my sons who fails to make it good,
By one rebellious act renounces to my blood.

Ah, said the Hind, how many sons have you
Who call you mother, whom you never knew !
But most of them who that relation plead, ¹⁴⁴⁰
Are such ungracious youths as wish you dead.
They gape at rich revenues which you hold,
And fawn would nibble at your grandame gold ;
Enquire into your years, and laugh to find
Your crazy temper shows you much declined. ¹⁴⁴⁵

Were you not dim and doted, you might see
A pack of cheats that claim a pedigree,
No more of kin to you, than you to me.
Do you not know, that, for a little coin,
Heralds can foist a name into the line : ¹⁴⁵⁰
They ask you blessing but for what you have,
But once possess'd of what with care you save,
The wanton boys would piss upon your grave.

Your sons of latitude that court your grace, ¹⁴⁵⁵
Though most resembling you in form and face,
Are far the worst of your pretended race.
And, but I blush your honesty to blot,
Pray God you prove them lawfully begot :
For in some Popish libels I have read,
The Wolf has been too busy in your bed ; ¹⁴⁶⁰
At least their hinder parts, the belly-piece,
The paunch, and all that Scorpion claims, are his.
Their malice too a sore suspicion brings ;
For though they dare not bark, they snarl at
kings :

Nor blame them for intruding in your line ; ¹⁴⁶⁵
Fat bishopricks are still of right divine.

Think you your new French proselytes are come
To starve abroad, because they starved at home ?
Your benefices twinkled from afar ;
They found the new Messiah by the star : ¹⁴⁷⁰
Those Swissses fight on any side for pay,
And 'tis the living that conforms, not they.
Mark with what management their tribes divide,
Some stick to you, and some to t'other side,
That many churches may for many mouths
provide. ¹⁴⁷⁵

More vacant pulpits would more converts make ;
All would have latitude enough to take :
The rest unbenedicted your sects maintain ;
For ordinations without cures are vain,
And chamber practice is a silent gain. ¹⁴⁸⁰
Your sons of breadth at home are much like
these ;

Their soft and yielding metals run with ease :
They melt, and take the figure of the mould ;
But harden and preserve it best in gold

Your Delphic sword, the Panther then replied, ¹⁴⁸⁵
Is double-edged, and cuts on either side.

Some sons of mine, who bear upon their shield
Three steeples argent in a sable field,
Have sharply tax'd your converts, who, unfed, ¹⁴⁹⁰
Have follow'd you for miracles of bread ;
Such who themselves of no religion are,
Allured with gain, for any will declare.

Bare lies with bold assertions they can face ;
But dint of argument is out of place.
The grim logician puts them in a fright ; ¹⁴⁹⁵
'Tis easier far to flourish than to fight.
Thus our eighth Henry's marriage they defame ;
They say the schism of beds began the game,
Divorcing from the Church to wed the dame :
Though largely proved, and by himself profess'd,
That conscience, conscience would not let him
rest ; ¹⁵⁰¹

I mean, not till possess'd of her he loved,
And old, uncharming Catherine was removed.
For sundry years before he did complain,
And told his ghostly confessor his pain. ¹⁵⁰⁵
With the same impudence, without a ground,
They say, that took the Reformation round,
No Treatise of Humility is found.

But if none were, the gospel does not want ;
Our Saviour preach'd it, and I hope you grant, ¹⁵¹⁰
The Sermon on the Mount was Protestant.

No doubt, replied the Hind, as sure as all
The writings of Saint Peter and Saint Paul :
On that decision let it stand or fall.
Now for my converts, who, you say, unfed, ¹⁵¹⁵
Have follow'd me for miracles of bread ;
Judge not by hearsay, but observe at least,
If since their change their loaves have been
increased.

The Lion buys no converts ; if he did,
Beasts would be sold as fast as he could bid. ¹⁵²⁰
Tax those of interest who conform for gain,
Or stay the market of another reign :
Your broad-way sons would never be too nice
To close with Calvin, if he paid their price ;
But, raised three steeples higher, would change
their note, ¹⁵²⁵

And quit the cassock for the canting-coat.
Now, if you damn this censure, as too bold,
Judge by yourselves, and think not others sold.

Meantime my sons accused, by fame's report, ¹⁵³⁰
Pay small attendance at the Lion's court,
Nor rise with early crowds, nor flatter late ;
(For silently they beg, who daily wait.)
Preferment is bestow'd, that comes unsought ;
Attendance is a bribe, and then 'tis bought.
How they should speed, their fortune is untried ;
For not to ask, is not to be denied. ¹⁵³⁵

For what they have, their God and King they
bless,
And hope they should not murmur, had they less.
But, if reduced subsistence to implore,
In common prudence they would pass your
door. ¹⁵⁴⁰

Unpittied Hudibras, your champion friend,
Has shown how far your charities extend.
This lasting verse shall on his tomb be read,
"He shamed you living, and upbraids you
dead."

With odious atheist names you load your
foes ; ¹⁴⁵

Your liberal Clergy why did I expose ?
It never fails in charities like those.
In climes where true Religion is profess'd,
That imputation were no laughing jest.

Ver. 1487. ——— your new French proselytes, &c.] The refugees that came over to England after the revocation of the edict of Nantz. DERRICK.

But *Imprimatur*, with a chaplain's name, 1550
Is here sufficient licence to defame.
What wonder is 't that black detraction thrives;
The homicide of names is less than lives;
And yet the perjured murderer survives.

This said, she paused a little, and suppress'd 1555
The boiling indignation of her breast.
She knew the virtue of her blade, nor would
Pollute her satire with ignoble blood:
Her panting foe she saw before her eye,
And back she drew the shining weapon dry. 1560
So when the generous Lion has in sight
His equal match, he rouses for the fight;
But when his foe lies prostrate on the plain,
He sheathes his paws, uncurls his angry mane,
And, pleased with bloodless honours of the day,
Walks over and disdains the inglorious prey. 1566
So James, if great with less we may compare,
Arrests his rolling thunder-bolts in air;
And grants ungrateful friends a lengthen'd
space,

To implore the remnants of long-suffering grace.
This breathing-time the matron took; and 1571
then

Resumed the thread of her discourse again.
Be vengeance wholly left to powers divine,
And let Heaven judge betwixt your sons and
mine.

If joys hereafter must be purchased here 1575
With loss of all that mortals hold so dear,
Then welcome infamy and public shame,
And, last, a long farewell to worldly fame.
'Tis said with ease, but, eh, how hardly tried
By haughty souls to human honour tied! 1580
Oh, sharp convulsive pangs of agonizing pride!
Down then, thou rebel, never more to rise,
And what thou didst, and dost, so dearly prize,
That fame, that darling fame, make that thy
sacrifice.

'Tis nothing thou hast given, then add thy tears 1586
For a long race of unrepenting years:
Tis nothing yet, yet all thou hast to give:
Then add those may-be years thou hast to live:
Yet nothing still; then poor, and naked come, 1590
Thy father will receive his unthrift home,
And thy blest Saviour's blood discharge the
mighty sum.

Thus (she pursued) I discipline a son,
Whose uncheck'd fury to revenge would run;
He champs the bit, impatient of his loss,
And starts aside, and flounders at the cross. 1596
Instruct him better, gracious God, to know,
As thine is vengeance, so forgiveness too:
That, suffering from ill tongues, he bears no
more

Than what his Sovereign bears, and what his
Saviour bore.

It now remains for you to school your child, 1601
And ask why God's anointed he reviled;
A King and Princess dead! did Shimei worse?
The curser's punishment should fright the curse:
Your son was warn'd, and wisely gave it o'er,
But he, who counsell'd him, has paid the score:
The heavy malice could no higher tend, 1606
But woe to him on whom the weights descend.

Ver. 1559. *Her panting foe she saw before her eye,* The
original edition has—

Her panting foes she saw before her eye.

Todd.

So to permitted ills the daemon flies;
His rage is aim'd at him who rules the skies:
Constrain'd to quit his cause, no succour found,
The foe discharges every tire around, 1611
In clouds of smoke abandoning the fight;
But his own thundering peals proclaim his
flight.

In Henry's change his charge as ill succeeds;
To that long story little answer needs: 1615
Confront but Henry's words with Henry's deeds.
Were space allow'd, with ease it might be prov'd,
What springs his blessed reformation moved.
The dire effects appear'd in open sight,
Which from the cause he calls a distant flight,
And yet no larger leap than from the sun to 1623
light.

Now last your sons a double pean sound,
A Treatise of Humility is found.
'Tis found, but better it had ne'er been sought,
Than thus in Protestant procession brought. 1625
The famed original through Spain is known,
Rodriguez' work, my celebrated son,
Which yours, by ill-translating, made his own;
Conceal'd its author, and usurp'd the name,
The basest and ignoblest theft of fame. 1630
My altars kindled first that living coal;
Restore, or practise better what you stole:
That virtue could this humble verse inspire,
'Tis all the restitution I require.

Glad was the Panther that the charge was
closed, 1635

And none of all her fav'rite sons exposed.
For laws of arms permit each injured man
To make himself a saviour where he can.
Perhaps the plunder'd merchant cannot tell
The names of pirates in whose hands he fell; 1640
But at the den of thieves he justly flies,
And every Algerine is lawful prize.
No private person in the foe's estate
Can plead exemption from the public fate.
Yet Christian laws allow not such redress; 1645
Then let the greater supersede the less.
But let the abettors of the Panther's crime
Learn to make fairer wars another time.
Some characters may sure be found to write
Among her sons; for 'tis no common sight, 1650
A spotted dam, and all her offspring white.

The savage, though she saw her plea controll'd,
Yet would not wholly seem to quit her hold,
But offer'd fairly to compound the strife,
And judge conversion by the convert's life. 1655
'Tis true, she said, I think it somewhat strange,
So few should follow profitable change:
For present joys are more to flesh and blood,
Than a dull prospect of a distant good.
'Twas well alluded by a son of mine, 1660
(I hope to quote him is not to purloin)
Two magnets, heaven and earth, allure to bliss;
The larger lodestone that, the nearer this:
The weak attraction of the greater fails;
We nod a while, but neighbourhood prevails: 1665
But when the greater proves the nearer too,
I wonder more your converts come so slow.
Methinks in those who firm with me remain,
It shows a nobler principle than gain.

Your inference would be strong (the Hind
replied) 1670

If yours were in effect the suffering side:
Your clergy sons their own in peace possess,
Nor are their prospects in reversion less.

My proselytes are struck with awful dread;
Your bloody comet-laws hang blazing o'er their
head: 1675

The respite they enjoy but only lent,
The best they have to hope, protracted punish-
ment.

Be judge yourself, if interest may prevail,
Which motives, yours or mine, will turn the
scale.

While pride and pomp allure, and plenteous
ease, 1680

That is, till man's predominant passions cease,
Admire no longer at my slow increase.

By education most have been misled;
So they believe, because they so were bred.
The priest continues what the nurse began, 1685
And thus the child imposes on the man.

The rest I named before, nor need repeat:
But interest is the most prevailing cheat,
The sly seducer both of age and youth;
They study that, and think they study truth. 1690

When interest fortifies an argument,
Weak reason serves to gain the will's assent;
For souls, already warp'd, receive an easy bent.
Add long prescription of establish'd laws,
And pique of honour to maintain a cause, 1695
And shame of change, and fear of future ill,
And zeal, the blind conductor of the will;
And chief, among the still-mistaking crowd,
The fame of teachers obstinate and proud,
And, more than all, the private judge allow'd;
Disdain of Fathers which the dance began, 1701
And last, uncertain whose the narrower span,
The clown unread, and half-read gentleman.

To this the Panther, with a scornful smile:
Yet still you travel with unwearied toil, 1705
And range around the realm without control,
Among my sons for proselytes to prowl,
And here and there you snap some silly soul.
You hinted fears of future change in state;
Pray Heaven you did not prophesy your fate. 1710
Perhaps, you think your time of triumph near,
But may mistake the season of the year;
The Swallow's fortune gives you cause to fear.

For charity, replied the matron, tell
What sad mischance those pretty birds befall. 1715
Nay, no mischance, the savage dame replied,
But want of wit in their unerring guide,
And eager haste, and gaudy hopes, and giddy
pride.

Yet, wishing timely warning may prevail,
Make you the moral, and I'll tell the tale. 1720

The Swallow, privileged above the rest
Of all the birds, as man's familiar guest,
Pursues the sun, in summer brisk and bold,
But wisely shuns the persecuting cold:
Is well to chancels and to chimneys known, 1725
Though 'tis not thought she feeds on smoke alone.

Ver. 1701. *Disdain of Fathers*] The opinions and authority of the primitive Fathers has been much questioned and diminished by many able and learned writers, but by none more so than by Daille, Le Clerc, Barbeyrac, and Middleton, and above all, by Dr. Whitby, in his *Dissertation de S. Scripturarum Interpretatione*, printed in London, 1714. Mosheim has with much candour confessed, that the Fathers abound with precepts of an excessive and unreasonable austerity, with stoical and academical dictates, vague and indeterminate notions, and, what is yet worse, with decisions that are absolutely false, and in evident opposition to the precepts of Christ; of which he gives two instances, that of holding the error of a double doctrine, and maintaining that it was lawful to deceive and lie, if by

From hence she has been held of heavenly hum,
Endued with particles of soul divine.
This merry chorister had long possess'd
Her summer seat, and feather'd well her nest:
Till frowning skies began to change their
cheer, 1731

And time turn'd up the wrong side of the year;
The shedding trees began the ground to strow
With yellow leaves, and bitter blasts to blow.
Sad auguries of winter thence she drew, 1735
Which, by instinct, or prophecy, she knew:
When prudence warn'd her to remove betimes,
And seek a better heaven, and warmer climes.

Her sons were summon'd on a steeple's height,
And, call'd in common council, vote a flight;
The day was named, the next that should be
fair: 1741

All to the general rendezvous repair,
They try their fluttering wings, and trust them-
selves in air.

that means the interest of the Church might be promoted. To which may be added, their forced and fanciful, and allegorical explications of some of the most important facts in the sacred Scriptures.—Eudæus has, in a treatise entitled, *Isagogæ ad Theologiam*, discussed the question of what authority is due to the works of the Fathers. But it is difficult for him to defend Ambrose and Hilary, Augustin, Gregory, Nazianzen, and Jerome, from the charge above mentioned, of the utility and propriety of using pious frauds in subjects of religion. I will just add, that the errors and absurdities of Jerome are pointed out and exposed with great force and ability by Le Clerc, in *Questiones Hieronymianæ*, 1700. But no writer has, on the whole, spoken of the merits and demerits of the primitive Fathers with so much temper and truth as the learned Dr. Jortin. St. Cyprian, in his exhortation to martyrdom, after having applied the mysterious number, seven, to the seven days of the creation, to the seven thousand years of the world's duration, to the seven spirits that stand before God, to the seven lamps of the tabernacle, to the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse, to the seven pillars of wisdom, to the seven children of the barren woman, to the seven women who took one man for their husband, to the seven brothers of the Maccabees, observes, that St. Paul mentions that number as a privileged number; which, says he, is the reason why he did not write but to seven churches, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom himself, and St. Jerome, all wrote in praise of virginity and celibacy, and said that state was as superior to wedlock as angels are to men. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on St. Matthew, xxiii. 35, clearly, and without reserve, justifies the propriety and lawfulness of using pious frauds in defending religion. This saint, it is said, was whipped by an angel, sent to chastise him for being fond of, and for imitating Cicero. But a man of wit said, it was for imitating Cicero so inelegantly and coarsely.

Among other absurd allegorical interpretations of the Fathers, Gregory Nazianzen affirms, that the brazen serpent, which Moses set up in the wilderness, was not a type of Christ's body suffering for us, but of the serpent destroyed and dead by the death of Christ, and giving us assurance of our life and salvation, by being exhibited to us as vanquished and lifeless himself. This interpretation is as puerile and groundless as what St. Ambrose says of Balaam's ass, upbraiding her master in plain articulate words; as giving us to understand in a figure, that in the last days, upon the advent of the great angel of God, the Gentiles also should speak, which were before but as dumb asses. In Luc. i. 1 the story of Balaam's ass has been the occasion of many absurd, and indeed some profane comments and observations. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1727. *From hence she has been held of heavenly line, Endued with particles of soul divine.*

"Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, et hæbitis
Æthereos dixere."—*Geog.* l. v. 220.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1728. *Endued with particles of soul divine.*] Horace, *Serm.* lib. 2. ii. 79.

"Atque adfigit humo divinæ particulam auræ." TORD.

Ver. 1732. *And time turn'd up the wrong side of the year;*
"—— inversum contristat æquarum annum."

JOHN WARTON.

But whether upward to the moon they go,
Or dream the winter out in caves below, 1745
Or hawk at flies elsewhere, concerns us not to know.

Southwards, you may be sure, they bent their flight,

And harbour'd in a hollow rock at night:
Next morn they rose, and set up every sail;
The wind was fair, but blew a mackerel gale: 1750
The sickly young sat shivering on the shore,
Abhor'd salt water never seen before,
And pray'd their tender mothers to delay
The passage, and expect a fairer day.

With these the Martin readily concurr'd, 1755
A church-begot, and church-believing bird.
Of little body, but of lofty mind,
Round-bellied, for a dignity design'd,
And much a dunce, as Martins are by kind.
Yet often quoted Canon-laws, and Code, 1760
And Fathers which he never understood;
But little learning needs in noble blood.
For, sooth to say, the Swallow brought him in,
Her household chaplain, and her next of kin. 1765
In superstition silly to excess,
And casting schemes by planetary guess:
In fine, short-wing'd, unfit himself to fly,
His fear foretold foul weather in the sky.

Besides, a Raven from a wither'd oak, 1770
Left of their lodging, was observed to croak.
That omen liked him not; so his advice
Was present safety, bought at any price;
(A seeming pious care, that cover'd cowardice.)
To strengthen this, he told a boding dream, 1775
Of rising waters, and a troubled stream,
Sure signs of anguish, dangers, and distress,
With something more, not lawful to express:
By which he sily seem'd to intimate
Some secret revelation of their fate. 1780
For he concluded, once upon a time,
He found a leaf inscribed with sacred rhyme,
Whose antique characters did well denote
The Sibyl's hand of the Cumean grove:
The mad divineress had plainly writ,
A time should come (but many ages yet) 1785
In which, sinister destinies ordain,
A dame should drown with all her feather'd train,
And seas from thence be call'd the Chelidonian main.

At this, some shook for fear, the more devout
Arose, and bless'd themselves from head to foot 1791
"Tis true, some stagers of the wiser sort
Made all these idle wonderments their sport:
They said, their only danger was delay,
And he, who heard what every fool could say,
Would never fix his thought, but trim his time away. 1795

The passage yet was good; the wind, 'tis true,
Was somewhat high, but that was nothing new,
No more than usual equinoxes blew.
The sun (already from the Scales declined)
Cave little hopes of better days behind, 1800
But change from bad to worse of weather and of wind.

Ver. 1769. *Besides, a Raven from a wither'd oak,
Left of their lodging, was observed to croak.*

"Ante sinistra cavā prædixit ab illic cornix"—Virg.
JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 1776. *Sure signs of anguish.* Sign. Original edition.
TODD.

Nor need they fear the dampness of the sky
Should flag their wings, and hinder them to fly,
'Twas only water thrown on sails too dry.
But, least of all, philosophy presumes 1805
Of truth in dreams, from melancholy fumes:
Perhaps the Martin, housed in holy ground,
Might think of ghosts that walk their midnight round,

'Till grosser atoms, tumbling in the stream
Of fancy, madly met, and clubb'd into a dream: 1810
As little weight his vain presages bear,
Of ill effect to such alone who fear;
Most prophecies are of a piece with these,
Each Nostradamus can foretell with ease.
Not naming persons, and confounding times, 1815
One casual truth supports a thousand lying rhymes.

The advice was true; but fear had seized the most,

And all good counsel is on cowards lost.
The question crudely put to shun delay,
'Twas carried by the major part to stay. 1820

His point thus gain'd, Sir Martin dated thence
His power, and from a priest became a prince.
He order'd all things with a busy care,
And cells and refectories did prepare,
And large provisions laid of winter fare: 1825
But now and then let fall a word or two
Of hope, that Heaven some miracle might show,
And for their sakes the sun should backward go;
Against the laws of nature upward climb,
And, mounted on the Ram, renew the prime: 1830
For which two proofs in sacred story lay,
Of Ahaz' dial, and of Joshua's day.

In expectation of such times as these,
A chapel housed them, truly call'd of ease:
For Martin much devotion did not ask; 1835
They pray'd sometimes, and that was all their task.

It happen'd (as beyond the reach of wit
Blind prophecies may have a lucky hit)
That this accomplish'd, or at least in part,
Gave great repute to their new Martin's art. 1840
Some Swifts*, the giants of the Swallow kind,
Large-limb'd, stout-hearted, but of stupid mind,
(For Swisses, or for Gibconites design'd)
These lubbers, peeping through a broken pane,
To suck fresh air, survey'd the neighbouring plain; 1845

And saw (but scarcely could believe their eyes)
New blossoms flourish, and new flowers arise;
As God had been abroad, and walking there,
Had left his footsteps, and reform'd the year:
The sunny hills from far were seen to glow 1850
With glittering beams, and in the meads below
The burnish'd brooks appear'd with liquid gold to flow.

At last they heard the foolish Cuckoo sing,
Whose note proclaim'd the holy-day of spring.
No longer doubting, all prepare to fly, 1855
And repossess their patrimonial sky.

* Otherwise called *Martlets*. Original edition.

Ver. 1842. *Large-limb'd, stout-hearted, &c.* *Large-limb'd*, though not a word of the most poetical sound, appears to have been introduced into our poetry by Drayton, who in his *Owls*, published in 1604, has the "*large-limb'd oak*" Milton applies this compound to Og, Psalm cxxxvi. ver. 69. Marston had before called Alcides "*big-lim'd*," Scourge of Villanie, 1598, B. iii. Sat. viii.

"*Big-lim'd Alcides, doff thy honor's crowne.*" TODD

The priest before them did his wings display ;
And that good omens might attend their way,
As luck would have it, 'twas St Martin's day.

Who but the Swallow now triumphs alone? ¹⁸⁵⁰

The canopy of heaven is all her own :

Her youthful offspring to their haunts repair,
And glide along in glades, and skim in air,
And dip for insects in the purling springs,
And stoop on rivers to refresh their wings. ¹⁸⁵⁵
Their mothers think a fair provision made,
That every son can live upon his trade :
And, now the careful charge is off their hands,
Look out for husbands, and new nuptial
bands :

The youthful widow longs to be supplied ;
But first the lover is by lawyers tied

To settle jointure-chimneys on the bride.

So thick they couple, in so short a space,

That Martin's marriage-offerings rise apace.

Their ancient houses, running to decay, ¹⁸⁷⁵

Are furbish'd up, and cemented with clay ;

They teem already ; stores of eggs are laid,

And brooding mothers call Lucina's aid.

Fame spreads the news, and foreign fowls ap-
pear

In flocks to greet the new returning year, ¹⁸⁸⁰

To bless the founder, and partake the cheer.

And now 'twas time (so fast their numbers
rise)

To plant abroad, and people colonies.

The youth drawn forth, as Martin had desired, ¹⁸⁸⁵

(For so their cruel destiny required)

Were sent far off on an ill-fated day ;

The rest would needs conduct them on their
way,

And Martin went, because he fear'd alone to
stay.

So long they flew with inconsiderate haste, ¹⁸⁹⁰

That now their afternoon began to waste ;

And, what was ominous, that very morn

The sun was enter'd into Capricorn ;

Which, by their bad astronomer's account,

That week the Virgin balance should remount. ¹⁸⁹⁵

An infant moon eclipsed him in his way,

And hid the small remainders of his day.

The crowd, amazed, pursued no certain mark ;

But birds met birds, and jostled in the dark :

Few mind the public in a panic fright ;

And fear increased the horror of the night. ¹⁹⁰⁰

Night came, but unattended with repose ;

Alone she came, no sleep their eyes to close :

Alone, and black she came ; no friendly stars
arose.

What should they do, beset with dangers
round,

No neighbouring dorp, no lodging to be found, ¹⁹⁰⁵

But bleak plains, and bare un hospitable ground.

The latter brood, who just began to fly,

Sick-feather'd, and unpractised in the sky,

For succour to their helpless mother call ;

She spread her wings ; some few beneath them
crawl ; ¹⁹¹⁰

She spread them wider yet, but could not
cover all.

Ver. 1874. ——— marriage-offerings, &c.] The first
edition, by an evident error of the press, has *offsprings*.
TODD.

Ver. 1887. *The rest would needs conduct them*] *Need*.
Orig. edit. TODD.

To augment their woes, the winds began to move
Debate in air, for empty fields above,
'Till Boreas got the skies, and pour'd amain
His rattling hailstones mix'd with snow and
ram. ¹⁹¹⁵

The joyless morning late arose, and found
A dreadful desolation reign around,
Some buried in the snow, some frozen to the
ground.

The rest were struggling still with death, and
lay

The Crows' and Ravens' rights, an undefended
prey : ¹⁹²⁰

Excepting Martin's race ; for they and he

Had gain'd the shelter of a hollow tree :

But soon discover'd by a sturdy clown,

He headed all the rabble of a town,

And finish'd them with bats, or poll'd them
down. ¹⁹²⁵

Martin himself was caught alive, and tried

For treasonous crimes, because the laws provide

No Martin there in winter shall abide.

High on an oak, which never leaf shall bear,

He breathed his last, exposed to open air ; ¹⁹³⁰

And there his corpse, unblest'd, is hanging still,

To show the change of winds with his prophetic
bill.

The patience of the Hind did almost fail ;

For well she mark'd the malice of the tale :

Which ribald art their Church to Luther
owes ; ¹⁹³⁵

In malice it began, by malice grows ;

He sow'd the serpent's teeth, an iron-harvest rose.

But most in Martin's character and fate,

She saw her slander'd sons, the Panther's hate,

The people's rage, the persecuting state : ¹⁹⁴⁰

Then said, I take the advice in friendly part ;

You clear your conscience, or at least your heart :

Perhaps you fail'd in your foreseeing skill,

For Swallows are unlucky birds to kill :

Ver. 1931. ——— is hanging still.] Original edition :
are hanging. TODD.

Ver. 1933. *The patience of the Hind*.] But her patience
would have been still more exhausted, if her antagonist
had told her, that in the dispute that arose betwixt the
Senate of Venice and the Church of Rome, about the year
1615, in the time of Pope Paul the Fifth, the partisans of
the latter, and particularly Bellarmine, maintained that
the Pope is invested with all the authority of heaven and
earth ; that all princes are his vassals, and that he may
annul their laws at pleasure ; that kings may appeal to
him, as he is temporal monarch of the whole earth ;
that he can discharge subjects from their oaths of allegi-
ance, and make it their duty to take up arms against their
sovereign ; that he may depose kings without any fault
committed by them, if the good of the Church requires
it ; that the clergy are exempt from all tributes to
kings, and are not accountable to them even in cases of
high treason ; that the Pope cannot err, that the Pope is
God on earth ; that his sentence and that of God are the
same ; and that to call his power in question, is to call in
question the power of God. Though Erasmus had not the
resolution and vigour of Luther, yet by his incomparable
ridicule he greatly promoted the Reformation. What an
exquisite piece of wit and satire is the dialogue entitled
Julius Exclusus, written certainly by Erasmus, though he
rather denied it. See Jortin's Life, Vol. ii. p. 800. See
Sallengru de Pasquillii, &c. This Julius was published in
1669, and also 1680, at Oxon The Panther might also
have reminded her antagonist of a fact that she would not
like to be told of, that there was printed and published, at
Paris, 1589, a Relation of the Martyrdom of Brother
Jaques Clement, in which it is affirmed, that an angel had
appeared to him, had shown him a drawn sword, and or-
dered him to kill the tyrant. This paper is inserted in the
Satyre Menippée. Dr. J. WATSON.

As for my sons, the family is bless'd, 1945
 Whose every child is equal to the rest:
 No Church reform'd can boast a blameless line;
 Such Martins build in yours, and more than mine:
 Or else an old fanatic author lies,
 Who summ'd their scandals up by centuries.
 But through your parable I plainly see 1950
 The bloody laws, the crowd's barbarity;
 The sunshine that offends the purblind sight:
 Had some their wishes, it would soon be night.
 Mistake me not: the charge concerns not you: 1955
 Your sons are malecontents, but yet are true,
 As far as non-resistance makes them so;
 But that's a word of neutral sense, you know,
 A passive term, which no relief will bring,
 But trims betwixt a rebel and a king. 1960

Rest well assured, the Pardelis replied,
 My sons would all support the regal side,
 Though Heaven forbid the cause by battle should
 be tried.

The matron answer'd with a loud Amen,
 And thus pursued her argument again. 1965
 If, as you say, and as I hope no less,
 Your sons will practise what yourselves profess,
 What angry power prevents our present peace?
 The Lion, studious of our common good,
 Desires (and Kings' desires are ill withstood) 1970
 To join our nations in a lasting love;
 The bars betwixt are easy to remove;
 For sanguinary laws were never made above.
 If you condemn that prince of tyranny,
 Whose mandate forced your Gallic friends
 to fly, 1975

Make not a worse example of your own;
 Or cease to rail at causeless rigour shown,
 And let the guiltless person throw the stone.
 His blunted sword your suffering brotherhood
 Have seldom felt; he stops it short of blood: 1980
 But you have ground the persecuting knife,
 And set it to a razor-edge on life.
 Cursed be the wit, whose cruelty refines,
 Or to his father's rod the scorpion joins;
 Your finger is more gross than the great monarch's
 loins. 1985

But you, perhaps, remove that bloody note,
 And stick it on the first Reformers' coat.
 Oh, let their crime in long oblivion sleep:
 'Twas theirs indeed to make, 'tis yours to keep.
 Unjust, or just, is all the question now; 1990
 'Tis plain, that not repealing you allow.

To name the Test would put you in a rage;
 You charge not that on any former age,
 But smile to think how innocent you stand,
 Arm'd by a weapon put into your hand. 1995
 Yet still remember, that you wield a sword
 Forged by your foes against your Sovereign Lord,
 Design'd to hew the imperial cedar down,
 Defraud succession, and dis-heir the crown.
 To abhor the makers, and their laws approve, 2000
 Is to hate traitors, and the treason love.
 What means it else, which now your children say,
 We made it not, nor will we take away?

Suppose some great oppressor had, by slight
 Of law, disscised your brother of his right, 2005
 Your common sire surrendering in a fright;
 Would you to that unrighteous title stand,
 Loft by the villain's will to heir the land!

More just was Judas, who his Saviour sold;
 The sacrilegious bribe he could not hold, 2010
 Nor hang in peace, before he render'd back the
 gold.

What more could you have done, than now you do,
 Had Oates and Bedlow, and their plot been true?
 Some specious reasons for those wrongs were
 found; 2014

The dire magicians threw their mists around,
 And wise men walk'd as on an enchanted ground.
 But now, when Time has made the imposture plain,
 (Late though he follow'd Truth, and limping held
 her train)

What new delusion charms your cheated eyes
 again?

The painted harlot might a while bewitch, 2020
 But why the hag uncased, and all obscene with
 itch?

The first Reformers were a modest race;
 Our peers possess'd in peace their native place;
 And when rebellious arms o'erturn'd the state,
 They suffer'd only in the common fate: 2025
 But now the Sovereign mounts the regal chair,
 And mitred seats are full, yet David's bench is
 bare.

Your answer is, they were not dispossess'd;
 They need but rub their metal on the test
 To prove their ore: 'twere well if gold alone 2030
 Were touch'd and tried on your discerning stone;
 But that unfaithful Test unfound will pass
 The dross of Atheists, and sectarian brass:
 As if the experiment were made to hold
 For base productions, and reject the gold. 2035
 Thus men ungodd'd may to places rise,
 And sects may be prefer'd without disguise:
 No danger to the Church or State from these;
 The Papist only has his writ of ease.

No gainful office gives him the pretence 2040
 To grind the subject, or defraud the prince.
 Wrong conscience, or no conscience, may deserve
 To thrive, but ours alone is privileged to sterve.
 Still thank yourselves, you cry; your noble race
 We banish not, but they forsake the place; 2045
 Our doors are open: true, but ere they come,
 You toss your 'censing Test, and fume the room;
 As if 'twere Toby's rival to expel,
 And fright the fiend who could not bear the
 smell.

To this the Panther sharply had replied; 2050
 But, having gain'd a verdict on her side,
 She wisely gave the loser leave to chide;
 Well satisfied to have the But and Peace,
 And for the plaintiff's cause she cared the less, 2055
 Because she sued *in formâ pauperis*;
 Yet thought it decent something should be said;
 For secret guilt by silence is betray'd.
 So neither granted all, nor much denied,
 But answer'd with a yawning kind of pride:
 Methinks such terms of proffer'd peace you
 bring, 2060

As once Æneas to the Italian king:
 By long possession all the land is mine;
 You strangers come with your intruding line,
 To share my sceptre, which you call to join. 2065
 You plead like him an ancient pedigree,
 And claim a peaceful seat by fate's decree.

In ready pomp your sacrificer stands,
To unite the Trojan and the Latin bands,
And, that the league more firmly may be tied,
Demand the fair Lavinia for your bride. 2170
Thus plausibly you veil the intended wrong,
But still you bring your exiled gods along;
And will endeavour, in succeeding space,
Those household puppets on our hearths to place.
Perhaps some barbarous laws have been pre- 2175
ferred;

I spake against the Test, but was not heard;
These to rescind, and peerage to restore,
My gracious Sovereign would my vote implore:
I owe him much, but owe my conscience more.

Conscience is then your plea, replied the 2180
dame,

Which, well inform'd, will ever be the same.
But yours is much of theameleon hue,
To change the dye with every distant view.
When first the Lion sat with awful sway,
Your conscience taught your duty to obey: 2185
He might have had your Statutes and your Test;
No conscience but of subjects was profess'd.
He found your temper, and no farther tried,
But on that broken reed, your Church, relied.
In vain the sects assay'd their utmost art, 2190
With offer'd treasure to espouse their part;
Their treasures were a bribe too mean to move
his heart.

But when, by long experience, you had proved,
How far he could forgive, how well he loved;
A goodness that excell'd his godlike race, 2195
And only short of Heaven's unbounded grace;
A flood of mercy that o'erflow'd our isle,
Calm in the rise, and fruitful as the Nile;
Forgetting whence our Egypt was supplied,
You thought your Sovereign bound to send the 2199
tide:

Nor upward look'd on that immortal spring,
But vainly deem'd, he durst not be a king:
Then conscience, unrestrain'd by fear, began
To stretch her limits, and extend the span;
Did his indulgence as her gift dispose, 2195
And made a wise alliance with her foes.
Can Conscience own the associating name,
And raise no blushes to conceal her shame?
For sure she has been thought a bashful dame.
But if the cause by battle should be tried, 2199
You grant she must espouse the regal side:
Oh Proteus conscience, never to be tied!
What Phœbus from the Tripod shall disclose,
Which are, in last resort, your friends or foes?
Homer, who learn'd the language of the sky, 2195
The seeming Gordian knot would soon untie;
Immortal powers the term of Conscience know,
But Interest is her name with men below.

Conscience or Interest be 't, or both in one, 2199
(The Panther answer'd in a surly tone)

Ver. 2083. — *with every distant view* | The original
edition has—*with every different view.* Todd.

Ver. 2098. — *fruitful as the Nile*;] The religious
rites and notions of any country, that are founded on the
physical state of that country, continue notwithstanding all
external changes of religion. The Nile in Egypt, and the
Ganges in India, are still adored, notwithstanding the
establishment of Mahometism. The difficulties of convert-
ing the Hindoos and some other Indian castes, and the
Chinese, seem almost insuperable, without supernatural
aid. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 2106. *And made a wise alliance, &c.*] Orig. edit.
Todd.

The first commands me to maintain the crown,
The last forbids to throw my barriers down.
Our penal laws no sons of yours admit,
Our Test excludes your tribe from benefit.
These are my banks your ocean to withstand, 2125
Which proudly rising overlooks the land;
And, once let in, with unresisted sway,
Would sweep the pastors and their flocks away.
Think not my judgment leads me to comply
With laws unjust, but hard necessity: 2130
Imperious need, which cannot be withstood,
Makes ill authentic, for a greater good.
Possess your soul with patience, and attend:
A more auspicious planet may ascend;
Good fortune may present some happier time,
With means to cancel my unwilling crime; 2135
(Unwilling, witness all ye Powers above)
To mend my errors, and redeem your love:
That little space you safely may allow;
Your all-dispensing power protects you now. 2140
Hold, said the Hind, 'tis needless to explain;
You would postpone me to another reign;
'Till when you are content to be unjust:
Your part is to possess, and mine to trust.
A fair exchange proposed of future chance, 2145
For present profit and inheritance.

Few words will serve to finish our dispute;
Who will not now repeal, would persecute.
To ripen green revenge your hopes attend,
Wishing that happier planet would ascend. 2150
For shame let Conscience be your plea no more:
To will hereafter, proves she might before;
But she's a bawd to gain, and holds the door.

Your care about your banks infers a fear
Of threatening floods and inundations near: 2155
If so, a just reprise would only be
Of what the land usurp'd upon the sea;
And all your jealousies but serve to show
Your ground is, like your neighbour-nation, low.
To intrench in what you grant unrighteous laws,
Is to distrust the justice of your cause; 2161
And argues that the true religion lies
In those weak adversaries you despise.

Tyrannic force is that which least you fear;
The sound is frightful in a Christian's ear: 2165
Avert it, Heaven! nor let that plague be sent
To us from the dispeopled continent.

But piety commands me to refrain;
Those prayers are needless in this monarch's
reign.

Behold! how he protects your friends op- 2170
press'd,

Receives the banish'd, succours the distress'd:
Behold, for you may read an honest open breast.
He stands in day-light, and disdains to hide
An act, to which by honour he is tied, 2175
A generous, laudable, and kingly pride.

Your Test he would repeal, his peers restore;
This when he says he means, he means no more.

Well, said the Panther, I believe him just,
And yet —

And yet, 'tis but because you must;
You would be trusted, but you would not
trust. 2180

The Hind thus briefly; and disdain'd to enlarge
On power of Kings, and their superior charge,
As Heaven's trustees before the people's choice:
Though sure the Panther did not much rejoice
To hear those echoes given of her once loyal 2185
voice.

The matron woo'd her kindness to the last,
But could not win; her hour of grace was pass'd.
Whom, thus persisting, when she could not bring
To leave the Wolf, and to believe her King,
She gave her up, and fairly wish'd her joy 2190
Of her late treaty with her new ally:
Which well she hoped would more successful

prove,
Than was the Pigeon's and the Buzzard's love.
The Panther ask'd, what concord there could be
Betwixt two kinds whose natures disagree? 2195
The dame replied: 'Tis sung in every street,
The common chat of gossips when they meet:
But, since unheard by you, 'tis worth your while
To take a wholesome tale, though told in homely
style.

A plain good man, whose name is under-
stood, 2200

(So few deserve the name of plain and good)
Of three fair lineal lordships stood possess'd,
And lived, as reason was, upon the best.
Inured to hardships from his early youth,
Much had he done, and suffer'd for his truth: 2205
At land and sea, in many a doubtful fight,
Was never known a more adventurous knight,
Who oftener drew his sword, and always for the
right.

As fortune would (his fortune came, though
late)

He took possession of his just estate: 2210
Nor rack'd his tenants with increase of rent;
Nor lived too sparing, nor too largely spent;
But overlook'd his hind; their pay was just,
And ready, for he scorn'd to go on trust:
Slow to resolve, but in performance quick; 2215
So true, that he was awkward at a trick.
For little souls on little shifts rely,
And cowards' arts of mean expedients try;
The noble mind will dare do anything but lie.
False friends (his deadliest foes) could find no
way 2220

But shows of honest bluntness, to betray:
That unsuspected plainness he believed;
He look'd into himself, and was deceived.
Some lucky planet sure attends his birth,
Or Heaven would make a miracle on earth; 2225
For prosperous honesty is seldom seen
To bear so dead a weight, and yet to win.
It looks as fate with nature's law would strive,
To show plain-dealing once an age may thrive:
And, when so tough a frame she could not
bend, 2230

Exceeded her commission to befriend.

This grateful man, as Heaven increased his store,
Gave God again, and daily fed his poor.
His house with all convenience was purvey'd;
The rest he found, but raised the fabric where
he pray'd; 2235

And in that sacred place his beauteous wife
Employ'd her happiest hours of holy life.

Nor did their alms extend to those alone,
Whom common faith more strictly made their
own; 2239

A sort of Doves were housed too near their hall,
Who cross the proverb, and abound with gall.
Though some, 'tis true, are passively inclined,
The greater part degenerate from their kind;

Ver. 2218 *And cowards' arts, &c.* And coward arts
Orig. edit. Todd.

Voracious birds, that hotly bill and breed,
And largely drink, because on salt they feed. 2245
Small gain from them their bounteous owner
draws;

Yet, bound by promise, he supports their cause,
As corporations privileged by laws.

That house which harbour to their kind affords,
Was built, long since, God knows, for better
birds; 2250

But fluttering there, they nestle near the throne,
And lodge in habitations not their own,
By their high crops and corny gizzards known.
Like Harpies, they could scent a plenteous
board,

Then to be sure they never fail'd their lord: 2255
The rest was form, and bare attendance paid;
They drunk, and eat, and grudgingly obey'd.
The more they fed, they raven'd still for more;
They drank from Dan, and left Beersheba
poor.

All this they had by law, and none repined; 2260
The preference was but due to Levi's kind:
But when some lay-preferment fell by chance,
The Gourmands made it their inheritance.
When once possess'd they never quit their claim;
For then 'tis sanctified to Heaven's high name;
And hallow'd thus, they cannot give consent,
The gift should be profaned by worldly
management. 2267

Their flesh was never to the table served;
Though 'tis not thence infer'd the birds were
starved;

But that their master did not like the food, 2270
As rank, and breeding melancholy blood.
Nor did it with his gracious nature suit,
E'en though they were not Doves, to persecute:
Yet he refused (nor could they take offence)
Their glutton kind should teach him absti-
nence. 2275

Nor consecrated grain their wheat he thought,
Which, new from treading, in their bills they
brought:

But left his hinds each in his private power,
That those who like the bran might leave the
flour.

He for himself, and not for others, chose, 2280
Nor would he be imposed on, nor impose;
But in their faces his devotion paid,
And sacrifice with solemn rites was made,
And sacred incense on his altars laid.

Besides these jolly birds, whose corpse im-
pure 2285

Repaid their commons with their salt-manure;
Another farm he had behind his house,
Not overstock'd, but barely for his use:
Wherein his poor domestic poultry fed,
And from his pious hands received their bread.
Our pamper'd Pigeons, with malignant eyes, 2291
Beheld these inmates, and their nurseries:
Though hard their fare, at evening, and at morn,
A cruse of water and an ear of corn;
Yet still they grudged that modicum, and
thought 2295

A sheaf in every single grain was brought.

Ver. 2271. *As rank, and breeding melancholy blood.* Vide
Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Oxford, page 65.
JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 2285 — *whose corpse impure* Whose crops
impure. Orig. edit. Todd.

Fain would they filch that little food away,
While unrestrain'd those happy gluttons prey.
And much they grieved to see so nigh their hall,
The bird that warn'd St. Peter of his fall;
That he should raise his mitred crest on high,
And clap his wings, and call his family
To sacred rites; and vex the ethereal powers
With midnight matins at uncivil hours:
Nay more, his quiet neighbours should molest,
Just in the sweetness of their morning rest. 2305
Beast of a bird, supinely when he might
Lie snug and sleep, to rise before the light!
What if his dull forefathers used that cry,
Could he not let a bad example die?
The world was fallen into an easier way;
This age knew better than to fast and pray.
Good sense in sacred worship would appear
So to begin, as they might end the year.
Such feats in former times had wrought the
falls 2315

Of crowing Chanticleers in cloister'd walls.
Expell'd for this, and for their lands, they fled;
And sister Partlet, with her hooded head,
Was hooted hence, because she would not pray
a-bed.

The way to win the restive world to God,
Was to lay by the disciplining rod,
Unnatural fasts, and foreign forms of prayer:
Religion frights us with a mien severe.
'Tis prudence to reform her into ease,
And put her in undress to make her please: 2325
A lively faith will bear aloft the mind,
And leave the luggage of good works behind.

Such doctrines in the Pigeon-house were taught:
You need not ask how wond'rously they wrought;
But sure the common cry was all for these, 2330
Whose life and precepts both encouraged ease.
Yet fearing those alluring baits might fail,
And holy deeds o'er all their arts prevail;
(For vice, though frontless, and of harden'd face,
Is daunted at the sight of awful grace.) 2335

An hideous figure of their foes they drew,
Nor lines, nor looks, nor shades, nor colours true;
And this grotesque design exposed to public view.
One would have thought it some Egyptian piece,
With garden-gods, and barking deities, 2340
More thick than Ptolemy has stuck the skies.
All so perverse a draught, so far unlike,
It was no libel where it meant to strike.

Yet still the daubing pleased, and great and small,
To view the monster, crowded Pigeon-hall. 2345
There Chanticleer was drawn upon his knees
Adoring shrines, and stocks of sainted trees;
And by him, a misshapen, ugly race;
The curse of God was seen on every face.
No Holland emblem could that malice mend, 2350
But still the worse the look, the fitter for a fiend.

The master of the farm, displeased to find
So much of rancour in so mild a kind,
Enquired into the cause, and came to know,
The Passive Church had struck the foremost
blow; 2355

With groundless fears, and jealousies possess'd,
As if this troublesome intruding guest
Would drive the birds of Venus from their nest.

A deed his inborn equity abhorr'd;
But Interest will not trust, though God should
plight his word. 2360

A law, the source of many future harms,
Had banish'd all the poultry from the farms;
With loss of life, if any should be found
To crow or peck on this forbidden ground.
That bloody statute chiefly was design'd 2365
For Chanticleer the white, of clergy kind;
But after-malice did not long forget
The lay that wore the robe and coronet.
For them, for their inferiors and allies,
Their foes a deadly Shibboleth devise: 2370
By which unrighteously it was decreed,
That none to trust, or profit, should succeed,
Who would not swallow first a poisonous wicked
weed:

Or that, to which old Socrates was cursed,
Or henbane juice to swell them till they burst.
The patron (as in reason) thought it hard 2375
To see this inquisition in his yard,
By which the Sovereign was of subjects' use
debarr'd.

All gentle means he tried, which might withdraw
The effects of so unnatural a law: 2380
But still the Dove-house obstinately stood
Deaf to their own, and to their neighbours' good;
And which was worse, (if any worse could be,)
Repented of their boasted loyalty:
Now made the champions of a cruel cause, 2385
And drunk with fumes of popular applause;
For those whom God to ruin has design'd,
He fits for fate, and first destroys their mind.

New doubts indeed they daily strove to raise,
Suggested dangers, interposed delays: 2390
And emissary Pigeons had in store,
Such as the Meccan prophet used of yore,
To whisper counsels in their patron's ear;
And veil'd their false advice with zealous fear.
The master smiled to see them work in vain, 2395
To wear him out, and make an idle reign:
He saw, but suffer'd their protractive arts,
And strove by mildness to reduce their hearts:
But they abused that grace to make allies,
And fondly closed with former enemies; 2400
For fools are doubly fools, endeavoring to be wise.

After a grave consult what course were best,
One, more mature in folly than the rest,
Stood up, and told them, with his head aside,
That desperate cures must be to desperate ills
applied: 2405

And therefore, since their main impending fear
Was from the increasing race of Chanticleer,
Some potent bird of prey they ought to find,
A foe profess'd to him, and all his kind:
Some haggard Hawk, who had her eyrie nigh, 2410
Well pounc'd to fasten, and well wing'd to fly;
One they might trust, their common wrongs to
wreak;

The Musquet, and the Coystrel were too weak,
Too fierce the Falcon; but, above the rest,
The noble Buzzard ever pleased me best; 2415

Ver. 2361. *A law, the source, &c.*] Penal laws against
Popish recusants. DERRICK.

Ver. 2401. *For fools are doubly fools, &c.*] The original
edition has, *double fools*. TODD.

Ver. 2414. *— Above the rest,
The noble Buzzard ever pleased me best;]*
The character of the Buzzard was drawn for the ecle-

Ver. 2339. — some *Egyptian piece*,] *An Egyptian
piece*. Orig. edit. TODD.

Ver. 2347. *Adoring shrines,*] So the original edition.
Derrick has, *adorning*. TODD.

Of small renown, 'tis true; for, not to lie,
We call him but a Hawk by courtesy
I know he hates the Pigeon-house and Farm,
And more, in time of war, has done us harm :
But all his hate on trivial points depends ;
Give up our forms, and we shall soon be friends.
For Pigeons' flesh he seems not much to care,
Cramm'd Chickens are a more delicious fare.
On this high potentate, without delay,
I wish you would confer the sovereign sway :
Petition him to accept the government,
And let a splendid embassy be sent.

This pithy speech prevail'd, and all agreed,
Old enmities forgot, the Buzzard should succeed.
Their welcome suit was granted soon as
heard,

His lodgings furnish'd, and a train prepared,
With B's upon their breast, appointed for his
guard.

brated Bishop Burnet, out of compliment to King James II., to whom he had been, on many accounts, obnoxious. He is introduced as a prince, because his spirit and activity raised him to be regarded by many of the opponents to the court-measures, as the head of their party; and certainly none of the clergy was so meddling and inquisitive as he was; so that it is not unjust of our poet to say, that

He dares the world ; and, eager of a name,
He thrusts about, and justles into fame.

The bishop was good-humoured, conversable, and charitable; absent, credulous, and talkative;

More learn'd than honest, more a wit than learn'd.

It is certain he gave room for this impeachment of his honesty, by drawing up two papers in defence of divorce and polygamy; a task very unworthy of a clergyman; and by his behaviour, with regard to the Earl of Lauderdale's affairs in the House of Commons, where he was examined as to what he heard that nobleman say, about arming the Irish Papists, and bringing a Scotch army into England, to support some arbitrary measures intended to be set on foot by the king, and to overawe the Parliament. He at first refused to answer upon the latter point, and was dismissed: he then returned,

— uncall'd, his patron t control,
Divulged the secret whispers of his soul;
Stood forth the accusing Satan of his crimes,
And offer'd to the Moloch of the times.

Having waited for some time in the lobby, in hope of being called in again, he desired to be re-admitted, and now revealed everything that had passed between them in private conversation; for which conduct he makes but a poor excuse in his History of his Own Times. The House of Commons laid great stress upon his declaration, and thus furnished with fresh matter, renewed their address against the earl.

The papers above mentioned were written to support a design set on foot by Shaftesbury and his emissaries, to divorce the king and procure him another wife, whose issue might exclude the Duke of York from the succession. They are to be found in Mackay's Memoirs. Burnet first came from Scotland, where he was born, to London, to complete the Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. The Earl of Lauderdale, at that time, received him with great hospitality, and a friendship that merited a different return from what he received. Nor was his behaviour to the Duke of York less indefensible, his Highness having given him some distinguishing marks of his favour, which he requited with becoming one of his severest enemies; not so much from any views of serving these kingdoms, but because that object that seemed most immediate to his interest, most engaged his attention; and he thought opposition the swiftest way to preferment. It is certain King James hated him, not without reason, and would have made him feel his resentment, if he had not retired to the Prince of Orange, with whom he returned to England in 1688. The bishop has revenged himself, by calling Dryden, in the History of his Own Times, a monster of impurity, and by mentioning him in his Reflections on Varillas, with a contempt to which he was infinitely superior. DERRICK.

Ver. 2418. *I know he hates, &c.* I know he haunts, &c.] Orig. edit. Todd.

He came, and crown'd with great solemnity,
God save king Buzzard was the general cry.

A portly prince, and goodly to the sight,
He seem'd a son of Anak for his height :
Like those whom stature did to crowns prefer :
Black-brow'd, and bluff, like Homer's Jupiter :
Broad-bow'd, and brawny-built for love's delight;

A prophet form'd to make a female proselyte
A theologue more by need than genial bent,
By breeding sharp, by nature confident.
Interest in all his actions was discern'd ;
More learn'd than honest, more a wit than
learn'd :

Or forced by fear, or by his profit led,
Or both conjoin'd, his native clime he fled :
But brought the virtues of his heaven along :
A fair behaviour, and a fluent tongue.
And yet with all his arts he could not thrive ;
The most unlucky parasite alive.

Ver. 2435. *A portly prince.*] This character of Buzzard was intended to ridicule Bishop Burnet, who had attacked Dryden for a translation of Varillas. Montague and Prior make their Bayes speak thus of this passage:—"The excellence of a fable is in the length of it. Æsop indeed, like a slave as he was, made little, short, simple stories, with a dry moral at the end of them, and could not form any noble design. But here, I give you fable upon fable; and after you are satisfied with boasts in the first course, serve you up with a delicate dish of fowl for the second: now I was at all this pains to abuse one particular person; for I gad I'll tell you what a tick he served me: I was once translating a very good French author, but being something long about it, as you know a man is not always in the humour; what does this Jack do, but puts out an answer to my friend before I had half finished the translation; so there was three whole months lost upon his account. But I think I have my revenge on him sufficiently, for I let all the world know that he is a tall, broad-backed, lusty fellow, of a brown complexion, fair behaviour, a fluent tongue, and talking amongst the women; and to top it all, that he's much: a scholar, more a wit, and owns but two sacraments. Don't you think this fellow will hang himself? But, besides, I have so nice's his character in a name, as will make you split. I call him —, I gad I won't tell you, unless you remember what I said of him.

Smith. Why that he was much a scholar, and more a wit.

Bayes. Right, and his name is Buzzard. Ha! ha! ha!"
Dr. J. WATSON.

Ibid. *A portly prince.*] This violent and cutting satire on Bishop Burnet, which approaches the very verge of downright and disgusting ribaldry, must be accounted for (I will not say apologised for) by the bishop's having called Dryden a monster of impiety, for the obscenities, blasphemies, and falsehoods, with which he said our author's works abounded. Burnet's own character appears every day to be more and more approved and brightened by calm examination. His History of his Own Times, allowing, perhaps, that it is written in too careless and familiar a style, yet abounds in most curious facts that otherwise would have been unknown, and this very familiarity is pleasing. His History of the Reformation is surely a most valuable and important work, and one of the most decisive blows Popery ever received. His Exposition of the Articles is sensible, acute, and candid; with a laudable endeavour to free them from some seeming absurdities and contradictions. And his short account of Lord Rochester a most useful, pious, and instructive little narrative. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 2441. — *than genial bent;* Than natural bent. Orig. edit. Todd.

Ver. 2442. — *by nature confident.* By nation confident. Orig. edit. Todd.

Ver. 2446. *Or both conjoin'd, his native clime he fled.*
The original edition has—
Or both his own unhappy clime, &c. Todd.

Ver. 2448. — *a fluent tongue.* Flattering Orig. edit. Todd.

Loud praises to prepare his paths he sent,
 And then himself pursued his compliment;
 But by reverse of fortune chased away,
 His gifts no longer than their author stay : 2454
 He shakes the dust against the ungrateful race,
 And leaves the stench of ordures in the place.
 Oft has he flatter'd and blasphem'd the same;
 For in his rage he spares no Sovereign's name:
 The hero and the tyrant change their style
 By the same measure that they frown or smile.
 When well received by hospitable foes, 2461
 The kindness he returns, is to expose :
 For courtesies, though undeserved and great,
 No gratitude in felon-minds beget;
 As tribute to his wit, the churl receives the treat. 2465
 His praise of foes is venomously nice;
 So touch'd, it turns a virtue to a vice :
 "A Greek, and bountiful, forewarns us twice."
 Seven sacraments he wisely does disown,
 Because he knows Confession stands for one; 2470
 Where sins to sacred silence are convey'd,
 And not for fear, or love, to be betray'd:
 But he, uncall'd, his patron to control,
 Divulged the secret whispers of his soul;
 Stood forth the accusing Satan of his crimes, 2475
 And offer'd to the Moloch of the times.
 Prompt to assail, and careless of defence,
 Invulnerable in his impudence,
 He dares the world, and eager of a name,
 He thrusts about, and justles into fame. 2480
 Frontless, and satire-proof, he scours the streets,
 And runs an Indian-muck at all he meets.
 So fond of loud report, that not to miss
 Of being known (his last and utmost bliss)
 He rather would be known for what he is. 2485
 Such was, and is the Captain of the Test,
 Though half his virtues are not here express'd;
 The modesty of fame conceals the rest.
 The spleenful Pigeons never could create
 A prince more proper to revenge their hate : 2490
 Indeed, more proper to revenge, than save;
 A king, whom in his wrath the Almighty gave:
 For all the grace the landlord had allow'd,
 But made the Buzzard and the Pigeons proud;
 Gave time to fix their friends, and to seclude the
 crowd. 2495
 They long their fellow-subjects to intral,
 Their patron's promise into question call,
 And vainly think he meant to make them lords
 of all.

False fears their leaders fail'd not to suggest,
 As if the Doves were to be dispossess'd; 2500
 Nor sighs, nor groans, nor gogling eyes did want;
 For now the Pigeons too had learn'd to cant.
 The house of prayer is stock'd with large increase;
 Nor doors, nor windows can contain the press : 2505
 For birds of every feather fill the abode;
 E'en Atheists out of envy own a God :
 And, reeking from the stews, adulterers come,
 Like Goths and Vandals to demolish Rome.
 That Conscience, which to all their crimes was
 mute,
 Now calls aloud, and cries to persecute : 2510
 No rigour of the laws to be released,
 And much the less, because it was their Lord's
 request:
 They thought it great their Sovereign to control,
 And named their pride, nobility of soul. 2514
 'Tis true, the Pigeons, and their prince elect,
 Were short of power, their purpose to effect.

But with their quills did all the hurt they could,
 And cuff'd the tender Chickens from their food :
 And much the Buzzard in their cause did stir,
 Though naming not the patron, to infer, 2520
 With all respect, he was a gross idolater.

But when the imperial owner did espy,
 That thus they turn'd his grace to villany,
 Not suffering wrath to discompose his mind,
 He strove a temper for the extremes to find.
 So to be just, as he might still be kind; 2525
 Then, all maturely weigh'd, pronounced a doom
 Of sacred strength for every age to come.
 By this the Doves their wealth and state possess,
 No rights infringed, but licence to oppress : 2530
 Such power have they as factious lawyers long
 To crowns ascribed, that Kings can do no wrong.
 But since his own domestic birds have tried
 The dire effects of their destructive pride,
 He deems that proof a measure to the rest, 2535
 Concluding well within his kingly breast,
 His fowls of nature too unjustly were oppress'd.
 He therefore makes all birds of every sect
 Free of his farm, with promise to respect
 Their several kinds alike, and equally protect. 2540
 His gracious edict the same franchise yields
 To all the wild increase of woods and fields,
 And who in rocks aloof, and who in steeples builds:
 To Crows the like impartial grace affords,
 And Choughs and Daws, and such republic birds; 2545
 Secured with ample privilege to feed,
 Each has his district, and his bounds decreed :
 Combined in common interest with his own,
 But not to pass the Pigeons' Rubicon.

Here ends the reign of this pretended Dove; 2550
 All prophecies accomplish'd from above,
 For Shiloh comes the sceptre to remove.
 Reduced from her imperial high abode,
 Like Dionysius to a private rood,
 The Passive Church, that with pretended grace 2555
 Did her distinctive mark in duty place,
 Now touch'd, reviles her Maker to his face.
 What after happen'd is not hard to guess:
 The small beginnings had a large increase,
 And arts and wealth succeed (the secret spoils of
 peace) 2560

'Tis said, the Doves repented, though too late,
 Become the smiths of their own foolish fate:
 Nor did their owner hasten their ill hour;
 But, sunk in credit, they decreased in power : 2565
 Like snows in warmth that mildly pass away,
 Dissolving in the silence of decay.

The Buzzard, not content with equal place,
 Invites the feather'd Nimrods of his race;

Ver. 2519. *And much the Buzzard in their cause did stir,
 Though naming not the patron, &c.]*

On the fifth of November, 1684, Burnet preached a sermon in the Rolls chapel against Popery, in which he dropped some oblique reflections on the king. On this account it was ordered he should preach in that place no more, and he soon after found it necessary to withdraw to Holland. The king demanded him of the States as a traitor, but they refused to acquiesce. It is said £3000 was ordered to be paid by the treasury to any person that could contrive to deliver him into the king's hands. DEBBICK.

Ver. 2537. *His fowls of nature, &c.] His fowl, &c. Original edition. Tonn.*

Ver. 2550. *— of this pretended Dove;] Orig. edit. Tonn.*

Ver. 2559. *The small beginnings had a large increase,]*

*"— exiguus profecta initii ed crevit."—Livy
 JOHN WARTON.*

To hide the thinness of their flock from sight,
And all together make a seeming goodly flight:
But each have separate interests of their own; ²⁵⁷¹
Two Czars are one too many for a throne.
Nor can the usurper long abstain from food;
Already he has tasted Pigeons' blood:
And may be tempted to his former fare, ²⁵⁷⁵
When this indulgent lord shall late to heaven
repair.

Bare bending times, and moulting mouths may
come,
When, lagging late, they cannot reach their home;
Or rent in schism (for so their fate decrees)
Like the tumultuous college of the bees, ²⁵⁸¹
They fight their quarrel, by themselves oppress'd.
The tyrant smiles below, and waits the falling
feast.

Thus did the gentle Hind her fable end,
Nor would the Panther blame it, nor commend;

Ver. 2583. *Thus did the gentle Hind*] It is observable that in this poem, full of fine versification and weak argument, our author keeps to some leading doctrines of Popery, and makes no defence of several of its absurd tenets, purgatory, monkery, celibacy, confession, reliques, nor of two which Swift has inimitably ridiculed, holy water and the Pope's bulls.

"Another discovery, for which Peter was much renowned, was his famous universal *pickle*. For having remarked how your common pickle in use among housewives, was of no further benefit than to preserve dead flesh, and certain kinds of vegetables; Peter, with great cost as well as art, had contrived a pickle proper for houses, gardens, towns, men, women, children and cattle; wherein he could preserve them as sound as insects in amber. Now this *pickle* to the taste, the smell, and the sight, appeared exactly the same, with what is in common service for beef, and butter, and herrings, (and has been often that way applied with great success,) but for its many sovereign virtues was quite a different thing. For Peter would put in a certain quantity of his *powder pumpekin*, after which it never failed of success. The operation was performed by *Spargefaction*, in a proper time of the moon. The patient who was to be *pickled*, if it were a house, would infallibly be preserved from all spiders, rats, and weazels. If the party affected were a dog, he should be exempt from mange, madness, and hunger. It also infallibly took away all scabs and lice, and scald heads from children, never hindering the patient from any duty, either at bed or board.

"But of all Peter's rarities, he most valued a certain set of *bulls*, whose race was by great fortune preserved in a lineal descent from those that guarded the *golden fleece*, though some who pretended to observe them curiously, doubted the breed had not been kept entirely chaste;

But, with affected yawnings at the close, ²⁵⁸⁶
Seem'd to require her natural repose:
For now the streaky light began to peep;
And setting stars admonish'd both to sleep.
The dame withdrew, and, wishing to her guest
The peace of Heaven, betook herself to rest. ²⁵⁹⁰
Ten thousand angels on her slumbers wait,
With glorious visions of her future state.

because they had degenerated from their ancestors in some qualities, and had acquired others, very extraordinary, but a foreign mixture.

The *bulls* of Colchos are recorded to have *brazen feet*; but whether it happened by ill pasture, and running, by an alloy from intervention of other parents, from stolen intrigues: whether a weakness in their progenitors had impaired the seminal virtue, or by a decline necessary through a long course of time, the originals of nature being depraved in these latter sinful ages of the world: whatever was the cause, 'tis certain that *Lord Peter's bulls* were extremely vitiated, by the rust of time in the metal of their *lead*. However, the terrible *roaring* peculiar to their lineage was preserved; as likewise that faculty of breathing out *fire* from their nostrils, which, notwithstanding, many of their detractors took to be a feat of art, and to be nothing so terrible as it appeared, proceeding only from their usual course of diet, which was that of *squibs* and *crackers*."

Pope, it is said, used to mention this poem as the most correct specimen of Dryden's versification. I must own I cannot assent to this opinion. He tells us himself that he intended to give the majestic turn of heroic poetry to the first part. In this design he has woefully miscarried. The perspicuity and plausibility of his reasonings, however false and futile, show a great command of language. This poem our author intended as a defence for his sudden conversion to Popery, especially after his having written the *Religio Laici*, where such opposite opinions were maintained and enforced. Whether this conversion was the effect of pure truth and conviction, must be left to the great Searcher of our hearts to determine; but such a change in so abject a flatterer, would naturally be imputed to mercenary motives. It is remarkable that Congreve, in his laboured and elegant defence of his friend's character, speaks not a syllable on the subject. The conversions of two greater men to Popery, that of Henry IV. and Marshal Turenne, were reckoned interested and insincere. The following very severe lines are preserved in the *State Poems*, on this occasion:

"At all religions to the last from first,
Thou still hast rail'd, and then espoused the worst;
In this thy wisdom such as 'twas before,
T' abuse all woman kind—then wed a whore."

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 2588. *And setting stars admonish'd both to sleep.*]

"*Suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.*"—Virgil.

JOHN WARTON

BRITANNIA REDIVIVA;

A POEM ON THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE.*

*Dii Patri Indigetes, et Romule, Vestaque Mater,
Quæ Tuscum Tiberim, et Romana Palatia servas,
Hunc saltem everso Puerum succurrere sæclo
Ne prohibere: satis jampridem sanguine nostro
Laomedontæe luimus Perjurya Trojæ.*—VIRG. Georg. 1.

OUR vows are heard betimes¹ and Heaven takes
care

To grant, before we can conclude the prayer:
Preventing angels met it half the way,
And sent us back to praise, who came to pray.

Just on the day, when the high-mounted sun⁵
Did farthest in his northern progress run,
He bended forward, and ev'n stretch'd the sphere
Beyond the limits of the lengthen'd year,
To view a brighter sun in Britain born;

* "On the 10th of June, 1688, the queen was suddenly seized with labour-pains, and delivered of a son, who was baptised by the name of James, and declared Prince of Wales—All the Catholics and friends of James were transported with the most extravagant joy at the birth of this child; while great part of the nation consoled themselves with the notion that it was altogether supposititious. They carefully collected a variety of circumstances, upon which this conjecture was founded; and though they were inconsistent, contradictory, and inconclusive, the inference was so agreeable to the views and passions of the people, that it made an impression which, in all probability, will never be totally effaced. Dr. Burnet, who seems to have been at uncommon pains to establish this belief, and to have consulted all the Whig nurses in England upon the subject; first pretends to demonstrate, that the queen was not with child; secondly, that she was with child, but miscarried; thirdly, that a child was brought into the queen's apartment in a warming-pan; fourthly, that there was no child at all in the room; fifthly, that the queen actually bore a child, but it died that same day; sixthly, that the supposititious child had not the fits; seventhly, that it had the fits, of which it died at Richmond: therefore the Chevalier de St George must be the fruit of four different impostures."—Smollett's History of England. DERRICK.

Ver. 1. *Our vows are heard*] It might be expected, that a late and zealous convert to Popery would join in the general triumph and exultation, felt by all his brethren, on the birth of a prince who might be the means of perpetuating the Catholic religion on the throne of these kingdoms, especially as this important event was imputed to a vow made by the Duchess of Modena to the Holy Virgin at Loretto, that her daughter might by her means have a son

"Jam nova progenies cælo demittitur alto."

Which was the motto of a long poem in hexameter verse, and not bad Latin, now before me, written by Mr. J. Plowden at this time. Burnet certainly has disgraced his history by collecting all the idle and incredible tales, and inconsistent accounts of the birth of this prince, in order to prove it was a supposititious child, and has given a narration more worthy of a nurse or midwife, than of a bishop and historian. King William, with that generosity and magnanimity that distinguished his character, gave no credit or countenance to this improbable fiction. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 6. ——— *in his northern progress*] Thus the original edition in 1688. Derrick has, *us*. Todd.

That was the business of his longest morn;¹⁰
The glorious object seen, 'twas time to turn.

Departing Spring could only stay to shed
Her bloomy beauties on the genial bed,
But left the manly Summer in her stead,¹⁵
With timely fruit the longing land to cheer,
And to fulfil the promise of the year.

Betwixt two seasons comes the auspicious heir,
This age to blossom, and the next to bear.

* Last solemn sabbath saw the Church attend;²⁰
The Paraclete in fiery pomp descend;

But when his wondrous + octave roll'd again,
He brought a royal infant in his train.

So great a blessing to so good a king,
None but the Eternal Comforter could bring.

Or did the mighty Trinity conspire,²⁵
As once, in council to create our sire?

It seems as if they sent the new-born guest
To wait on the procession of their feast;

And on their sacred anniversary decreed³⁰
To stamp their image on the promised seed.

Three realms united, and on one bestow'd,
An emblem of their mystic union show'd:

The Mighty Trine the triple empire shared,
As every person would have one to guard.

Hail son of prayers! by holy violence³⁵
Drawn down from Heaven; but long be banish'd

thence,

And late to thy paternal skies retire:

To mend our crimes whole ages would require;

To change the inveterate habit of our sins,
And finish what thy godlike sire begins.⁴⁰

Kind Heaven, to make us Englishmen again,

No less can give us than a patriarch's reign.

The sacred cradle to your charge receive,

Ye seraphs, and by turns the guard relieve;⁴⁵

Thy father's angel, and thy father join,

To keep possession, and secure the line;

Ver. 13 *Her bloomy beauties*] Original edition. Derrick, by an absurd error, has *gloomy*. Todd.

* Whit-Sunday. Original edition.

Ver. 20. *The Paraclete in fiery pomp descend*]; So Parnell:

"The fiery pomp ascending left the view."

JOHN WARTON

+ Trinity Sunday. Original edition.

Ver. 37. *And late to thy paternal skies retire*];

"Serus in cælum redeas."—Hor.

JOHN WARTON.

K 2

But long defer the honours of thy fate :

Great may they be like his, like his be late ;
That James this running century may view,
And give his son an auspice to the new. 50

Our wants exact at least that moderate stay :

For see the Dragon* winged on his way,
To watch the travail,† and devour the prey.
Or, if allusions may not rise so high,
Thus, when Alcides raised his infant cry, 55
The snakes besieged his young divinity :
But vainly with their forked tongues they threat ;
For opposition makes a hero great.

To needful succour all the good will run,
And Jove assert the godhead of his son. 60

Oh still repining at your present state,
Grudging yourselves the benefits of fate,
Look up, and read in characters of light
A blessing sent you in your own despite.
The manna falls, yet that celestial bread 65
Like Jews you munch, and murmur while you feed.

May not your fortune be like their's, exiled,
Yet forty years to wander in the wild :

Or if it be, may Moses live at least,
To lead you to the verge of promised rest. 70

Though poets are not prophets, to foreknow
What plants will take the blight, and what will grow,

By tracing Heaven his footsteps may be found :
Behold ! how awfully he walks the round !
God is abroad, and, wondrous in his ways, 75
The rise of empires, and their fall surveys ;
More (might I say) than with an usual eye,
He sees his bleeding Church in ruin lie,
And hears the souls of saints beneath his altar cry.

Already has he lifted high the sign,‡
Which crown'd the conquering arms of Con-
stantine: 80

The moon § grows pale at that presaging sight,
And half her train of stars have lost their light.

Behold another Sylvester, || to bless
The sacred standard, and secure success ; 85
Large of his treasures, of a soul so great,
As fills and crowds his universal seat.

Now view at home a second Constantine, ¶
(The former too was of the British line)
Has not his healing balm your breaches closed, 90
Whose exile many sought, and few opposed ?

Ver. 49. — this running century] Original edition Todd.

Ver. 50. — his son] Orig. edit. Derrick has, this on. Todd.

* Alluding only to the Commonwealth party, here and in other places of the poem. Original edition.

† Rev. xii. 4. Original edition.

‡ The cross. Original edition.

§ The crescent which the Turks bear for their arms. Original edition.

|| The Pope in the time of Constantine the Great, alluding to the present Pope. Original edition.

Ver. 84 Behold another Sylvester, &c.] The Pope, in James the Second's time, is here compared to him who governed the Romish Church in the time of Constantine, to whom the king is likened a little lower down. DERRICK.

¶ King James the Second. Original edition.

Ver. 89. The former too was of the British line] St. Helen, mother of Constantine the Great, was an Englishwoman; and Archbishop Usher affirms, that the emperor himself was born in this kingdom. DERRICK.

Or, did not Heaven by its eternal doom
Permit those evils, that this good might come ?

So manifest, that e'en the moon-eyed sects
See whom and what this Providence protects. 95

Methinks, had we within our minds no more
Than that one shipwreck on the fatal ore,*

That only thought may make us think again,
What wonders God reserves for such a reign. 99

To dream that chance his preservation wrought,
Were to think Noah was preserved for nought,

Or the surviving eight were not design'd
To people earth, and to restore their kind.

When humbly on the royal babe we gaze,
The manly lines of a majestic face 106

Give awful joy : 'tis paradise to look
On the fair frontispiece of Nature's book :

If the first opening page so charms the sight,
Think how the unfolded volume will delight ! 110

See how the venerable infant lies
In early pomp ; how through the mother's eyes

The father's soul, with an undaunted view,
Looks out, and takes our homage as his due.

See on his future subjects how he smiles,
Nor meanly flatters, nor with craft beguiles ; 115

But with an open face, as on his throne,
Assures our birthrights, and assumes his own.

Born in broad day-light, that the ungrateful
rout

May find no room for a remaining doubt ;
Truth, which itself is light, does darkness shun,

And the true eaglet safely dares the sun. 121

† Fain would the fiends have made a dubious
birth,

Loth to confess the godhead clothed in earth :
But sicken'd, after all their baffled lies,

To find an heir apparent of the skies : 125
Abandon'd to despair, still may they grudge,
And, owning not the Saviour, prove the judge.

‡ Not great Æneas stood in plainer day,
When, the dark mantling mist dissolved away,

He to the Tyrians show'd his sudden face,
Shining with all his goddess mother's grace : 130

For she herself had made his countenance
bright,

Breathed honour on his eyes, and her own purple
light.

If our victorious Edward, § as they say,
Gave Wales a prince on that propitious day, 135

Why may not years revolving with his fate
Produce his like, but with a longer date ?

One, who may carry to a distant shore
The terror that his famed forefather bore.

But why should James or his young hero stay 140
For slight presages of a name or day ?
We need no Edward's fortune to adorn
That happy moment when our prince was

born :

Ver. 92. Or, did not, &c.] Original edition. Derrick has, O, did not, &c. Todd.

* The Lemmon ore. Original edition.

Ver. 97. — that one shipwreck on the fatal ore.] The sandbank, on which the Duke of York had like to have been lost in 1683, on his voyage to Scotland, is known by the name of Lemmon Ore. DERRICK.

† Alluding to the temptations in the wilderness. Original edition.

‡ Virg. Æneid. 1. Original edition.

§ Edward the Black Prince, born on Trinity Sunday. Original edition.

Our prince adorns his day, and ages hence
Shall wish his birth-day for some future prince.

* Great Michael, prince of all the ethereal hosts,
And whatever inborn saints our Britain boasts; 145
And thou,† the adopted patron of our isle,
With cheerful aspects on this infant smile:
The pledge of Heaven, which, dropping from
above, 150

Secures our bliss, and reconciles his love.

Enough of ills our dire rebellion wrought,
When, to the dregs, we drank the bitter draught;
Then airy atoms did in plagues conspire,
Nor did the avenging angel yet retire, 155
But purged our still increasing crimes with fire.
Then perjured Plots, the still impending Test,
And worse—but charity conceals the rest:
Here stop the current of the sanguine flood;
Require not, gracious God, thy martyrs' blood; 160
But let their dying pangs, their living toil,
Spread a rich harvest through their native soil:
A harvest ripening for another reign,
Of which this royal babe may reap the grain.

Enough of early saints one womb has given; 165
Enough increased the family of heaven:
Let them for his and our atonement go;
And reigning blest above, leave him to rule below.

Enough already has the year foreflow'd 170
His wonted course, the sea has overflow'd,
The meads were floated with a weeping spring,
And frighten'd birds in woods forgot to sing:
The strong-limb'd steed beneath his harness faints,
And the same shivering sweat his lord attaints,
When will the minister of wrath give o'er? 175
Behold him, at Araunah's‡ threshing-floor:
He stops, and seems to sheathe his flaming brand,
Pleased with burnt incense from our David's hand.
David has bought the Jebusite's abode,
And raised an altar to the living God. 180

Heaven, to reward him, makes his joys sincere;
No future ills nor accidents appear,
To sully and pollute the sacred infant's year.
Five months to discord and debate were given:
He sanctifies the yet remaining seven. 185
Sabbath of months! henceforth in him be blest,
And prelude to the realms perpetual rest!

Let his baptismal drops for us atone;
Lustrations for offences§ not his own.
Let Conscience, which is Interest ill disguised, 190
In the same font be cleansed, and all the land
baptized.

|| Unnamed as yet; at least unknown to fame:
Is there a strife in heaven about his name?
Where every famous predecessor vies,
And makes a faction for it in the skies? 195
Or must it be reserved to thought alone?
Such was the sacred Tetragrammaton.

Ver. 144. *Our prince adorns his day,*] Original edition.
TODD.

* The motto of the poem explained. Original edition.

† St. George. Original edition.

Ver. 169. — *the year foreflow'd*

His wonted course, &c.]

Original edition. Derrick has, *foreshow'd*. TODD.

‡ Alluding to the passage in 1 Kings, xxiv. 20. Orig.
edit.

§ Original sin. Original edition.

|| The prince christened, but not named. Original
edition.

Ver. 197. — *the sacred Tetragrammaton.*] Jehovah,

Things worthy silence must not be reveal'd:
Thus the true name of Rome was kept conceal'd,

To shun the spells and sorceries of those 200
Who durst her infant Majesty oppose.
But when his tender strength in time shall rise
To dare ill tongues, and fascinating eyes;
This isle, which hides the little thunderer's fame,
Shall be too narrow to contain his name: 205
The artillery of heaven shall make him known;
* Crete could not hold the god, when Jove was
grown.

As Jove's increase,† who from his brain was
born,

Whom arms and arts did equally adorn,
Free of the breast was bred, whose milky taste
Minerva's name to Venus had debased; 211
So this imperial babe rejects the food
That mixes monarch's with plebeian blood:
Food that his inborn courage might control,
Extinguish all the father in his soul, 215

And, for his Estian race, and Saxon strain,
Might reproduce some second Richard's reign.
Mildness he shares from both his parents' blood:
But kings too tame are despicably good:
Be this the mixture of this regal child, 220
By nature manly, but by virtue mild.

Thus far the furious transport of the news
Had to prophetic madness fired the Muse;
Madness ungovernable, uninspired,
Swift to foretel whatever she desired. 225

Was it for me the dark abyss to tread,
And read the book which angels cannot read?
How was I punish'd, when the sudden blast,‡
The face of heaven, and our young sun o'ercast!
Fame, the swift ill, increasing as she roll'd, 230
Disease, despair, and death, at three reprises
told:

At three insulting strides she stalk'd the town,
And, like contagion, struck the loyal down.
Down fell the winnow'd wheat; but mounted
high,

The whirlwind bore the chaff, and hid the sky 235
Here black rebellion shooting from below,
(As earth's gigantic brood § by moments grow)
And here the sons of God are petrified with woe:
An apoplex of grief: so low were driven
The saints, as hardly to defend their heaven. 240

As, when pent vapours run their hollow round,
Earthquakes, which are convulsions of the
ground,

Break bellying forth, and no confinement brook,
Till the third settles what the former shook;
Such heavings had our souls; till, slow and late,
Our life with his return'd, and faith prevail'd on
fate. 246

or the name of God, unlawful to be pronounced by the Jews.
Original edition.

Ver. 199. *Thus the true name of Rome was kept conceal'd.*
Some authors say, that the true name of Rome was kept a
secret: "Ne hostes incontinentis deus elicerent." Original
edition.

* Candie, where Jupiter was born and bred secretly
Original edition.

† Pallas, or Minerva, said by the poets to have been
bred up by hand. Original edition.

‡ The sudden false report of the prince's death. Orig.
edit.

§ Those giants are feigned to have grown fifteen ells
every day. Original edition.

By prayers the mighty blessing was implored,
To prayers was granted, and by prayers restored.

So ere the Shunamite * a son conceived,
The prophet promised, and the wife believed. 250
A son was sent, the son so much desired ;
But soon upon the mother's knees expired.
The troubled Seer approach'd the mournful door,
Ran, pray'd, and sent his pastoral staff before,
Then stretch'd his limbs upon the child, and
mourn'd, 255

'Till warmth, and breath, and a new soul return'd.
Thus Mercy stretches out her hand, and saves
Desponding Peter sinking in the waves.

As when a sudden storm of hail and rain
Beats to the ground the yet unbarbed grain, 260
Think not the hopes of harvest are destroy'd
On the fat field, and on the naked void ;
The light, unloaded stem, from tempest freed,
Will raise the youthful honours of his head ;
And, soon restored by native vigour, bear 265
The timely product of the bounteous year.

Nor yet conclude all fiery trials past :
For Heaven will exercise us to the last ;
Sometimes will check us in our full career,
With doubtful blessings, and with mingled fear ;
That, still depending on his daily grace, 271
His every mercy for an alms may pass ;
With sparing hands will diet us to good,
Preventing surfeits of our pamper'd blood.
So feeds the mother-hird her craving young 275
With little morsels, and delays them long.

True, this last blessing was a royal feast ;
But, where's the wedding-garment on the guest ?
Our manners, as religion were a dream,
Are such as teach the nations to blaspheme. 280
In lusts we wallow, and with pride we swell,
And injuries with injuries repel ;
Prompt to revenge, not daring to forgive,
Our lives unteach the doctrine we believe.
Thus Israel sinn'd, impenitently hard, 285
And vainly thought the present ark † their
guard ;

But when the haughty Philistines appear,
They fled, abandon'd to their foes and fear ;
Their God was absent, though his ark was there.
Ah ! lest our crimes should snatch this pledge 290
away,

And make our joys the blessings of a day !
For we have sinn'd him hence, and that he lives,
God to his promise, not our practice gives.

* In 2 Kings, iv. Original edition.

Ver. 273. — *will diet us to good.*] Many striking examples of the strange inequalities, and of the mixture of good and bad, that appear in our author's works, may be given from this poem. I hope I may be pardoned for pointing out some singular passages, in which may be found his elegancies and vulgarisms, his flights and descents, his reasonings and fallacies, his just panegyric and sordid adulation, and his piety and profaneness. See from verse 20 to 40, verse 53, verse 65, verse 69, verse 80, (in allusion to the story of Constantine's cross, now given up as fabulous by all candid historians. See Fabricius, Bib. Gr. v 6.) verse 100, verse 126, six elegant lines; verse 111, gross flattery; and also verse 136, verse 190, verse 196, verse 230, four fine lines, but disgraced by verse 233. verse 210, gross flattery; verse 296, eight beautiful lines; as also verse 256, to verse 269; verse 290, flattery; and verse 292, profane; verse 300 to verse 310, very elegant; verse 323, vulgar allusion; verse 329, almost burlesque; verse 331, and what follows of Aristides, verse 336, very nauseous adulation. Dr. J. WARTON.

† 1 Sam. iv. Original edition.

Our crimes would soon weigh down the guilty
scale,

But James, and Mary, and the Church prevail. 295
Nor Amalek * can rout the chosen bands,
While Hur and Aaron hold up Moses' hands.

By living well, let us secure his days,
Moderate in hopes, and humble in our ways. 300
No force the free-born spirit can constrain,
But charity, and great examples gain.
Forgiveness is our thanks for such a day,
'Tis god-like God in his own coin to pay.

But you, propitious queen, translated here,
From your mild heaven, to rule our rugged
sphere, 305

Beyond the sunny walks, and circling year :
You, who your native climate have bereft
Of all the virtues, and the vices left ;
Whom piety and beauty make their boast, 310
Though beautiful is well in pious lost ;
So lost, as star-light is dissolved away,
And melts into the brightness of the day ;
Or gold about the regal diadem,
Lost to improve the lustre of the gem.
What can we add to your triumphant day ? 315
Let the great gift the beauteous giver pay.
For should our thanks awake the rising sun,
And lengthen, as his latest shadows run,
That, tho' the longest day, would soon, too soon
be done.

Let angels' voices with their harps conspire, 320
But keep the auspicious infant from the quire ;
Late let him sing above, and let us know
No sweeter music than his cries below.

Nor can I wish to you, great monarch, more
Than such an annual income to your store, 325
The day which gave this Unit *did* not shine
For a less omen, than to fill the Time.
After a Prince, an Admiral beget ;
The Royal Sovereign wants an anchor yet.
Our isle has younger titles still in store, 330
And when the exhausted land can yield no more,
Your line can force them from a foreign shore.

The name of Great your martial mind will
suit ;

But justice is your darling attribute :
Of all the Greeks, 'twas but one hero's + due, 335
And, in him, Plutarch prophesied of you.
A prince's favours but on few can fall,
But justice is a virtue shared by all.

Some kings the name of conquerors have
assumed,

Some to be great, some to be gods presumed ; 340
But boundless power, and arbitrary lust,
Made tyrants still abhor the name of just ;
They shunn'd the praise this god-like virtue gives,
And fear'd a title that reproach'd their lives.

The power, from which all kings derive their
state, 345

Whom they pretend, at least, to imitate,
Is equal both to punish and reward ;
For few would love their God, unless they fear'd.

* Exod. xvii. 8. Original edition.

Ver. 313. — *the regal diadem.*] Original edition.
Derrick has, *royal*. Todd.

Ver. 319. *That, tho' the longest day, would soon, too soon
be done*] This is the punctuation of the original edition.
Todd.

† Aristides. See his life in Plutarch. Original edition

Resistless force and immortality
 Make but a lame, imperfect, deity; 350
 Tempests have force unbounded to destroy,
 And deathless being ev'n the damn'd enjoy;
 And yet Heaven's attributes, both last and first,
 One without life, and one with life accurst:
 But justice is Heaven's self, so strictly he, 355
 That, could it fail, the Godhead could not be.

This virtue is your own; but life and state
 Are one to fortune subject, one to fate:
 Equal to all, you justly frown or smile;
 Nor hopes nor fears your steady hand be-
 guile; 360
 Yourself our balance hold, the world's, our
 isle.

MAC FLECKNOE.*

ALL human things are subject to decay,
 And when fate summons, monarchs must obey.

* This is one of the best, as well as severest, satires ever produced in our language. Mr. Thomas Shadwell is the hero of the piece, and introduced, as if pitched upon, by Flecknoe, to succeed him in the throne of dulness; for Flecknoe was never poet-laureat, as has been ignorantly asserted in Cibber's Lives of the Poets.

Richard Flecknoe, Esq., from whom this poem derives its name, was an Irish priest, who had, according to his own declaration, laid aside the mechanic part of the priesthood. He was well known at court; yet, out of four plays which he wrote, could get only one of them acted, and that was damned. "He has," says Langbaine, "published sundry works as he styles them, to continue his name to posterity, though possibly an enemy has done that for him, which his own endeavours could never have perfected: for, whatever may become of his own pieces, his name will continue whilst Mr. Dryden's satire, called Mac Flecknoe, shall remain in vogue."

From this poem Pope took the hint of his Dunciad. DERRICK.

There is a copy of this satire in manuscript, among the manuscripts in the Archbishopal Library at Lambeth Palace; which presents some readings, different from the printed copies, that may probably amuse the reader, and perhaps, in two or three instances, induce him to prefer the written text. The MS. is numbered 711. 8. TODD.

VER. 1. *All human things* Will it be thought an extravagant and exaggerated encomium to say, that in point of pleasantry, various sorts of wit, humour, satire, both oblique and direct, contempt and indignation, clear diction, and inelodious versification, this poem is perhaps the best of its kind in any language. Boileau, who spent his life, exhausted his talents, and soured his temper, in proscribing bad poets, has nothing equal to it. It is precisely in the style and manner mentioned by Horace—

"— modò tristi, sæpe jocosò,
 Defendente vicem modò Rhetoris atque Poetæ,
 Intemdi urbanè, parentis viribus atque
 Extenuantis esse consultò."

It is obvious to observe that this poem is the parent of the Dunciad, which, with all the labour bestowed upon it, is not equal to its original: though Dr. Johnson praises it, as being more extended in its plan, and more diversified in its incidents. It certainly is more extended in its plan, by attacking such a multitude of mean scribblers, but the attack, by being so divided, is of less force than if confined to one alone. And what plan does Dr. Johnson mean? does he mean that in four books, in which the subject of electing Tibbald as king of the Dunces was totally altered, and enlarged into an account of the Empire of Dulness spreading over the whole world, instead of vesting it in one monarch; which monarch was also unhappily and unskillfully changed to Cibber instead of Tibbald. I shall not repeat what is said on this subject in the fifth volume of the last edition of Pope. As to the incidents being more diversified, Dr. Johnson alludes to the introduction of the games, which are described in the most offensive language,

This Flecknoe found, who, like Augustus, young
 Was call'd to empire, and had govern'd long;
 In prose and verse, was own'd, without dispute, 5
 Through all the realms of Nonsense, absolute.
 This aged prince, now flourishing in peace,
 And bless'd with issue of a large increase;
 Worn out with business, did at length debate
 To settle the succession of the state: 10
 And, pondering, which of all his sons was fit
 To reign, and wage immortal war with wit,
 Cried, "This resolved; for nature pleads, that
 he

Should only rule, who most resembles me.
 Shadwell alone my perfect image bears, 15
 Mature in dulness from his tender years:
 Shadwell alone, of all my sons, is he,
 Who stands confirm'd in full stupidity.
 The rest to some faint meaning make pretence,
 But Shadwell never deviates into sense. 20
 Some beams of wit on other souls may fall,
 Strike through, and make a lucid interval;
 But Shadwell's genuine night admits no ray,
 His rising fogs prevail upon the day.

and in images gross and vulgar. It is difficult to understand fully the meaning of Pope in the fourth book of the Dunciad. Many species of false and trifling studies and pursuits are well exposed. But did he really mean to say, contrary to all experience, that the Empire of Dulness was becoming universal over all Europe, and that art after art was daily expiring, when every art is every day improving and enlarged? The numbers in Pope's Dunciad, by being very much laboured, are become the most hard and inharmonious of any of his works. To make the poem tolerably intelligible, which every day renders more and more necessary, it has become unavoidable to print it, in a very late edition, with those many and long notes given to him by his friends, Swift, Arbuthnot, Cleland, Savage, Warburton, and others, without which the names, families, abodes, and employments of the contemptible scribblers must have remained totally unknown. But after all that is here said of the excellence of Mac Flecknoe, candour and justice oblige us to add, that Shadwell did not in justice deserve the character here given of him, because, in many of his plays are characters supported with true humour and spirit, and plots skilfully enough conducted. So that neither Dryden nor Pope were fortunate and just in their respective heroes, as neither Shadwell nor Cibber deserved to be placed in such ridiculous and contemptible situations. Dr. WARREN.

VER. 11. — *which of all his sons was fit* — which of all his sons were fit. MS. TODD.

VER. 12. — *immortal war* — immortal wars. MS. TODD.

Besides, his goodly fabric fills the eye,
And seems design'd for thoughtless majesty:
Thoughtless as monarch oaks, that shade the plain,

And, spread in solemn state, supinely reign.
Heywood and Shirley were but types of thee,
Thou hast great prophet of tautology.
Ev'n I, a dunce of more renown than they,
Was sent before but to prepare thy way
And, coarsely clad in Norwich druggot, came
To teach the nations in thy greater name.
My warbling lute, the lute I whilom strung,
When to king John of Portugal I sung,
Was but the prelude to that glorious day,
When thou on silver Thames didst cut thy way,
With well-timed oars before the royal barge,
Swell'd with the pride of thy celestial charge;
And big with hymn, commander of an host,
The like was ne'er in Epsom blankets toss'd.
Methinks I see the new Arion sail,
The lute still trembling underneath thy nail.
At thy well-sharpen'd thumb from shore to shore

The trebles squeak for fear, the basses roar:
Echoes from Pissing-Alley Shadwell call,
And Shadwell they resound from Aston-Hall.
About thy boat the little fishes throng,
As at the morning toast that floats along.
Sometimes, as prince of thy harmonious band,
Thou whist'lst thy papers in thy threshing hand.

St. André's feet ne'er kept more equal time,
Not ev'n the feet of thy own Psyche's rhyme:
Though they in number as in sense excel;
So just, so like tautology, they fell,
That, pale with envy, Singleton forswore
The lute and sword, which he in triumph bore,
And vow'd he ne'er would act Villierius more."

Here stopp'd the good old sire, and wept for joy,

In silent raptures of the hopeful boy.
All arguments, but most his plays, persuade,
That for anointed dulness he was made.

Close to the walls which fair Augusta bind,
(The fair Augusta much to fears inclined)
An ancient fabric raised to inform the sight,
There stood of yore, and Barbican it hight:
A watch-tower once, but now, so fate ordains,
Of all the pile an empty name remains:
From its old ruins brothel-houses rise,
Scenes of lewd loves, and of polluted joys,
Where their vast courts the mother-strumpets keep,

And, undisturb'd by watch, in silence sleep.

Ver. 33. *And, coarsely clad in Norwich druggot, came*] And coarsely cloth'd in rusty druggot came. MS. TODD.

Ver. 39. *With well-timed oars*] With well-trim'd oars. MS. TODD.

Ver. 42. *The like was ne'er in Epsom blankets toss'd*] The like in Epsom blanket ne'er was tost. MS. TODD.

Ver. 44. *The lute still trembling*] The lute she trembles, &c. MS. TODD.

Ver. 53. *St. André's feet ne'er kept, &c.*] A French dancing-master, at this time greatly admired. DENRICK.

Ver. 55. *Though they in number as in sense excel*] Though they in number as in verse excel. MS. TODD.

Ver. 64. *Close to the walls, &c.*] Close by the walls, &c. MS. TODD.

Ver. 67. — *Barbican it hight*:] Barbican is high. MS. TODD.

Near these a nursery erects its head,
Where queens are form'd, and future heroes bred;

Where unfledged actors learn to laugh and cry,
Where infant punks their tender voices try,
And little Maximins the gods defy.
Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear;
But gentle Simkin just reception finds
Amidst this monument of vanish'd minds:
Pure clinches the suburban muse affords,
And Pantan waging harmless war with words.
Here Flecknoe, as a place to fame well known,
Ambitiously design'd his Shadwell's throne.
For ancient Decker prophesied long since,
That in this pile should reign a mighty prince,
Born for a scourge of wit, and fail of sense:
To whom true dulness should some Psyches owe,
But worlds of Misers from his pen should flow,
Humorists and Hypocrites it should produce,
Whole Raymond families, and tribes of Bruce.

Now empress Fame had publish'd the renown
Of Shadwell's coronation through the town.
Roused by report of fame, the nations meet,
From near Bunhill, and distant Watling-street.
No Persian carpets spread the imperial way,
But scatter'd limbs of mangled poets lay:
From dusty shops neglected authors come,
Martyrs of pies, and reliques of the bum.
Much Heywood, Shirley, Ogleby there lay,
But loads of Shadwell almost choked the way.
Bilk'd stationers for yeomen stood prepared,
And Herrngman was captain of the guard.
The hoary prince in majesty appear'd,
High on a throne of his own labours rear'd.
At his right hand our young Ascanius sat,
Rome's other hope, and pillar of the state.
His brows thick fogs, instead of glories, grace,
And lambent dulness play'd around his face.
As Hannibal did to the altars come,
Swore by his sire, a mortal foe to Rome;
So Shadwell swore, nor should his vow be vain,
That he till death true dulness would maintain;
And, in his father's right, and realm's defence,
Ne'er to have peace with wit, nor truce with sense.

Ver. 81. — *Simkin just reception finds*] Simkin is a character of a cobbler in an interlude. Pantan, who is mentioned soon after, was a famous punster. DENRICK.

Ver. 88. *That in this pile should reign, &c.*] That in this place should reign, &c. MS. TODD.

Ver. 96. *Roused by report of fame, &c.*] Roused by report of pomp, &c. MS. TODD.

Ver. 102. *Much Heywood, Shirley, Ogleby*] Except Lopez de Vega, Heywood was the most voluminous of all play writers, having had, as he himself quaintly expresses it, either an entire hand, or at the least a main finger in two hundred and twenty plays. He lived in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and James I. He also translated dialogues of Lucian and Erasmus, and in the year 1635 published, in folio, a poem called "The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels." James Shirley deserved to be placed in better company. He had a fine imagination, he was the author of thirty-nine plays, in many of which are fine passages, as there are in his poems. Ogleby was the well-known author of a dull translation of Homer and Virgil, which, however, as was his History of China, were adorned with valuable cuts by Hollar. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 107. *High on a throne, &c.*] High on a state, &c. MS. TODD.

Ver. 113. *Swore by his sire, &c.*] Sworn by his sire, &c. MS. Certainly the preferable reading. TODD.

Ver. 117. — *nor truce with sense*] Or truce with sense. MS. TODD.

The king himself the sacred unction made,
As king by office, and as priest by trade.
In his sinister hand, instead of ball,
He placed a mighty mug of potent ale;
Love's Kingdom to his right he did convey,
At once his sceptre, and his rule of sway;
Whose righteous lore the prince had practised
young,

And from whose loins recorded Psyche sprung.
His temples, last, with poppies were o'erspread,
That nodding seem'd to consecrate his head.
Just at the point of time, if fame not lie,
On his left hand twelve reverend owls did fly.
So Romulus, 'tis sung, by Tyber's brook,
Presage of sway from twice six vultures took.
The admiring throng loud acclamations make,
And omens of his future empire take.
The sire then shook the honours of his head,
And from his brows damps of oblivion shed
Full on the filial dulness. long he stood,
Repelling from his breast the raging god;
At length burst out in this prophetic mood.

"Heavens bless my son, from Ireland let him
reign

To far Barbadoes on the western main;
Of his dominion may no end be known,
And greater than his father's be his throne;
Beyond Love's Kingdom let him stretch his
pen!"

He paused, and all the people cried, Amen.
Then thus continued he: "My son, advance
Still in new impudence, new ignorance.
Success let others teach, learn thou from me
Pangs without birth, and fruitless industry.
Let Virtuosos in five years be writ;
Yet not one thought accuse thy toil of wit.
Let gentle George in triumph tread the stage,
Make Dormant betray, and Loveit rage;
Let Cully, Cockwood, Fopling, charm the pit,
And in their folly show the writer's wit.
Yet still thy fools shall stand in thy defence,
And justify their author's want of sense.
Let them be all by thy own model made
Of dulness, and desire no foreign aid;
That they to future ages may be known,
Not copies drawn, but issue of thy own.
Nay, let thy men of wit too be the same,
All full of thee, and differing but in name.
But let no alien Sedley interpose,
To lard with wit thy hungry Epsom prose.

Ver. 138. *At length burst out, &c.] At length broke out, &c.* MS. TODD.

Ver. 143. *Beyond Love's Kingdom, &c.]* This is the name of that one play of Flecknoe's which was acted, but mis-carried in the representation. DERRICK.

Ver. 144. ——— *the people cried, Amen.]* The people said, Amen. MS. TODD.

Ver. 149. *Let Virtuosos in five years be writ:]* Shadwell's play of the Virtuosos, in which Sir Formal Trifle, a florid comical orator, is a principal character, was first acted in 1676; and he tells the Duke of Newcastle, in the dedication, "that here he has endeavoured at humour, wit, and satire." DERRICK.

Ver. 150. ——— *accuse thy toil of wit.]* Accuse thy soil of wit. MS. TODD.

Ver. 159. ——— *to future ages, &c.] To after ages, &c.]* MS. TODD.

Ver. 160. ——— *but issue of thy own.]* But issues of thy own. MS. TODD.

Ver. 164. *To lard with wit thy hungry Epsom prose.]* Alluding to Shadwell's comedy, called Epsom Wells. DERRICK.

And when false flowers of rhetoric thou would'st
cull,

Trust nature, do not labour to be dull;
But write thy best, and top; and, in each line,
Sir Formal's oratory will be thine:
Sir Formal, though unsought, attends thy quill,
And does thy northern dedications fill.

Nor let false friends seduce thy mind to fame,
By arrogating Jonson's hostile name.
Let Father Flecknoe fire thy mind with praise,
And uncle Ogleby thy envy raise.

Thou art my blood, where Jonson has no part:
What share have we in nature, or in art?

Where did his wit on learning fix a brand,
And rail at arts he did not understand?

Where made he love in prince Nicander's vein,
Or swept the dust in Psyche's humble strain?

Where sold he bargains, "whip-stitch, kiss my arse,"
Promised a play, and dwindled to a farce?

When did his muse from Fletcher scenes purloin,
As thou whole Etherege dost transfuse to thine?

But so transfused, as oil and waters flow,
His always floats above, thine sinks below.

This is thy province, this thy wondrous way,
New humours to invent for each new play:

This is that boasted bias of thy mind,
By which one way to dulness 'tis inclined:

Which makes thy writings lean on one side still,
And, in all changes, that way bends thy will.

Nor let thy mountain-belly make pretence
Of likeness; thine's a tympany of sense.

A tun of man in thy large bulk is writ,
But sure thou'rt but a kilderkin of wit.

Like mine, thy gentle numbers feebly creep;
Thy tragic muse gives smiles, thy comic sleep.

With whatever gall thou sett'st thyself to write,
Thy inoffensive satires never bite.

In thy felonious art though venom lies,
It does but touch thy Irish pen, and dies.

Thy genius calls thee not to purchase fame
In keen Iambics, but mild Anagram.

Leave writing plays, and choose for thy command,
Some peaceful province in Acrostic land.

There thou may'st Wings display and Altars raise,
And torture one poor word ten thousand ways.

Or, if thou would'st thy different talents suit,
Set thy own songs, and sing them to thy lute."

He said; but his last words were scarcely
heard:

For Bruce and Longvil had a trap prepared,
And down they sent the yet declaiming bard.

Sinking he left his drugged robe behind,
Borne upwards by a subterranean wind.

The mantle fell to the young prophet's part,
With double portion of his father's art.

Ver. 176. *What share have we in nature, or in art?] For what have we in nature, or in art?* MS. TODD.

Ver. 178. *And rail at arts, &c.] Or rail at art, &c.* MS. TODD.

Ver. 179. ——— *prince Nicander's vein.]* A character of a lover in the opera of Psyche. DERRICK.

Ver. 190. *By which one way, &c.] By which each way, &c.* MS. TODD.

Ver. 193. *Nor let thy mountain-belly, &c.]* Alluding to Shadwell's form, who was pretty lusty. DERRICK.

Ver. 204. ——— *mild Anagram.] And Anagram.* MS. TODD.

Ver. 207. ——— *and Altars raise.] And trophies raise.* MS. TODD.

Ver. 212. *For Bruce and Longvil, &c.]* Two very heavy characters in Shadwell's *Virtuosos*, whom he calls gentlemen of wit and good sense. DERRICK.

EPISTLES.

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND,
SIR ROBERT HOWARD,*

ON HIS EXCELLENT POEMS.

As there is music uninform'd by art
In those wild notes, which, with a merry heart,

* Sir Robert Howard, a younger son of Thomas Earl of Berkshire, and brother to Mr Dryden's Lady, studied for some time in Magdaleno-college. He suffered many oppressions on account of his loyalty, and was one of the few of King Charles the Second's friends, whom that monarch did not forget. Perhaps he had his present end in it; for Sir Robert, who was a man of parts, helped him to obtain money in parliament, wherein he sat as Burgess, first for Stockbridge, and afterwards for Castle-Rising in Norfolk. He was, soon after the restoration, made a knight of the Bath, and one of the auditors of the Exchequer, valued at £3000 per annum. Notwithstanding that he was supposed to be a great favourer of the Catholics, he soon took the oaths to King William, by whom he was made a privy-councillor in the beginning of the year 1689; and no man was a more open or inveterate enemy to the Nonjurors.

Several of his pieces, both in prose and verse, were published at different times; among which are the *Duel of the Stags*, a celebrated poem; the comedy of the *Blind Lady*; the Committee, or, the *Faithful Irishman*; the *Great Favourite*, or, the *Duke of Lerma*; the *Indian Queen*, a tragedy, written in conjunction with our author; the *Surprisa*, a tragi-comedy; and the *Vestal Virgin*, or the *Roman Ladies*, a tragedy; the last has two different conclusions, one tragical, and the other, to use the author's own words, comical. The last five plays were collected together, and published by Tonson, in a small 12mo volume, in 1722. The *Blind Lady* was printed with some of his poems.

Langbaine speaks in very high terms of Sir Robert's merit, in which he is copied by Giles Jacob. See their *Lives of the Poets*.

This gentleman was, however, extremely positive, remarkably overbearing, and pretending to universal knowledge; which failings, joined to his having then been of an opposite party, drew upon him the censure of Shadwell, who has satirised him very severely in a play, called *The Sullen Lovers*, under the name of *Sir Positive At-all*, and his lady, whom he first kept and afterwards married, under that of *Lady Vain*. DERRICK.

Ver. 1. *As there is music*] One would have thought from this elegant exordium, that Sir Robert Howard was a son of fancy, and warbled his native wood-notes wild with peculiar freedom and felicity. His poems, which are hard and prosaic, are not of this kind. The edition to which these were prefixed were printed by Herringman, 1680, and contains a Panegyric to the King, Songs and Sonnets, the *Blind Lady*, a comedy; the fourth book of Virgil, the *Achilleis* of Statius, a panegyric on General Monk. The songs are without harmony of numbers; the fourth book of Virgil lame and not faithful; the notes added to the *Achilleis* are some of them learned; the panegyric on Monk very inferior to that of Dryden. He wrote besides, the Committee, a comedy; the *Great Favourite*, a tragedy; the *Indian Queen*, a tragedy; the *Surprisa*, a tragi-comedy; the *Vestal Virgin*, a tragedy. He was member of Parliament for Stockbridge, in Hampshire, and was brother-in-law to Mr. Dryden, who addressed his *Annus Mirabilis* to

The birds in unfrequented shades express,
Who, better taught at home, yet please us less:
So in your verse a native sweetness dwells,
Which shames composure, and its art excels.
Singing no more can your soft numbers grace,
Than paint add charms unto a beauteous face.
Yet as, when mighty rivers gently creep,
Their even calmness does suppose them deep;
Such is your muse: no metaphor swell'd high
With dangerous boldness lifts her to the sky:
Those mounting fancies, when they fall again,
Show sand and dirt at bottom do remain.
So firm a strength, and yet withal so sweet,
Did never but in Samson's riddle meet.
'Tis strange each line so great a weight should
bear,

And yet no sign of toil, no sweat appear.
Either your art hides art, as stoics feign
Then least to feel, when most they suffer pain;
And we, dull souls, admire, but cannot see
What hidden springs within the engine be;
Or 'tis some happiness that still pursues
Each act and motion of your graceful muse.
Or is it fortune's work, that in your head
The curious net that is for fancies spread,
Lets through its meshes every manner thought,
While rich ideas there are only caught?
Sure that's not all; this is a piece too fair
To be the child of chance, and not of care.
No atoms casually together hurld
Could e'er produce so beautiful a world.
Nor dare I such a doctrine here admit,
As would destroy the providence of wit.
'Tis your strong genius then which does not feel
Those weights, would make a weaker spirit
reel.

To carry weight, and run so lightly too,
Is what alone your Pegasus can do.
Great Hercules himself could ne'er do more,
Than not to feel those heavens and gods he
bore.

Your easier odes, which for delight were penn'd,
Yet our instruction make their second end:
We're both enrich'd and pleased, like them that
woo
At once a beauty, and a fortune too.

him, but quarrelled with him afterwards on defending dramatic rhyme, which Dryden defended in his *Dialogue on Dramatic Poetry*. In this epistle, the lines 23, 25, 31, 40, 44, 60, 100, are all of them full of fulsome and false adulation. The most celebrated of Howard's poems was the *Duel of the Stags*. Shadwell severely satirised him under the character of *Sir Positive At-all* in his *Sullen Lovers*. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver 26 *The curious net &c*] A compliment to a poem of Sir Robert's, entitled *Retæ Mirabile*. DERRICK.

Of moral knowledge poesy was queen,
And still she might, had wanton wits not been ;
Who, like ill guardians, lived themselves at
large,

And, not content with that, debauch'd their
charge.

Like some brave captain, your successful pen
Restores the exiled to her crown again :
And gives us hope, that having seen the days
When nothing flourish'd but fanatic bays,
All will at length in this opinion rest,
"A sober prince's government is best."

This is not all ; your art the way has found
To make the improvement of the richest ground,
That soil which those immortal laurels bore,
That once the sacred Maro's temples wore.
Elisa's griefs are so express'd by you,
They are too eloquent to have been true.
Had she so spoke, Æneas had obey'd
What Dido, rather than what Jove had said.
If funeral rites can give a ghost repose,
Your muse so justly has discharged those,
Elisa's shade may now its wand'ring cease,
And claim a title to the fields of peace.

But if Æneas be obliged, no less
Your kindness great Achilles doth confess ;
Who, dress'd by Statius in too bold a look,
Did ill become those virgin robes he took.
To understand how much we owe to you,
We must your numbers, with your author's
view :

Then we shall see his work was lamely rough,
Each figure stiff, as if design'd in buff :
His colours laid so thick on every place,
As only show'd the paint, but hid the face.
But as in perspective we beauties see,
Which in the glass, not in the picture, be ;
So here our sight obligingly mistakes
That wealth, which his your bounty only makes.
Thus vulgar dishes are, by cooks disguised,
More for their dressing, than their substance
prized.

Your curious notes so search into that age,
When all was fable but the sacred page,
That, since in that dark night we needs must
stray,

We are at least misled in pleasant way.
But what we most admire, your verse no less
The prophet laid so the poet doth confess.
Ere our weak eyes discern'd the doubtful streak
Of light, you saw great Charles his morning break :
So skilful seamen ken the land from far,
Which shows like mists to the dull passenger.

To Charles your muse first pays her duteous
love,

As still the ancients did begin from Jove.
With Monk you end, whose name preserved
shall be,

As Rome recorded Rufus' memory,
Who thought it greater honour to obey
His country's interest, than the world to sway.
But to write worthy things of worthy men,
Is the peculiar talent of your pen.

Yet let me take your mantle up, and I
Will venture in your right to prophesy.

"This work, by merit first of fame secure,
Is likewise happy in its geniture :
For, since 'tis born when Charles ascends the
throne,

It shares at once his fortune and its own."

TO MY HONOURED FRIEND,

DR. CHARLETON,*

ON HIS LEARNED AND USEFUL WORKS; BUT MORE PARTICULARLY HIS TREATISE OF STONEHENGE, BY HIM RESTORED TO THE TRUE FOUNDER.

THE longest tyranny that ever sway'd,
Was that wherein our ancestors betray'd

* The book that occasioned this epistle made its appearance in quarto in 1683. It is dedicated to King Charles II. and entitled, "Chorea Gigantum; or, The most famous Antiquity of Great Britain, Stone-Henge, standing on Salisbury-plain, restored to the Danes, by Dr. Walter Charleton, M.D. and Physician in Ordinary to his Majesty." It was written in answer to a treatise of Inigo Jones's, which attributed this stupendous pile to the Romans, supposing it to be a temple, by them dedicated to the god Cœlum, or Cœlus; and here that great architect let his imagination outrun his judgment, nay, his sense; for he described it not as it is, but as it is thought to be, in order to make it consistent with what he delivered. Dr. Charleton, who will have this to be a Danish monument, was countenanced in his opinion by Olaus Wormius, who wrote him several letters upon the subject; yet, that he was mistaken, appears by the mention made of Stonehenge in Nennius's Hist. Britonum, a writer who lived two limited years before the Danes came into England. Though his book was approved of by many men of great erudition, and is not only very learned, but abounds with curious observations, it was but indifferently received, and raised many clamours against the author.

Envy, however, could not prevent Dr. Charleton's merits from being seen, nor divide him from the intimacy of Mr. Hobbes, the philosopher; Sir George Ent, celebrated physician; the noble family of the Boyles; and Dr. William Harvey, whose claim to the discovery of the circulation of the blood, he forcibly defended against the claim thereto set on foot by Father Paul. Thus he

From dark oblivion Harvey's name shall save.

As that eminent physician was now dead, the doctor's behaviour upon this point was as generous an instance of gratitude and respect to his friend's memory, as it was a proof of his capacity and extensive learning. He was president of the college of physicians, from 1659 to 1681, when his affairs being not in the most flourishing state, he retired to the Isle of Jersey, and died in 1707, aged eighty-eight years. DESSAUC.

Ver. 1. *The longest tyranny*] The rude magnitude of Stonehenge has rendered it the admiration of all ages: and as the enormous stones which compose it appear too big for land-carriage, and as Salisbury-plain, for many miles round, scarce affords any stones at all, it has been the opinion of some antiquaries, that these stones are artificial, and were made on the spot; but most authors are now agreed, that these stones are all natural, and that they were brought from a collection of stones called the Grey Wethers, growing out of the ground, about fifteen miles from Stonehenge.

The use and origin of this work have been the subjects of various conjectures and debates; and much it is to be lamented, that a tablet of tin, with an inscription, which was found here in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and might probably have set these points in a clear light, should not be preserved; for as the characters were not understood by such as were consulted upon the occasion, the plate was destroyed, or at least thrown by and lost. The common tradition is, that Stonehenge was built by Ambrosius Aurelianus. Some will have it to be a funeral monument raised to the memory of some brave commander; and others maintain that it was erected to the honour of Hengist, the Saxon general; but this structure is probably more ancient.

Sammes, in the Antiquities of Britain, conjectures it to have been a work of the Phœnicians; and the famous Inigo Jones, in a treatise called "Stonehenge restored," attempts to prove, that it was a temple of the Tuscan order, built by the Romans, and dedicated to the god Cœlum, or Terminus, in which he is confirmed by its having been open at top. Dr. Charleton, physician in ordinary to King Charles the Second, wrote a treatise called "Stonehenge restored to the Danes," attempting to prove that this was a Danish monument, erected either for a burial-place

Their free-born reason to the Stagirite,
 And made his torch their universal light.
 So truth, while only one supplied the state,
 Grew scarce, and dear, and yet sophisticate.
 Still it was bought, like empiric wares, or
 charms,
 Hard words seal'd up with Aristotle's arms.
 Columbus was the first that shook his throne,
 And found a temperate in a torrid zone :
 The feverish air fann'd by a cooling breeze,
 The fruitful vales set round with shady trees ;
 And guiltless men, who danced away their
 time,
 Fresh as their groves, and happy as their clime.
 Had we still paid that homage to a name,
 Which only God and nature justly claim ;
 The western seas had been our utmost bound,
 Where poets still might dream the sun was
 drown'd.
 And all the stars that shine in southern skies,
 Had been admired by none but savage eyes.
 Among the asserters of free reason's claim,
 Our nation's not the least in worth or fame.
 The world to Bacon does not only owe
 Its present knowledge, but its future too.
 Gilbert shall live, till loadstones cease to
 draw,
 Or British fleets the boundless ocean awe ;
 And noble Boyle, not less in nature seen,
 Than his great brother read in states and men.

as a trophy for some victory, or for the election and coronation of their kings. And soon after the publication of Dr. Charleton's treatise, Mr Webb, son-in-law of Inigo Jones, published a vindication of the opinions of his father-in-law upon this subject. But antiquaries have since agreed, that it was an ancient temple of the Druids, built, as Dr. Strakely thinks, before the Belgæ came to Britain, and not long after Cambyzes invaded Egypt, where he committed such horrid outrages among the priests and inhabitants in general, that they dispersed themselves to all quarters of the world, and some, no doubt, came into Britain. At this time, the Doctor conjectures the Egyptians introduced their arts, learning, and religion, among the Druids, and probably had a hand in this very work, being the only one of the Druids where the stones are inscribed, all their other works consisting of rude stones, not touched by any tool. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver 25. *Gilbert shall live,*] Dr. William Gilbert was physician both to Queen Elizabeth and King James. In the year 1600, he published a very curious dissertation on the magnet. Antiquarians are much divided in opinion concerning the era of the first discovery of the loadstone. The Chinese boast of having discovered it many centuries ago, but did not apply it to any useful purposes. It is remarkable that Dante mentions it in the Inferno. But the Abbé Tiraboschi, in his excellent History of Italian Literature, vol. viii. p. 180, observes, that the most ancient work, after the poem of Gyot de Provins, in which any mention is made of the loadstone in Europe, is in the Eastern History of the Cardinal Jacques de Vitry, who died in 1224. It may be found in the 89th chapter of the Collection of Bonvairs. "Adamans in India reperitur—ferum occultâ quiddam naturâ ad se trahit. Aus ferres postquam adamantem congruent, ad stellam septentrionalium semper convertitur, unde valde necessarius est navigantibus in mari." We may observe, that this author attributes to the diamond the virtues of the loadstone. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver 27. *And noble Boyle,*] Every lover of science, religion and virtue, will perpetually venerate the name of the Hon. Robert Boyle, seventh son of Richard, Earl of Cork and Burlington, born in 1677, not only as being the founder of the Royal Society, for which he is here celebrated, but also for being the founder of a lecture, which has produced a series of discourses in defence of natural and revealed religion, which, for learning and argument, cannot be paralleled in any age or country. His brother, mentioned in the next line, Earl of Orrery, was a soldier and statesman, and wrote eight tragedies in rhyme, now totally forgotten. Dr. J. WARTON.

The circling streams, once thought but pools,
 of blood
 (Whether life's fuel, or the body's food)
 From dark oblivion Harvey's name shall save ;
 While Ent keeps all the honour that he gave
 Nor are you, learned friend, the least renown'd ;
 Whose fame, not circumscribed with English
 ground,
 Flies like the nimble journeys of the light ;
 And is, like that, unspent too in its flight.
 Whatever truths have been, by art or chance,
 Redeem'd from error, or from ignorance,
 Thin in their authors, like rich veins of ore,
 Your works unite, and still discover more.
 Such is the healing virtue of your pen,
 To perfect cures on books, as well as men.
 Nor is this work the least . you well may give
 To men new vigour, who make stones to live.
 Through you, the Danes, their short dominion
 lost,
 A longer conquest than the Saxons boast.
 Stonehenge, once thought a temple, you have
 found
 A throne, where kings, our earthly gods, were
 crown'd ;
 Where by their wond'ring subjects they were
 seen,
 Joy'd with their stature, and their princely mien.
 Our sovereign here above the rest might stand,
 And here be chose again to rule the land.
 Those runs shelter'd once his sacred head,
 When he from Wor'stor's fatal battle fled ;
 Watch'd by the genius of this royal place,
 And mighty visions of the Danish race.

Ver. 80. *Whether life's fuel,*] The merit of the very important discovery of the circulation of the blood, has been denied to our illustrious countryman, Dr. Harvey. It has been by some ascribed to the famous Father Paul. Dr Wotton gives it to Serapion, who was so inhumanly burnt by Calvin. Sir George Ent, a celebrated physician, is the person mentioned, verse 82. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 53. *Thou'st runs shelter'd once,* &c.] In the dedication, made by Dr. Charleton, of his book, concerning Stonehenge, to king Charles II, there is the following memorable passage, which gave occasion to the six concluding lines of this poem "I have had the honour to hear from that oracle of truth and wisdom, your majesty's own mouth : you were pleased to visit that monument, and, for many hours together, entertain yourself with the delightful view thereof, when, after the defeat of your loyal army at Worcester, Almighty God, in infinite mercy to your three kingdoms, miraculously delivered you out of the bloody jaws of those ministers of sin and cruelty." DEAN RICE.

Ver. 55. *Watch'd by]* In surveying this stupendous work of the most remote antiquity, the mind is seized with that religious awe and superstition, most adapted to awaken and excite poetical enthusiasm.

"—quadam divina voluptas
 Percipit atque horror!"—Lucret.

From his mentioning the genius of the place, and the mighty visions, one would have expected that our poet would have caught fire, and enlarged on so promising a subject ; but he has disappointed us, and given only a hint. Mr. Sargeant, in an elegant Ode on this subject, has shown how susceptible it was of true poetry ; as has the author of the following Sonnet, which I cannot forbear to insert in this place.

SONNET.

Thou noblest monument of Albion's isle !
 Whether by Merlin's aid from Scythia's shore,
 To Amber's fatal plain Pentragon bore,
 Huge frame of giant-hands, the mighty pile,
 T' entomb his Britons slain by Hengist's guild :
 Or Druid priests, sprinkled with human gore,
 Taught 'mid thy massy maze their mystic lore.

His refuge then was for a temple shown :
But, he restored, 'tis now become a throne.

TO

THE LADY CASTLEMAIN,*

UPON HER ENCOURAGING HIS FIRST PLAY.

As seamen, shipwreck'd on some happy shore,
Discover wealth in lands unknown before;
And, what their art had labour'd long in vain,
By their misfortunes happily obtain :
So my much-envied muse, by storms long toss'd, 5
Is thrown upon your hospitable coast,
And finds more favour by her ill success,
'Than she could hope for by her happiness.
Once Cato's virtue did the gods oppose ;
While they the victor, he the vanquish'd chose :
But you have done what Cato could not do, 11
To choose the vanquish'd, and restore him too.
Let others still triumph, and gain their cause
By their deserts, or by the world's applause ;
Let merit crowns, and justice laurels give, 15
But let me happy by your pity live.
True poets empty fame and praise despise,
Fame is the trumpet, but your smile the prize.
You sit above, and see vain men below
Contend for what you only can bestow : 20
But those great actions others do by chance,
Are, like your beauty, your inheritance :
So great a soul, such sweetness join'd in one,
Could only spring from noble Grandison.
You, like the stars, not by reflection bright, 25
Are born to your own heaven, and your own light ;
Like them are good, but from a nobler cause,
From your own knowledge, not from nature's laws.

Or Danish chiefs, enrich'd with savage spoil,
To victory's idol vast, an unhewn shrine,
Rear'd the rude heap ; or, in thy hallow'd round,
Repose the kings of Brutus' genuine line ;
Or here those kings in solemn state were crown'd ;
Studious to trace thy wondrous origine,
We muse on many an ancient tale renown'd.

Dr. J. WARTON.

* Mr. Dryden's first play, called the *Wild Gallant*, was exhibited with but indifferent success. The lady, whose patronage he acknowledges in this epistle, was Barbara, daughter of William Villiers Lord Grandison, who was killed in the king's service at the battle of Edge-hill, in 1642, and buried in Christ Church, in Oxford. This lady was one of Charles the Second's favourite mistresses, for many years, and she bore him several children :—1. Charles Fitzroy, Duke of Southampton ; 2. Henry Fitzroy, Earl of Euston and Duke of Grafton ; 3. George Fitzroy, Earl of Northumberland ; 4. Charlotte, married to Sir Edward Henry Lee, of Ditchley, in Oxfordshire, afterwards Earl of Lichfield, and brother to Eleonora, Countess of Abingdon, on whom Dryden has written a beautiful elegy ; 5. A daughter, whom the king denied to be his.

This lady was, before she was known to his majesty, married to Roger Palmer, Esq., who was created Earl of Castlemain, by whom she had a daughter, whom the king adopted, and who married with Thomas Lord Dacres, Earl of Sussex.

The Countess of Castlemain was afterwards created Duchess of Cleveland. DEARACK.

Ver. 9. *Once Cato's virtue did the gods oppose ;
While they the victor, he the vanquish'd chose :—]*

"Victrix causa deis placuit sed victa Catone."

JOHN WARTON.

Your power you never use, but for defence,
To guard your own, or others' innocence : 30
Your foes are such, as they, not you, have made,
And virtue may repel, though not invade.
Such courage did the ancient heroes show,
Who, when they might prevent, would wait the
blow :

With such assurance as they meant to say, 35
We will o'ercome, but scorn the safest way.
What further fear of danger can there be ?
Beauty, which captives all things, sets me free.
Posterity will judge by my success,
I had the Grecian poet's happiness, 40
Who, waiving plots, found out a better way ;
Some God descended, and preserved the play.
When first the triumphs of your sex were sung
By those old poets, beauty was but young, 45
And few admired the native red and white,
Till poets dress'd them up to charm the sight ;
So beauty took on trust, and did engage
For sums of praises till she came to age.
But this long-growing debt to poetry
You justly, madam, have discharged to me, 50
When your applause and favour did infuse
New life to my condemn'd and dying muse.

TO MR. LEE,

ON HIS "ALEXANDER"

THE blast of common censure could I fear,
Before your play my name should not appear ;
For 'twill be thought, and with some colour too,
I pay the bribe I first received from you ;
That mutual vouchers for our fame we stand, 5
And play the game into each other's hand ;
And as cheap pen'orths to ourselves afford,
As Bessus and the brothers of the sword.
Such libels private men may well endure,
When states and kings themselves are not se- 10
cure :

For ill men, conscious of their inward guilt,
Think the best actions on by-ends are built.
And yet my silence had not 'scaped their spite ;
Then, envy had not suffer'd me to write ;
For, since I could not ignorance pretend, 15

Ver. 1. *The blast of common*] Every reader of taste must agree with Addison, from whose opinions it is always hazardous to dissent, that none of our poets had a genius more strongly turned for tragedy than Lee. Notwithstanding his many rants and extravagancies, for which Dryden skilfully and elegantly apologizes in ten admirable lines of this epistle, from verse 45, yet are there many beautiful touches of nature and passion in his *Alexander*, his *Lucius J. Brutus*, and *Theodosius*. So true was what he himself once replied to a puny objector. "It is not an easy thing to write like a madman, but it is very easy to write like a fool." When Lord Rochester objected,

"That Lee makes temperate Scipio fret and rave,
And Annibal a whining amorous slave."

it ought to be remembered, that this is a fault into which the most applauded tragedians have frequently fallen, and none more so than Corneille and Racine, though the latter was so correct a scholar. Lee lost his life in a lamentable manner: returning home at midnight, in one of his fits of intoxication, he stumbled and fell down in the street, and perished in a deep snow, 1692. Dr. J. WARTON.

Such merit I must envy or commend,
 So many candidates there stand for wit,
 A place at court is scarce so hard to get :
 In vain they crowd each other at the door ;
 For e'en reversions are all begg'd before :
 Desert, how known soe'er, is long delay'd ;
 And then too fools and knaves are better paid.
 Yet, as some actions bear so great a name,
 That courts themselves are just, for fear of shame ;
 So has the mighty merit of your play
 Extorted praise, and forced itself away.
 'Tis here as 'tis at sea, who farthest goes,
 Or dares the most, makes all the rest his foes.
 Yet when some virtue much outgrows the rest,
 It shoots too fast, and high, to be express'd ;
 As his heroic worth struck envy dumb,
 Who took the Dutchman, and who cut the boom.
 Such praise is your's, while you the passions move,
 That 'tis no longer feign'd, 'tis real love,
 Where nature triumphs over wretched art ;
 We only warm the head, but you the heart.
 Always you warm ; and if the rising year,
 As in hot regions, brings the sun too near,
 'Tis but to make your fragrant spices blow,
 Which in our cooler climates will not grow.
 They only think you animate your theme
 With too much fire, who are themselves all
 phlegm.
 Prizes would be for lags of slowest pace,
 Were cripples made the judges of the race.
 Despise those drones, who praise, while they
 accuse
 The too much vigour of your youthful muse.
 That humble style which they your virtue make,
 Is in your power ; you need but stoop and take.
 Your beauteous images must be allow'd
 By all, but some vile poets of the crowd.
 But how should any sign-post dauber know
 The worth of Titian or of Angelo ?
 Hard features every bungler can command ;
 To draw true beauty shows a master's hand.

TO

THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON,

ON HIS EXCELLENT ESSAY ON TRANSLATED VERSE.

WHETHER the fruitful Nile, or Tyrian shore,
 The seeds of arts and infant science bore,
 'Tis sure the noble plant, translated first,
 Advanced its head in Grecian gardens nursed.
 The Grecians added verse: their tuneful tongue
 Made nature first, and nature's God their song
 Nor stopp'd translation here: for conqu'ring
 Rome,
 With Grecian spoils, brought Grecian numbers
 home ;
 Enrich'd by those Athenian muses more,
 Than all the vanquish'd world could yield be-
 fore.
 'Till barbarous nations, and more barbarous
 times,
 Debased the majesty of verse to rhymes ;

Ver 12. *Debased the majesty of verse to rhymes ;* The
 advocates for rhyme seem not to advert to what Servius

Those rude at first: a kind of hobbling prose,
 That limp'd along, and tinkled in the close.
 But Italy, reviving from the trance
 Of Vandal, Goth, and Monkish ignorance,
 With pauses, cadence, and well-vowell'd words,
 And all the graces a good ear affords,
 Made rhyme an art, and Dante's polish'd page
 Restored a silver, not a golden age.
 Then Petrarch follow'd, and in him we see,
 What rhyme improved in all its height can be:
 At best a pleasing sound, and fair barbarity.
 The French pursued their steps; and Britain,
 last,
 In manly sweetness all the rest surpass'd.
 The wit of Greece, the gravity of Rome,
 Appear exalted in the British loom :
 The Muse's empire is restored again,
 In Charles his reign, and by Roscommon's pen.
 Yet modestly he does his work survey,
 And calls a finish'd Poem an Essay ;
 For all the needful rules are scatter'd here ;
 Truth smoothly told, and pleasantly severe ;
 So well is art disguised, for nature to appear.
 Nor need those rules to give translation light :
 His own example is a flame so bright,
 That he who but arrives to copy well,
 Unguided will advance, unknowing will excel.
 Scarce his own Horace could such rules ordain,
 Or his own Virgil sing a nobler strain.
 How much in him may rising Ireland boast,
 How much in gaining him has Britain lost !
 Their island in revenge has ours reclaim'd ;
 The more instructed we, the more we still are
 shamed.
 'Tis well for us his generous blood did flow,
 Derived from British channels long ago,

says, that rhyme was used in the time of the Saturnalia by the Roman populace in their rude songs, and by the soldiers in their exclamations, and at their feasts in honour of their victorious generals. We may apply to rhyme what Seneca says of the subtleties of logic, " Communiter et debilitatur generosa in istas angustias coniecta." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 14. — *and tinkled in the close.* Dryden adopts the contemptuous description of rhyme from preceding authors, and those of no mean note. Thus in Ben Jonson's Masque of *The Fortunate Isles*, Skogan, the Jester, is represented as a writer "in rhyme, fine tinkling rhyme!" And Andrew Marvell, in his spirited verses to Milton on his *Paradise Lost*, thus exclaims:

"Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
 With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure."

TODD.

Ver. 19. — *Dante's polish'd page* There is a very ancient Italian poem, entitled, *Aspramonte*, containing an account of the war of king Guarnieri and Agolante against Rome and Charlemagne; which, from the circumstance of the style being a mixture of the Tuscan with other Italian dialects, appears to be prior to Dante. There was an edition of it at Venice, 1615. It is become extremely rare, and is a great curiosity. It is mentioned by Quadri in his *History of Italian Poetry*. DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 21. *Then Petrarch follow'd.* It was on the sixth of April, 1327, that Petrarch fell in love with Laura, in the twenty-third year of his age. Paul Jovius reports, that it was a common saying in Italy, that Petrarch did not succeed in writing prose, nor Boecetius in writing verse. Few books are so entertaining as the *Abbe Sade's* circumstantial Life of Petrarch, which contains also a curious picture of the manners and opinions of that age. It is pleasant to observe, that Petrarch's Laura was allegorized to mean the Christian Religion by one commentator, the Soul by another; and the Virgin Mary by a third. DR. J. WARTON.

Ibid. *Then Petrarch follow'd.* No reasoning from the Italian language to the English about rhyme and blank verse. One language (says Johnson) cannot communicate its rules to another. JOHN WARTON.

That here his conqu'ring ancestors were nursed;
 And Ireland but translated England first :
 By this reprisal we regain our right,
 Else must the two contending nations fight;
 A nobler quarrel for his native earth,
 Than what divided Greece for Homer's birth.
 To what perfection will our tongue arrive,
 How will invention and translation thrive,
 When authors nobly born will bear their part,
 And not disdain the inglorious praise of art !
 Great generals thus, descending from command,
 With their own toil provoke the soldier's hand.
 How will sweet Ovid's ghost be pleased to hear
 His fame augmented by an English peer ;
 How he embellishes his Helen's loves,
 Outdoes his softness, and his sense improves ?
 When these translate, and teach translators too,
 Nor firstling kid, nor any vulgar vow,
 Should at Apollo's grateful altar stand :
 Roscommon writes : to that auspicious hand,
 Muse, feed the bull that spurns the yellow sand.
 Roscommon, whom both court and camps com-
 mend,
 True to his prince, and faithful to his friend ;
 Roscommon, first in fields of honour known,
 First in the peaceful triumphs of the gown ;
 Who both Minerva's justly makes his own.
 Now let the few beloved by Jove, and they
 Whom infused Titan form'd of better clay,
 On equal terms with ancient wit engage,
 Nor mighty Homer fear, nor sacred Virgil's page :
 Our English palace opens wide in state ;
 And without stooping they may pass the gate.

TO

THE DUCHESS OF YORK,*

ON HER RETURN FROM SCOTLAND IN THE YEAR 1682.

WHEN factious rage to cruel exile drove
 The queen of beauty, and the court of love,
 The Muses droop'd, with their forsaken arts,
 And the sad Cupids broke their useless darts :
 Our fruitful plains to wilds and deserts turn'd,
 Like Eden's face, when banish'd man it mourn'd.
 Love was no more, when loyalty was gone,
 The great supporter of his awful throne.
 Love could no longer after beauty stay,
 But wander'd northward to the verge of day,
 As if the sun and he had lost their way.
 But now the illustrious nymph, return'd again,
 Brings every grace triumphant in her train.

Ver. 37. *Muse, fe d the bull*]

" Jam cornu petat, et pedibus qui spargat arenam."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 74. *Whom infused Titan*]

" E meliore luto finxit precordia Titan."—Juv.

JOHN WARTON.

* On the twenty-first of November 1673, the duke of York was married to the princess Mary d'Este, then about fifteen years of age, and extremely handsome. The ceremony was performed at Dover by the Bishop of Oxford. It was against the rules of policy for him at that time to wed a Roman Catholic; and the Parliament addressed against it. DERRICK.

The wond'ring Nereids, though they raised no
 storm,
 Foreslow'd her passage, to behold her form :
 Some cried, A Venus ; some, A Thetis pass'd ;
 But this was not so fair, nor that so chaste.
 Far from her sight flew Faction, Strife, and
 Pride ;
 And Envy did but look on her, and died.
 Whatever we suffer'd from our sullen fate,
 Her sight is purchased at an easy rate.
 Three gloomy years against this day were set ;
 But this one mighty sum has clear'd the debt :
 Like Joseph's dream, but with a better doom,
 The famine past, the plenty still to come.
 For her the weeping heavens become serene ;
 For her the ground is clad in cheerful green :
 For her the nightingales are taught to sing,
 And Nature has for her delay'd the spring.
 The Muse resumes her long-forgotten lays,
 And Love restored his ancient realm surveys,
 Recals our beauties, and revives our plays,
 His waste dominions peoples once again,
 And from her presence dates his second reign.
 But awful charms on her fair forehead sit,
 Dispensing what she never will admit :
 Pleasing, yet cold, like Cynthia's silver beam,
 The people's wonder, and the poet's theme.
 Distemper'd Zeal, Sedition, canker'd Hate,
 No more shall vex the church, and tear the
 state :
 No more shall Faction civil discords move,
 Or only discords of too tender love :
 Discord, like that of music's various parts ;
 Discord, that makes the harmony of hearts ;
 Discord, that only this dispute shall bring,
 Who best shall love the duke, and serve the king.

A LETTER TO

SIR GEORGE ETHEREGE.

To you who live in chill degree,
 As map informs, of fifty-three,
 And do not much for cold atone,
 By bringing thither fifty-one,
 Methinks all climes should be alike,
 From tropic e'en to pole arcticque ;
 Since you have such a constitution
 As no where suffers diminution.
 You can be old in grave debate,
 And young in love-affairs of state ;
 And both to wives and husbands show
 The vigour of a plenipo.

Ver. 1. *To you who live*] Sir George Etherege gained great reputation by his three comedies, *The Comical Revenge*, 1664, *She Would if She Could*, 1668, *The Man of Mode*, 1678. The last has been deemed one of our most elegant comedies, and contains a most just and lively picture of the manners of persons in high life in the age of Charles II. Having dedicated this comedy to the duchess of York, she procured his being sent ambassador to Ratisbon, where he resided when Dryden addressed this epistle to him, and where, in a fit of intoxication, to which he was too much habituated, he tumbled down stairs and broke his neck. He had a daughter by Mrs. Barry, to whom he left six thousand pounds. Dr. J. WARTON.

Like mighty missioner you come
 "Ad Partes Infidelium."
 A work of wondrous merit sure,
 So far to go, so much t'endure;
 And all to preach to German dame,
 Where sound of Cupid never came.
 Less had you done, had you been sent,
 As far as Drake or Pinto went,
 For cloves or nutmegs to the line-a,
 Or e'en for oranges to China.
 That had indeed been charity;
 Where love-sick ladies helpless lie,
 Chapp'd, and for want of liquor dry.
 But you have made your zeal appear
 Within the circle of the Bear.
 What region of the earth's so dull,
 That is not of your labours full?
 Trptolemus (so sung the Nine)
 Strew'd plenty from his cart divine.
 But 'spite of all these fable-makers,
 He never sow'd on Almain acres:
 No, that was left by fate's decree,
 To be perform'd and sung by thee.
 Thou break'st through forns with as much
 ease

As the French king through articles.
 In grand affairs thy days are spent,
 In waging weighty compliment,
 With such as monarchs represent.
 They, whom such vast fatigues attend,
 Want some soft minutes to unbend,
 To show the world that now and then
 Great ministers are mortal men.
 Then Rhenish rummers walk the round;
 In bumpers every king is crown'd;
 Besides three holy mitred Hectors,
 And the whole college of Electors.
 No health of potentate is sunk,
 That pays to make his envoy drunk.
 These Dutch delights, I mention'd last,
 Suit not, I know, your English taste:
 For wine to leave a whore or play
 Was ne'er your Excellency's way.
 Nor need this title give offence,
 For here you were your Excellence,
 For gaming, writing, speaking, keeping,
 His Excellence for all but sleeping.
 Now if you tope in form, and treat,
 'Tis the sour sauce to the sweet meat,
 The fine you pay for being great.
 Nay, here's a harder imposition,
 Which is indeed the court's petition,
 That setting worldly pomp aside,
 Which poet has at font demed,
 You would be pleased in humble way
 To write a trifle call'd a Play.
 This truly is a degradation,
 But would oblige the crown and nation
 Next to your wise negotiation.
 If you pretend, as well you may,
 Your high degree, your friends will say,
 The duke St. Aignon made a play.
 If Gallic wit convince you scarce,
 His grace of Bucks has made a farce,
 And you, whose comic wit is terse all,
 Can hardly fall below Rehearsal.
 Then finish what you have began;
 But scribble faster if you can:
 For yet no George, to our discerning,
 Has writ without a ten years' warning.

TO MR. SOUTHERNE,

ON HIS COMEDY CALLED, "THE WIVES' EXCUSE." *

SURE there's a fate in plays, and 'tis in vain
 To write while these malignant planets reign.
 Some very foolish influence rules the pit,
 Not always 'kind to sense, or just to wit:
 And whilst it lasts, let buffoon'ry succeed,
 To make us laugh; for never was more need.
 Farce, in itself, is of a nasty scent;
 But the gain smells not of the excrement.
 The Spanish nymph, a wit and beauty too,
 With all her charms, bore but a single show:
 But let a monster Muscovite appear,
 He draws a crowded audience round the year.
 May be thou hast not pleased the box and pit;
 Yet those who blame thy tale applaud thy wit.
 So Terence plotted, but so Terence writ.
 Like his thy thoughts are true, thy language clean,
 E'en lewdness is made moral in thy scene.
 The hearers may for want of Nokes repine;
 But rest secure, the readers will be thine.
 Nor was thy labour'd drama damn'd or hiss'd,
 But with a kind civility dismiss'd;
 With such good manners, as the Wife did use,
 Who, not accepting, did but just refuse.
 There was a glance at parting; such a look,
 As bids thee not give o'er, for one rebuke.
 But if thou would'st be seen, as well as read,
 Copy one living author, and one dead:
 The standard of thy style let Etherego be;
 For wit, the immortal spring of Wycherley:
 Learn, after both, to draw some just design,
 And the next age will learn to copy thine.

TO HENRY HIGDEN, Esq.†

ON HIS TRANSLATION OF THE TENTH SATIRE OF JUVENAL.

THE Grecian wits, who Satire first began,
 Were pleasant Pasquins on the life of man;

* The success of this play was but indifferent; but so high was our author's opinion of its merit, that, on this very account, he bequeathed to this poet the writing of the last act of his *Cleomenes*; which, Southerne says, "when it comes into the world, will appear so considerable a trust, that all the town will pardon me for defending this play, that preferred me to it." DERRICK.

Ver 1. *Sure there's a fate*] No two writers were ever of more dissimilar geniuses than Southerne and Dryden, the latter having no turn for, nor idea of the pathetic, of which the former was so perfect a master, and of which his *Oronooko* and *Isabella* will remain lasting and striking examples. But Dryden used to confess that he had no relish for Euripides, and affected to despise Otway. Of all our poets, Southerne was distinguished by three remarkable circumstances,—for the purity of his morals and irreproachable conduct, for the length of his life, and for gaining more by his dramatic labours than certainly any of his predecessors, or perhaps of his successors. Dr. J. WARTON.

† This gentleman brought a comedy on the stage in 1693, called *The Wary Widow*, or *Sir Noisy Parrot*, which was damned, and he complains hardly of the ill usage; for the

Ver. 1. *The Grecian wits*] The first edition of this imitation, dedicated to Lord Lumley, in quarto, 1690, is a

At mighty villains, who the state oppress'd,
 They durst not rail, perhaps, they lash'd, at least,
 And turn'd them out of office with a jest.
 No fool could peep abroad, but ready stand
 The drolls to clap a bauble in his hand.
 Wise legislators never yet could draw
 A fop within the reach of common law;
 For posture, dress, grimace and affectation,
 Though foes to sense, are harmless to the nation.
 Our last redress is dint of verse to try,
 And Satire is our court of Chancery.
 This way took Horace to reform an age,
 Not bad enough to need an author's rage.
 But yours, who lived in more degenerate times,
 Was forced to fasten deep, and worry crimes.
 Yet you, my friend, have temper'd him so well,
 You make him smile in spite of all his zeal:
 An art peculiar to yourself alone,
 To join the virtues of two styles in one.

Oh! were your author's principle received,
 Half of the labouring world would be relieved:
 For not to wish is not to be deceived.
 Revenge would into charity be changed,
 Because it costs too dear to be revenged:
 It costs our quiet and content of mind,
 And when 'tis compass'd leaves a sting behind.
 Suppose I had the better end o' the staff,
 Why should I help the ill-natured world to laugh?
 'Tis all alike to them, who get the day;
 They love the spite and mischief of the fray.
 No; I have cured myself of that disease;
 Nor will I be provoked, but when I please:
 But let me half that cure to you restore;
 You give the salve, I laid it to the sore.

Our kind relief against a rainy day,
 Beyond a tavern, or a tedious play,
 We take your book, and laugh our spleen away.
 If all your tribe, too studious of debate,
 Would cease false hopes and titles to create,
 Led by the rare example you begun,
 Clients would fail, and lawyers be undone.

TO MY DEAR FRIEND,

MR. CONGREVE,

ON HIS COMEDY CALLED, "THE DOUBLE DEALER."

WELL then, the promised hour is come at last,
 The present age of wit obscures the past:

Bear-Garden critics treated it with cat-calls. It is printed, and dedicated to the country Earl of Dorset: Sir Charles Sedley wrote the prologue, and it was ushered into the world with several copies of verses. The audience were dismissed at the end of the third act, the author having contrived so much drinking of punch in the play, that the actors all got drunk, and were unable to finish it.—See *G. Jacob's Lives of the Poets*. DERRICK.

very despicable performance, in short, eight syllable verses, with an affectation of Hudibrastic humour and diction, directly opposite to the stateliness and majesty of the original. It was a disgrace to Dryden to prefix to it these commendatory verses in conjunction with *Afra Behn* and *Elkanah Settle*.

"Curru servus portatur eodem."

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1. *It'll then,*] To be able to write a good comedy evidently implies and pre-supposes an acquaintance with

Strong were our sires, and as they fought they writ,
 Conquering with force of arms, and dint of wit:
 Theirs was the giant race, before the flood:
 And thus, when Charles return'd, our empire stood.

Like Janus he the stubborn soil manured,
 With rules of husbandry the rankness cured;
 Tamed us to manners, when the stage was rude;
 And boisterous English wit with art induced.
 Our age was cultivated thus at length;
 But what we gain'd in skill we lost in strength.
 Our builders were with want of genius cursed;
 The second temple was not like the first:
 Till you, the best Vitruvius, come at length;
 Our beauties equal, but excel our strength.
 Firm Doric pillars found your solid base:
 The fair Corinthian crowns the higher space:
 Thus all below is strength, and all above is grace
 In easy dialogue is Fletcher's praise;
 He moved the mind, but had not power to raise.
 Great Jonson did by strength of judgment please;
 Yet, doubling Fletcher's force, he wants his ease.
 In differing talents both adorn'd their age;
 One for the study, t'other for the stage.
 But both to Congreve justly shall submit,
 One match'd in judgment, both o'ermatch'd in wit
 In him all beauties of this age we see,
 Etherege his courtship, Southern's purity,
 The satire, wit, and strength of manly Wycherley.
 All this in blooming youth you have achieved:
 Nor are your foil'd contemporaries grieved.
 So much the sweetness of your manners move,
 We cannot envy you, because we love.
 Fabius might joy in Scipio, when he saw
 A beardless consul made against the law,
 And join his suffrage to the votes of Rome;
 Though he with Hannibal was overcome.
 Thus old Romano bow'd to Raphael's fame,
 And scholar to the youth he taught became.

Oh that your brows my laurel had sustain'd!
 Well had I been deposed, if you had reign'd:
 The father had descended for the son;
 For only you are lineal to the throne.
 Thus, when the state one Edward did depose,
 A greater Edward in his room arose.
 But now, not I, but poetry is cursed;
 For Tom the second reigns like Tom the first.

real life and living manners, a long commerce with the world, with much experience and observation. To produce, therefore, such a comedy as the *Old Bachelor*, at only one and twenty years, was an extraordinary phenomenon. Dryden, on its perusal, expressed great astonishment at seeing such a first play. Dr. Johnson thinks the idea of the comic characters might have been caught from a diligent perusal of former writers. The chief fault ascribed to it, as to all his other pieces, is a superabundance and affectation of wit on all subjects and occasions, and the universal confession, that his fools are not fools indeed. In the next year, 1694, he brought out his "*Double Dealer*," which did not meet with the expected applause; and the year after his fertile pen produced *Love for Love*, in my humble opinion the most pleasing of all his comedies. His last play, the *Way of the World*, was so ill received, that in deep disgust he determined to write no more for the theatre. The paucity of Congreve's plays cannot but remind one of the multitude produced by the most celebrated ancients. Menander wrote one hundred comedies; Philomen ninety-seven; and Sophocles, according to Suidas, one hundred and twenty-three tragedies.—There is something very affecting in our old poet entreating his young friend, at verse 72, to be kind to his remains. He earnestly complied with his request, and with equal affection and eloquence placed his character in a very amiable light. Dr. J. WARTON.

But let them not mistake my patron's part,
Nor call his charity their own desert.
Yet this I prophesy; thou shalt be seen,
(Though with some short parentheses between)
High on the throne of wit, and, seated there,
Not mine, that's little, but thy laurel wear.
Thy first attempt an early promise made;
That early promise this has more than paid.
So bold, yet so judiciously you dare,
That your least praise is to be regular.
Time, place, and action, may with pains be wrought;
But genius must be born, and never can be taught.
This is your portion; this your native store;
Heaven, that but once was prodigal before,
To Shakspeare gave as much; she could not give
him more.

Maintain your post: that's all the fame you
need;

For 'tis impossible you should proceed.
Already I am worn with cares and age,
And just abandoning the ungrateful stage:
Unprofitably kept at Heaven's expence,
I live a rent-charge on his providence:
But you, whom every muse and grace adorn,
Whom I foresee to better fortune born,
Be kind to my remains; and oh, defend,
Against your judgment, your departed friend!
Let not the insulting foe my fame pursue,
But shade those laurels which descend to you:
And take for tribute what these lines express:
You merit more; nor could my love do less.

TO

MR. GRANVILLE,

ON HIS EXCELLENT TRAGEDY, CALLED, "HEROIC LOVE."

AUSPICIOUS poet, wert thou not my friend,
How could I envy, what I must commend!
But since 'tis nature's law, in love and wit,
That youth should reign, and withering age submit,
With less regret those laurels I resign,
Which, dying on my brows, revive on thine.
With better grace an ancient chief may yield
The long-contended honours of the field,
Than venture all his fortune at a cast,
And fight, like Hannibal, to lose at last.
Young princes, obstinate to win the prize,
Though yearly beaten, yearly yet they rise:
Old monarchs, though successful, still in doubt,
Catch at a peace, and wisely turn devout.
Thine be the laurel then; thy blooming age
Can best, if any can, support the stage;
Which so declines, that shortly we may see
Players and plays reduced to second infancy.
Sharp to the world, but thoughtless of renown,
They plot not on the stage, but on the town,
And, in despair their empty pit to fill,
Set up some foreign monster in a bill.

Ver. 1. *Auspicious poet,*] Though amiable in his life and manners, Mr. George Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, was a very indifferent poet; a faint copy of Waller. The tragedy so much here extolled was acted in 1698, and is in all respects the most un-Homeric of all compositions. Dr. J. WARTON.

Thus they jog on, still tricking, never thriving,
And murdering plays, which they miscal reviving.
Our sense is nonsense, through their pipes con-
vey'd;

Scarce can a poet know the play he made;
'Tis so disguised in death; nor thinks 'tis he
That suffers in the mangled tragedy.
Thus Itys first was kill'd, and after dress'd
For his own sire, the chief invited guest.
I say not this of thy successful scenes,
Where thine was all the glory, theirs the gains.
With length of time, much judgment, and more
toil,

Not ill they acted, what they could not spoil.
Their setting-sun still shoots a glimmering ray,
Like ancient Rome, majestic in decay:
And better gleanings their worn soil can boast,
Than the crab-vintage of the neighbouring coast.
This difference yet the judging world will see;
Thou copyest Homer, and they copy thee.

TO MY FRIEND,

MR. MOTTEUX,

ON HIS TRAGEDY CALLED, "BEAUTY IN DISTRESS."

'Tis hard, my friend, to write in such an age,
As damns, not only poets, but the stage.
That sacred art, by Heaven itself infused,
Which Moses, David, Solomon have used,
Is now to be no more: the Muses' foes
Would sink their Maker's praises into prose.
Were they content to prune the lavish vine
Of straggling branches, and improve the wine,
Who, but a madman, would his thoughts defend?
All would submit; for all but fools will mend.
But when to common sense they gave the lie,
And turn distorted words to blasphemy,
They give the scandal; and the wise discern
Their glosses teach an age, too apt to learn.
What I have loosely, or profanely writ,
Let them to fires, their due desert, commit:
Nor, when accused by me, let them complain:
Their faults, and not their function, I arraign.
Rebellion, worse than witchcraft, they pursued;
The pulpit preach'd the crime, the people rued.

* Peter Motteux, to whom this piece is addressed, was born in Normandy, but settled as a merchant in London very young, and lived in repute. He died in a house of ill-fame near the Strand, and was supposed to have been murdered, in 1718. He produced eleven dramatic pieces, and his *Beauty in Distress* is thought much the best of them: it was played in Lincoln's-inn-fields by Betterton's company in 1698. DEARICK.

Ver. 1. *'Tis hard, my friend,*] No French refugee seems to have made himself so perfect a master of the English language as Peter Motteux. He has given a very good translation of Don Quixote, which my friend, Mr. Bowle, preferred to more modern ones. By trading in a large East India warehouse, and by a place in the post-office, he gained a considerable income. It was supposed he was murdered in a house of ill-fame. He wrote fifteen plays; this of *Beauty in Distress* was acted in 1698. Dryden seems to have felt a particular regard for him. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 19. *Rebellion, worse than witchcraft,*] From 1 Sam. xv. 23. "For rebellion is as the sin of witchcraft," &c. TODD.

The stage was silenced ; for the saints would see
 In fields perform'd their plotted tragedy.
 But let us first reform, and then so live,
 That we may teach our teachers to forgive :
 Our desk be placed below their lofty chairs ;
 Ours be the practice, as the precept theirs.
 The moral part, at least, we may divide,
 Humility reward, and punish pride,
 Ambition, interest, avarice, accuse :
 These are the province of a tragic muse.
 These hast thou chosen ; and the public voice
 Has equal'd thy performance with thy choice.
 Time, action, place, are so preserved by thee,
 That e'en *Cornéille* might with envy see
 The alliance of his *Tripled Unity*.
 Thy incidents, perhaps, too thick are sown ;
 But too much plenty is thy fault alone.
 At least but two can that good crime commit,
 Thou in design, and *Wycherley* in wit.
 Let thy own Gauls condemn thee, if they
 dare ;
 Contented to be thinly regular :
 Born there, but not for them, our fruitful soil
 With more increase rewards thy happy toil.
 Their tongue, enfeebled, is refined too much ;
 And, like pure gold, it bends at every touch :
 Our sturdy Teuton yet will art obey,
 More fit for manly thought, and strengthen'd
 with alloy.
 But whence art thou inspired, and thou alone,
 To flourish in an idiom not thy own ?
 It moves our wonder, that a foreign guest
 Should over-match the most, and match the best.
 In under-praising thy deserts, I wrong ;
 Here find the first deficiency of our tongue :
 Words, once my stock, are wanting, to commend
 So great a poet, and so good a friend.

TO MY HONOURED KINSMAN,

JOHN DRYDEN,

OF CHESTERTON, IN THE COUNTY OF HUNTINGDON, ESQ.*

How bless'd is he, who leads a country life,
 Unvex'd with anxious cares, and void of strife !
 Who studying peace, and shunning civil rage,
 Enjoy'd his youth, and now enjoys his age :
 All who deserve his love, he makes his own ;
 And, to be loved himself, needs only to be
 known.
 Just, good and wise, contending neighbours
 come,
 From your award to wait their final doom ;
 And, foes before, return in friendship home.
 Without their cost, you terminate the cause ;
 And save the expence of long litigious laws :

* This poem was written in 1699. The person to whom it is addressed was cousin-german to the poet, and a younger brother of the baronet. *DEARICK.*

VER. 1. *How bless'd is he.* This is one of the most truly Horatian epistles in our language, comprehending a variety of topics and useful reflections, and sliding from subject to subject with ease and propriety. Writing this note in the year 1799, I am much struck with the lines that follow the 175th, as containing the soundest political truths. *DR. J. WARTON.*

Where suits are traversed ; and so little won,
 That he who conquers, is but last undone :
 Such are not your decrees ; but so design'd,
 The sanction leaves a lasting peace behind :
 Like your own soul, serene ; a pattern of your
 mind.

Promoting concord, and composing strife,
 Lord of yourself, uncumber'd with a wife ;
 Where, for a year, a month, perhaps a night,
 Long penitence succeeds a short delight :
 Minds are so hardly match'd, that ev'n the first,
 Though pair'd by Heaven, in Paradise were
 curs'd.

For man and woman, though in one they grow,
 Yet, first or last, return again to two.
 He to God's image, she to his was made ;
 So, farther from the fount, the stream at random
 stray'd.

How could he stand, when, put to double pain,
 He must a weaker than himself sustain !
 Each might have stood perhaps ; but each alone ;
 Two wrestlers help to pull each other down.

Not that my verse would blemish all the fair ;
 But yet if some be bad, 'tis wisdom to beware ;
 And better shun the bait, than struggle in the snare.
 Thus have you shunn'd, and shun the married
 state,

Trusting as little as you can to fate.

No porter guards the passage of your door,
 T' admit the wealthy, and exclude the poor ;
 For God, who gave the riches, gave the heart
 To sanctify the whole, by giving part ;
 Heaven, who foresaw the will, the means has
 wrought,

And to the second son a blessing brought ;
 The first-begotten had his father's share :
 But you, like Jacob, are Rebecca's heir.

So may your stores, and fruitful fields increase ;
 And ever be you bless'd, who live to bless.
 As Ceres sow'd, where'er her chariot flew ;
 As Heaven in deserts rain'd the bread of dew ;
 So free to many, to relations most,
 You feed with manna your own Israel host.

With crowds attended of your ancient race,
 You seek the champain sports, or sylvan chace :
 With well-breath'd beagles you surround the
 wood,

Ev'n then, industrious of the common good :
 And often have you brought the wily fox
 To suffer for the firstlings of the flocks ;
 Chased even amid the folds ; and made to bleed,
 Like felons, where they did the murderous deed.
 This fiery game your active youth maintain'd,
 Not yet by years extinguish'd, though restrain'd :
 You season still with sports your serious hours :
 For age but tastes of pleasures, youth devours.
 The hare in pastures or in plains is found,
 Emblem of human life, who runs the round ;
 And, after all his wandering ways are done,
 His circle fills, and ends where he begun,
 Just as the setting meets the rising sun.

Thus princes ease their cares ; but happier he,
 Who seeks not pleasure through necessity,
 Than such as once on slippery thrones were
 placed ;

And chasing, sigh to think themselves are chased
 So lived our sires, ere doctors learn'd to kill,
 And multiplied with theirs the weekly bill.
 The first physicians by debauch were made
 Excess began, and sloth sustains the trade.

Pity the generous kind their cares bestow 75
To search forbidden truths; (a sin to know:)
To which if human science could attain,
The doom of death, pronounced by God, were
vain.

In vain the loech would interpose delay;
Fate fastens first, and vindicates the prey. 80
What help from art's endeavours can we have?
Gibbons but guesses, nor is sure to save:
But Maurus sweeps whole parishes, and peoples
every grave;

And no more mercy to mankind will use,
Than when he robb'd and murder'd Maro's
muse. 85

Would'st thou be soon despatch'd, and perish
whole,

Trust Maurus with thy life, and Milbourn with
thy soul.

By chace our long-lived fathers earn'd their
food;

Toil strung the nerves, and purified the blood:
But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men, 90
Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten.
Better to hunt in fields, for health unbought,
Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught;
The wise, for cure, on exercise depend;
God never made his work, for man to mend. 95

The tree of knowledge, once in Eden placed,
Was easy found, but was forbid the taste:
Oh, had our grandsire walk'd without his wife,
He first had sought the better plant of life!
Now both are lost: yet, wandering in the 100
dark,

Physicians, for the tree, have found the bark:
They, labouring for relief of human kind,
With sharpen'd sight some remedies may find;
The apothecary-train is wholly blind.
From files a random recipe they take, 105
And many deaths of one prescription make.
Garth, generous as his muse, prescribes and
gives;

The shopman sells; and by destruction lives:
Ungrateful tribe! who, like the viper's brood,
From med'cine issuing, suck their mother's
blood! 110

Let these obey; and let the learn'd prescribe;
That men may die, without a double bribe:
Let them, but under their superiors, kill;
When doctors first have sign'd the bloody bill;
He 'scapes the best, who, nature to repair, 115
Draws physic from the fields, in draughts of vital
air.

You hoard not health, for your own private
use;

But on the public spend the rich produce.
When, often urged, unwilling to be great,
Your country calls you from your loved retreat,
And sends to senates, charged with common 121
care,

Which none more shuns: and none can better
bear:

Where could they find another form'd so fit,
To poisè, with solid sense, a sprightly wit?

Ver. 82. *Gibbons but guesses, nor is sure to save:
But Maurus sweeps whole parishes, &c.]*

Dr. Gibbons was a physician at this time justly in high
esteem. By Maurus is meant Sir Richard Blackmore,
physician to King William, and author of many epic poems.
Milbourn was a nonjuring minister. DERRICK.

Were these both wanting, as they both abound, 128
Where could so firm integrity be found?

Well born, and wealthy, wanting no support,
You steer betwixt the country and the court:
Nor gratify whate'er the great desire,
Nor grudging give what public needs require. 130
Part must be left, a fund when foes invade;
And part employ'd to roll the watery trade:
Ev'n Canaan's happy land, when worn with toil,
Required a sabbath-year to mend the meagre soil.

Good senators (and such as you) so give, 135
That kings may be supplied, the people thrive.
And he, when want requires, is truly wise,
Who slight's not foreign aids, nor over-buys;
But on our native strength, in time of need, re-
lies.

Munster was bought, we boast not the success; 140
Who fights for gain, for greater makes his peace.
Our foes, compell'd by need, have peace em-
braced:

The peace both parties want, is like to last:
Which if secure, securely we may trade;
Or, not secure, should never have been made. 145
Safe in ourselves, while on ourselves we stand,
The sea is ours, and that defends the land.
Be, then, the naval stores the nation's care,
New ships to build, and batter'd to repair.

Observe the war, in every annual course; 150
What has been done, was done with British
force:

Namur subdued, is England's palm alone;
The rest besieged; but we constrain'd the town:
We saw the event that follow'd our success;
France, though pretending arms, pursued the 155
peace;

Obliged, by one sole treaty, to restore
What twenty years of war had won before.
Enough for Europe has our Albion fought:
Let us enjoy the peace our blood has bought.
When once the Persian king was put to flight, 160
The weary Macedons refused to fight:
Themselves their own mortality confess'd;
And left the son of Jove to quarrel for the rest.

Ev'n victors are by victories undone;
Thus Hannibal, with foreign laurels won, 165
To Carthage was recall'd, too late to keep his
own.

While sore of battle, while our wounds are green,
Why should we tempt the doubtful die again?
In wars renew'd, uncertain of success;
Sure of a share, as umpires of the peace. 170

A patriot both the king and country serves:
Prerogative, and privilege, preserves:
Of each our laws the certain limit show;
One must not ebb, nor t'other overflow:
Betwixt the prince and parliament we stand; 175
The barriers of the state on either hand:
May neither overflow, for then they drown the
land.

When both are full, they feed our bless'd abode;
Like those that water'd once the paradise of God.
Some overpose of sway, by turns, they share; 180
In peace the people, and the prince in war:

Ver. 152. *Namur subdued, is England's palm &c.].* In the
year 1695, William III. carried Namur, after a siege of one
month. The garrison retired to the citadel, which capitulated
upon honourable terms in another month. The courage
of our men in this siege was much admired, as was the
conduct of the king. DERRICK.

Consuls of moderate power in calms were made;
When the Gauls came, one sole dictator sway'd.

Patriots, in peace, assert the people's right;
With noble stubbornness resisting might: 185
No lawless mandates from the court receive,
Nor lend by force, but in a body give.
Such was your generous grandsire · free to grant
In parliaments, that weigh'd their prince's want:
But so tenacious of the common cause, 190
As not to lend the king against his laws.
And in a loathsome dungeon doom'd to lie,
In bonds retain'd his birthright liberty,
And shamed oppression, till it set him free.

O true descendant of a patriot line, 195
Who, while thou shar'st their lustre, lend'st them
thine,

Vouchsafe this picture of thy soul to see;
'Tis so far good, as it resembles thee:
The beauties to the original I owe;
Which when I miss, my own defects I show: 200
Nor think the kindred muses thy disgrace:
A poet is not born in every race.
Two of a house few ages can afford;
One to perform, another to record.
Praiseworthy actions are by thee embraced; 205
And 'tis my praise, to make thy praises last.
For ev'n when death dissolves our human frame,
The soul returns to heaven from whence it came;
Earth keeps the body, verse preserves the fame.

TO

SIR GODFREY KNELLER,

PRINCIPAL PAINTER TO HIS MAJESTY.

ONCE I beheld the fairest of her kind,
And still the sweet idea charms my mind:
True, she was dumb; for Nature gazed so long,
Pleased with her work, that she forgot her
tongue;

Ver 1. *Once I beheld* Sir Godfrey Kneller was born at Lubeck in 1643. Discovering early a predominant genius for painting, his father sent him to Amsterdam, where he studied under Bol, and had some instructions from Rembrandt. But Kneller was no servile imitator or disciple. Even in Italy, whither he went in 1672, he followed no particular master, not even at Venice, where he long resided. In 1676 he came to England, and was soon patronised by Charles II. and James. Ten sovereigns at different times sat to him: Charles II., James II., and his queen, William and Mary, George I., Louis XIV. and Charles VI. He stuck to portrait painting as the most lucrative, though Dryden in this very epistle inveighs so much against it. Of all his works he valued most the converted Chinese in Windsor Castle. But Mr. Walpole thinks his portrait of Gibbon superior to it. This epistle is full of just taste and knowledge of painting, particularly what he says of Light, Shade, Perspective, and Grace. It is certainly superior to Pope's address to his friend Jervas, though Pope himself was a practitioner in the art. Not only Dryden, but Prior, Pope, Steele, Tickell, and Addison, all wrote high encomiums on Sir Godfrey; but not one so elegant as that of Addison, who with matchless art and dexterity applied the characters of those heathen gods whom Phidias had carved to the English princes that Kneller had painted; making Pan, Saturn, Mars, Minerva, Thetis, and Jupiter, stand for Charles II., James II., William III., queen Mary, Anne, and George I. Sir Godfrey was a man of much original wit and humour, but tainted with a mixture of profaneness and ribaldry. Dr. J. WARTON.

But, smiling, said, She still shall gain the prize;
I only have transferr'd it to her eyes.
Such are thy pictures, Kneller · such thy skill,
That Nature seems obedient to thy will:
Comes out, and meets thy pencil in the draught;
Lives there, and wants but words to speak her
thought 10

At least thy pictures look a voice; and we
Imagine sounds, deceived to that degree,
We think 'tis somewhat more than just to see.
Shadows are but privations of the light;
Yet, when we walk, they shoot before the sight; 16
With us approach, retire, arise, and fall;
Nothing themselves, and yet expressing all.
Such are thy pieces, imitating life
So near, they almost conquer in the strife;
And from their animated canvas came, 20
Demanding souls, and loosen'd from the frame.
Prometheus, were he here, would cast away
His Adam, and refuse a soul to clay;
And either would thy noble work inspire,
Or think it warm enough, without his fire. 25

But vulgar hands may vulgar likeness raise;
This is the least attendant on thy praise:
From hence the rudiments of art began;
A coal, or chalk, first imitated man:
Perhaps the shadow, taken on a wall, 30
Gave outlines to the rude original:
Ere canvas yet was strain'd, before the grace
Of blended colours found their use and place,
Or cypress tablets first received a face.

By slow degrees the godlike art advanced; 35
As man grew polish'd, picture was inanced;
Greece added posture, shade, and perspective;
And then the mimic piece began to live.
Yet perspective was lame, no distance true,
But all came forward in one common view: 40
No point of light was known, no bounds of art;
When light was there, it knew not to depart,
But glaring on remoter objects play'd;
Not languish'd, and insensibly decay'd.

Rome raised not art, but barely kept alive, 45
And with old Greece unequally did strive:
Till Goths, and Vandals, a rude northern race,
Did all the matchless monuments deface.
Then all the Muses in one ruin lie,
And rhyme began to enervate poetry. 50
Thus, in a stupid military state,
The pen and pencil find an equal fate.
Flat faces, such as would disgrace a screen,
Such as in Bantam's embassy were seen,
Unraised, unrounded, were the rude delight 55
Of brutal nations, only born to fight.

Long time the sister Arts, in iron sleep,
A heavy sabbath did supinely keep:
At length, in Raphael's age, at once they rise,
Stretch all their limbs, and open all their eyes. 60
Thence rose the Roman, and the Lombard line:
One colour'd best, and one did best design.
Raphael's, like Homer's, was the nobler part,
But Titian's painting look'd like Virgil's art.

Thy genius gives thee both; where true design, 66
Postures unforced, and lively colours join.

Ver. 50.] It is remarkable that he mentions rhyme as one instance of barbarism. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 57. *Long time*] The art of painting expired in the year 580. It revived under Cimabue in 1240, but it was And. Mantegna, who was born in 1431, and whose cartoons are at Hampton Court, who was the first that revived a true taste for the antique. Dr. J. WARTON.

Likeness is ever there ; but still the best,
Like proper thoughts in lofty language dress'd :
Where light, to shades descending, plays, not
strives,

Dies by degrees, and by degrees revives. 70
Of various parts a perfect whole is wrought :
Thy pictures think, and we divine their thought.

Shakspeare, thy gift, I place before my sight ;
With awe, I ask his blessing ere I write ;
With reverence look on his majestic face ; 75
Proud to be less, but of his godlike race.
His soul inspires me, while thy praise I write,
And I, like Teucer, under Ajax fight.
Bids thee, through me, be bold ; with dauntless
breast

Contemn the bad, and emulate the best. 80
Like his, thy critics in the attempt are lost :
When most they rail, know then, they envy
most.

In vain they snarl aloof ; a noisy crowd,
Like women's anger, impotent and loud.
While they their barren industry deplore, 85
Pass on secure, and mind the goal before.
Old as she is, my Muse shall march behind,
Bear off the blast, and intercept the wind.
Our arts are sisters, though not twins in birth ;
For hymns were sung in Eden's happy earth : 90
But oh, the painter Muse, though last in place,
Has seized the blessing first, like Jacob's race.
Apelles' art an Alexander found ;

And Raphael did with Leo's gold abound ;
But Homer was with barren laurel crown'd. 95
Thou hadst thy Charles a while, and so had I ;
But pass we that unpleasing image by.
Rich in thyself, and of thyself divine,
All pilgrims come and offer at thy shrine.
A graceful truth thy pencil can command ; 100
The fair themselves go mended from thy hand.
Likeness appears in every lineament ;
But likeness in thy work is eloquent.

Though nature there her true resemblance bears,
A nobler beauty in thy piece appears. 105
So warm thy work, so glows the generous frame,
Flesh looks less living in the lovely dame.
Thou paint'st as we describe, improving still,
When on wild nature we engraft our skill ;
But not creating beauties at our will. 110

But poets are confined in narrower space,
To speak the language of their native place :
The painter widely stretches his command ;
Thy pencil speaks the tongue of every land.

Ver. 94. ————*with Leo's gold* Raphael flattered with his pencil. In his Attilla, his Coronation of Charlemagne, the siege of Ostia, and King Pepin, he has represented St. Leo, Leo III., Stephen II., and Leo IV., with an exact likeness of Leo X. Dr. J. Warton.

From hence, my friend, all climates are your
own, 115

Nor can you forfeit, for you hold of none.
All nations all immunities will give
To make you theirs, where'er you please to live ;
And not seven cities, but the world would strive.

Sure some propitious planet then did smile, 120
When first you were conducted to this isle :
Our genius brought you here, to enlarge our
fame ;

For your good stars are every where the same.
Thy matchless hand, of every region free,
Adopts our climate, not our climate thee. 125

Great Rome and Venice early did impart
To thee the examples of their wondrous art.
Those masters then, but seen, not understood,
With generous emulation fired thy blood :
For what in nature's dawn the child admired, 130
The youth endeavour'd, and the man acquired.

If yet thou hast not reach'd their high degree,
'Tis only wanting to this age, not thee.

Thy genius, bounded by the times, like mine,
Drudges on petty draughts, nor dare design 135
A more exalted work, and more divine.

For what a song, or senseless opera
Is to the living labour of a play ;
Or what a play to Virgil's work would be,
Such is a single piece to history. 140

But we, who life bestow, ourselves must live ;
Kings cannot reign, unless their subjects give ;
And they, who pay the taxes, bear the rule :
Thus thou, sometimes, art forced to draw a
fool :

But so his follies in thy posture sink, 145
The senseless idiot seems at last to think.

Good Heaven ! that sots and knaves should be
so vain,

To wish their vile resemblance may remain !
And stand recorded, at their own request,
To future days, a libel or a jest ! 150

Else should we see your noble pencil trace
Our unities of action, time, and place :
A whole composed of parts, and those the best,
With every various character express'd : 155
Heroes at large, and at a nearer view ;
Less, and at distance, an ignobler crew.
While all the figures in one action join,
As tending to complete the main design.

More cannot be by mortal art express'd ;
But venerable age shall add the rest. 160
For Time shall with his ready pencil stand ;
Retouch your figures with his ripening hand ;
Mellow your colours, and imbrown the teint ;
Add every grace, which time alone can grant ;
To future ages shall your fame convey, 165
And give more beauties than he takes away.

ELEGIES AND EPITAPHS.

TO
THE MEMORY OF MR. OLDHAM.

FAREWELL, too little, and too lately known,
Whom I began to think, and call my own:
For sure our souls were near allied, and thine
Cast in the same poetic mould with mine.
One common note on either lyre did strike,
And knaves and fools we both abhor'd alike.
To the same goal did both our studies drive;
The last set out, the soonest did arrive.
Thus Nisus fell upon the slippery place,
Whilst his young friend perform'd, and won the
race.

Oh early ripe! to thy abundant store
What could advancing age have added more?
It might (what nature never gives the young)
Have taught the numbers of thy native tongue.
But satire needs not those, and wit will shine
Through the harsh cadence of a rugged line.
A noble error, and but seldom made,
When poets are by too much force betray'd.
Thy generous fruits, though gather'd ere thy
prime,
Still show'd a quickness; and maturing time
But mellow what we write, to the dull sweets of
rhyme.
Once more, hail, and farewell; farewell, thou
young,
But ah too short, Marcellus of our tongue!
Thy brows with ivy, and with laurels bound;
But fate and gloomy night encompass thee
around.

TO THE PIOUS MEMORY OF THE ACCOMPLISHED
YOUNG LADY,

MRS. ANNE KILLIGREW,

EXCELLENT IN THE TWO SISTER ARTS OF POESY
AND PAINTING.

AN ODE.

I.

THOU youngest virgin-daughter of the skies,
Made in the last promotion of the bless'd;

Ver. 1. *Farewell, too little.*] This short elegy is finished with the most exquisite art and skill. Not an epithet or

Ver. 1. *Thou youngest virgin.*] At length we are arrived at the Ode on the Death of Mrs. Anne Killigrew, which Dr.

Whose palms, new pluck'd from paradise,
In spreading branches more sublimely rise,
Rich with immortal green above the rest:
Whether, adopted to some neigh'ring star,
Thou roll'st above us, in thy wandering race,
Or, in procession fix'd and regular,
Mov'st with the heaven's majestic pace;
Or, call'd to more superior bliss,
Thou tread'st, with seraphims, the vast abyss:
Whatever happy region is thy place,
Cease thy celestial song a little space;
Thou wilt have time enough for hymns divine,
Since heaven's eternal year is thine.
Hear then a mortal Muse thy praise rehearse,
In no ignoble verse;

expression can be changed for a better. It is also the most harmonious in its numbers of all that this great master of harmony has produced. Oldham's Satire on the Jesuits is written with vigour and energy. It is remarkable that Dryden calls Oldham his *brother* in satire, hinting that this was the characteristic turn of both their geniuses.

To the same goal did both our studies drive.—Ver 7. Dr. J. WARTON.

Johnson, by an unaccountable perversity of judgment, and want of taste for true poetry, has pronounced to be undoubtedly the noblest Ode that our language ever has produced. The first stanza, he says, flows with a torrent of enthusiasm. To a cool and candid reader, it appears absolutely unintelligible. Examples of bad writing, of ruid expressions, violent metaphors, far sought conceits, hyperbolic adulation, unnatural amplifications, interspersed, as usual, with fine lines, might be collected from this applauded Ode, so very inferior in all respects to the divine Ode on St. Cecilia's Day. But such a paradoxical judgment cannot be wondered at in a critic that despised the Lycidas of Milton, and the Bard of Gray. I have been censured, I am informed, for contradicting some of Johnson's critical opinions. As I knew him well, I ever respected his talents, and more so his integrity; but a love of paradox and contradiction, at the bottom of which was vanity, gave an unpleasant tincture to his manners, and made his conversation boisterous and offensive. I often used to tell the mild and sensible Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he and his friends had contributed to spoil Johnson, by constantly and cowardly assenting to all he advanced on any subject. Mr. Burke only kept him in order, as did Mr. Beauclerc also, sometimes by his playful wit. It was a great pleasure for Beauclerc to lay traps for him to induce him to oppose and contradict one day what he had maintained on a former. Lest the censure presumed to be passed on this Ode should be thought too uncandid and severe, the reader is desired attentively to consider stanzas the third, sixth, seventh, ninth, and tenth. In a word, Dryden, by his inequality, much resembles another great genius, Casimir, of Poland; who, in the very midst of some poetical strokes in his Ode on the Deluge, mars all by his usual mixtures of Ovidian periphrases. After saying

"—vacuas spatiosa cete
Lundunt per aulas, ac thalamos pigre
Pressere Phocæ;—"

comes this idle conceit,

"—et refrae
Ad pelagus reducere Gemmae."—Lib. iv. Od.

Mason has too much commended an Ode of Casimir on the Æolian Harp. Dr. J. WARTON.

But such as thy own voice did practise here,
When thy first-fruits of Poesy were given;
To make thyself a welcome inmate there : 20
While yet a young probationer,
And candidate of heaven.

II.

If by traduction came thy mind,
Our wonder is the less to find
A soul so charming from a stock so good ; 25
Thy father was transfused into thy blood :
So wert thou born into a tuneful strain,
An early, rich, and inexhausted vein.
But if thy pre-existing soul
Was form'd at first, with myriads more, 30
It did through all the mighty poets roll,
Who Greek or Latin laurels wore,
And was that Sappho last, which once it was
before.

If so, then cease thy flight, O heaven-born
mind !
Thou hast no dross to purge from thy rich
ore : 35
Nor can thy soul a fairer mansion find,
Than was the beauteous frame she left behind :
Return to fill or mend the choir of thy celestial
kind.

III.

May we presume to say, that, at thy birth,
New joy was sprung in heaven, as well as here 40
on earth.
For sure the milder planets did combine
On thy auspicious horoscope to shine,
And e'en the most malicious were in trine.
Thy brother-angels at thy birth
Strung each his lyre, and tuned it high, 45
That all the people of the sky
Might know a poetess was born on earth.
And then, if ever, mortal ears
Had heard the music of the spheres.
And if no clustering swarm of bees 50
On thy sweet mouth distill'd their golden dew,
'Twas that such vulgar miracles
Heaven had not leisure to renew :
For all thy blest fraternity of love
Solemnized there thy birth, and kept thy holyday 55
above.

IV.

O gracious God ! how far have we
Profaned thy heavenly gift of poesy ?
Made prostitute and profligate the Muse,
Debased to each obscene and impious use, 60
Whose harmony was first ordain'd above
For tongues of angels, and for hymns of love !
Oh wretched we ! why were we hurried down
This lubrique and adulterate age,
(Nay, added fat pollutions of our own)
To increase the streaming ordures of the stage ?
What can we say to excuse our second fall ? 65
Let this thy vestal, Heaven, atone for all :
Her Arethusian stream remains unsull'd,

Ver 39. *And was that Sappho last, &c.* Our author here
compliments Mrs Killigrew, with admitting the doctrine of
metempsychosis, and supposing the soul that informs her
body to be the same with that of Sappho's, who lived 416
hundred years before the birth of Christ, and was equally
renowned for poetry and love. She was called the tenth
Muse. Phaon, whom she loved, treating her with indif-
ference, she jumped into the sea, and was drowned.
"BLERICK.

Unmix'd with foreign filth, and undefiled ;
Her wit was more than man, her innocence a 70
child.

V.

Art she had none, yet wanted none ;
For Nature did that want supply :
So rich in treasures of her own,
She might our boasted stores defy : 75
Such noble vigour did her verse adorn,
That it seem'd borrow'd, where 'twas only born.
Her morals too were in her bosom bred,
By great examples daily fed,
What in the best of books, her father's life, she
read.
And to be read herself she need not fear ; 80
Each test, and every light, her muse will bear,
Though Epictetus with his lamp were there
E'en love (for love sometimes her muse express'd)
Was but a lambent flame which play'd about her
breast :
Light as the vapours of a morning dream, 85
So cold herself, whilst she such warmth express'd,
'Twas Cupid bathing in Diana's stream.

VI.

Born to the spacious empire of the Nine,
One would have thought, she should have been
content
To manage well that mighty government ; 90
But what can young ambitious souls confine ?
To the next realm she stretch'd her sway,
For Painture near adjoining lay,
A plenteous province, and alluring prey.
A Chamber of Dependencies was framed, 95
(As conquerors will never want pretence,
When arm'd, to justify the offence)
And the whole fief, in right of poetry, she claim'd.
The country open lay without defence :
For poets frequent inroads there had made, 100
And perfectly could represent
The shape, the face, with every lineament,
And all the large domains which the Dumb Sister
sway'd.
All bow'd beneath her government,
Received in triumph wheresoe'er she went. 105
Her pencil drew, whate'er her soul design'd,
And oft the happy draught surpass'd the image
in her mind.
The sylvan scenes of herds and flocks,
And fruitful plains and barren rocks,
Of shallow brooks that flow'd so clear, 110
The bottom did the top appear ;
Of deeper too and ampler floods,
Which, as in mirrors, show'd the woods ;
Of lofty trees, with sacred shades,
And perspectives of pleasant glades, 115
Where nymphs of brightest form appear,
And shaggy satyrs standing near,
Which them at once admire and fear.
The ruins too of some majestic piece,
Boasting the power of ancient Rome, or Greece,
Whose statues, friezes, columns, broken lie, 121
And, though defaced, the wonder of the eye ;
What nature, art, bold fiction, e'er durst frame,
Her forming hand gave feature to the name.
So strange a concourse ne'er was seen before,
But when the peopled ark the whole creation 126
bore.

VII.

The scene then changed, with bold erected
look

Our martial king the sight with reverence strook :
For not content to express his outward part, 130
Her hand call'd out the image of his heart :
His warlike mind, his soul devoid of fear,
His high-designing thoughts were figured there,
As when, by magic, ghosts are made appear.

Our phoenix queen was pourtray'd too so bright, 135
Beauty alone could beauty take so right :
Her dress, her shape, her matchless grace,
Were all observed, as well as heavenly face.
With such a peerless majesty she stands,
As in that day she took the crown from sacred
hands :

Before a train of heroines was seen, 140
In beauty foremost, as in rank, the queen.
Thus nothing to her genius was denied,

But like a ball of fire the further thrown,
Still with a greater blaze she shone,
And her bright soul broke out on every side. 145
What next she had design'd, Heaven only knows :
To such immoderate growth her conquest rose,
That fate alone its progress could oppose.

VIII.

Now all those charms, that blooming grace,
The well-proportion'd shape, and beauteous face,
Shall never more be seen by mortal eyes ; 151
In earth the much-lamented virgin lies.

Not wit, nor piety could fate prevent ;
Nor was the cruel destiny content
To finish all the murder at a blow, 155
To sweep at once her life, and beauty too ;
But, like a harden'd felon, took a pride
To work more mischievously slow,
And plunder'd first, and then destroy'd.
O double sacrilege on things divine, 160
To rob the relic, and deface the shrine !

But thus Orinda died :

Heaven, by the same disease, did both trans-
late ;
As equal were their souls, so equal was their
fate.

IX.

Meantime her warlike brother on the seas 165
His waving streamers to the winds displays,
And vows for his return, with vain devotion, pays.
Ah, generous youth, that wish forbear,
The winds too soon will waft thee here !

Ver. 162. *But thus Orinda died*] The matchless Orinda, Mrs. Katharine Philips, was author of a book of poems published in folio, and wrote several other things. She died also of the small-pox in 1684, being only thirty-two years of age. She was a woman of an indifferent appearance ; but of great virtue, taste, and erudition, which endeared her to the first people of the age. The Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Orrery and Roscommon, Lady Corke, &c., Mr. Dryden, Mr. Cowley, &c. &c. were all her friends. DERRICK.

Slack all thy sails, and fear to come, 170
Alas, thou know'st not, thou art wreck'd at home !
No more shalt thou behold thy sister's face,
Thou hast already had her last embrace.
But look aloft, and if thou kenn'st from far 175
Among the Pleiads a new-kindled star,
If any sparkles than the rest more bright ;
'Tis she that shines in that propitious light.

X.

When in mid-air the golden trump snaw sound,
To raise the nations under ground :
When in the valley of Jehoshaphat, 180
The judging God shall close this book of fate ;
And there the last assizes keep,
For those who wake, and those who sleep :
When rattling bones together fly,
From the four corners of the sky ; 185
When sinews o'er the skeletons are spread,
Those clothed with flesh, and life inspires the
dead ;
The sacred poets first shall hear the sound,
And foremost from the tomb shall bound,
For they are cover'd with the lightest ground ; 190
And straight, with in-born vigour, on the wing,
Like mounting larks, to the new morning sing.
There thou, sweet saint, before the quire shall go,
As harbinger of heaven, the way to show,
The way which thou so well hast learn'd below. 195

UPON THE DEATH

OF

THE EARL OF DUNDEE.

ON last and best of Scots ! who didst maintain
Thy country's freedom from a foreign reign ;
New people fill the land now thou art gone,
New gods the temples, and new kings the
throne.
Scotland and thee did each in other live ; 5
Nor would'st thou her, nor could she thee
survive.
Farewell, who dying didst support the state,
And could'st not fall but with thy country's fate.

Ver. 1. *Oh last and best*] The conduct and death of this truly valiant chieftain is described with much eloquence and animation in his account of the important battle at Killlicrankie, by Sir John Dalrymple, in the first volume of his *Memoirs*. Dundee, being wounded by a musket-ball, rode off the field, desiring his mischance to be concealed, and fainting, dropped from his horse ; as soon as he was recovered, he desired to be raised, looked to the field, and asked, "How things went ?" Being told, "All well ;" ther said he, "I am well," and expired. Dr. J. WATSON.

ELEONORA;

A PANEGYRICAL POEM,

DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF THE LATE COUNTESS OF ABINGDON.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABINGDON, &c.

MY LORD,

THE commands, with which you honoured me some months ago, are now performed : they had been sooner ; but betwixt ill health, some business, and many troubles, I was forced to defer them till this time. Ovid, going to his banishment, and writing from on shipboard to his friends, excused the faults of his poetry by his misfortunes ; and told them, that good verses never flow, but from a serene and composed spirit. Wit, which is a kind of Mercury, with wings fastened to his head and heels, can fly but slowly in a damp air. I therefore chose rather to obey you late than ill : if at least I am capable of writing any thing, at any time, which is worthy your perusal and your patronage. I cannot say that I have escaped from a shipwreck ; but have only gained a rock by hard swimming ; where I may pant a while and gather breath ; for the doctors give me a sad assurance, that my disease never took its leave of any man, but with a purpose to return. However, my lord, I have laid hold on the interval, and managed the small stock, which age has left me, to the best advantage, in performing this inconsiderable service to my lady's memory. We, who are priests of Apollo, have not the inspiration when we please ; but must wait till the god comes rushing on us, and invades us with a fury, which we are not able to resist : which gives us double strength while the fit continues, and leaves us languishing and spent, at its departure. Let me not seem to boast, my lord, for I have really felt it on this occasion, and prophesied beyond my natural power. Let me add, and hope to be believed, that the excellency of the subject contributed much to the happiness of the execution ; and that the weight of thirty years was taken off me, while I was writing. I swam with the tide, and the water under me was buoyant. The reader will easily observe, that I was transported by the multitude and variety of my similitudes ; which are generally the product of a luxuriant fancy, and the wantonness of wit. Had I called in my judgment to my assistance, I had certainly retrenched many of them. But I defend them not ; let them pass for beautiful faults amongst the better sort of critics : for the whole poem, though written in that which they call Heroic verse, is of the Pindaric nature, as well in the thought as the expression ; and, as such, requires the same grains of allowance for it. It was intended, as your lordship sees in the title, not for an elegy, but a panegyric : a kind of apotheosis, indeed, if a heathen word may be applied to a Christian use. And on all occasions of praise, if we take the ancients for our patterns, we are bound by prescription to employ the magnificence of words, and the force of figures, to adorn the sublimity of thoughts. Isocrates amongst the Grecian orators, and Cicero, and the younger Pliny, amongst the Romans, have left us their precedents for our security : for I think I need not mention the inimitable Pindar, who stretches on these pinions out of sight, and is carried upward, as it were, into another world.

This, at least, my lord, I may justly plead, that, if I have not performed so well as I think I have, yet I have used my best endeavours to excel myself. One disadvantage I have had ; which is, never to have known or seen my lady : and to draw the lineaments of her mind, from the description which I have received from others, is for a painter to set himself at work without the living original before him ; which, the more beautiful it is, will be so much the more difficult for him to conceive, when he has only a relation given him of such and such features by an acquaintance or a friend, without the vice touches, which give the best resemblance, and make the graces of the picture. Every artist is

apt enough to flatter himself (and I amongst the rest) that their own ocular observations would have discovered more perfections, at least others, than have been delivered to them: though I have received mine from the best hands, that is, from persons who neither want a just understanding of my lady's worth, nor a due veneration for her memory.

Doctor Donne, the greatest wit, though not the greatest poet of our nation, acknowledges, that he had never seen Mrs. Drury, whom he has made immortal in his admirable Anniversaries. I have had the same fortune, though I have not succeeded to the same genius. However, I have followed his footsteps in the design of his panegyric; which was to raise an emulation in the living, to copy out the example of the dead. And therefore it was, that I once intended to have called this poem, *The Pattern*: and though, on a second consideration, I changed the title into the name of the illustrious person, yet the design continues, and Eleonora is still the pattern of charity, devotion, and humility; of the best wife, the best mother, and the best of friends.

And now, my lord, though I have endeavoured to answer your commands, yet I could not answer it to the world, nor to my conscience, if I gave not your lordship my testimony of being the best husband now living: I say my testimony only; for the praise of it is given you by yourself. They who despise the rules of virtue both in their practice and their morals, will think this a very trivial commendation. But I think it the peculiar happiness of the Countess of Abingdon, to have been so truly loved by you, while she was living, and so gratefully honoured, after she was dead. Few there are who have either had, or could have, such a loss; and yet fewer who carried their love and constancy beyond the grave. The exterior of mourning, a decent funeral, and black habits, are the usual stints of common husbands: and perhaps their wives deserve no better than to be mourned with hypocrisy, and forgot with ease. But you have distinguished yourself from ordinary lovers, by a real and lasting grief for the deceased; and by endeavouring to raise for her the most durable monument, which is that of verse. And so it would have proved, if the workman had been equal to the work, and your choice of the artificer as happy as your design. Yet, as Phidias, when he had made the statue of Minerva, could not forbear to engrave his own name, as author of the piece: so give me leave to hope, that, by subscribing mine to this poem, I may live by the goddess, and transmit my name to posterity by the memory of hers. 'Tis no flattery to assure your lordship, that she is remembered, in the present age, by all who have had the honour of her conversation and acquaintance; and that I have never been in any company since the news of her death was first brought me, where they have not extolled her virtues, and even spoken the same things of her in prose, which I have done in verse.

I therefore think myself obliged to thank your lordship for the commission which you have given me: how I have acquitted myself of it, must be left to the opinion of the world, in spite of any protestation which I can enter against the present age, as incompetent or corrupt judges. For my comfort, they are but Englishmen, and, as such, if they think ill of me to-day, they are inconstant enough to think well of me to-morrow. And after all, I have not much to thank my fortune that I was born amongst them. The good of both sexes are so few, in England, that they stand like exceptions against general rules: and though one of them has deserved a greater commendation than I could give her, they have taken care that I should not tire my pen with frequent exercise on the like subjects; that praises, like taxes, should be appropriated, and left almost as individual as the person. They say, my talent is satire: if it be so, 'tis a fruitful age, and there is an extraordinary crop to gather. But a single hand is insufficient for such a harvest: they have sown the dragon's teeth themselves, and 'tis but just they should reap each other in lampoons. You, my lord, who have the character of honour, though 'tis not my happiness to know you, may stand aside, with the small remainders of the English nobility, truly such, and, unhurt yourselves, behold the mad combat. If I have pleased you, and some few others, I have obtained my end. You see I have disabled myself, like an elected Speaker of the House: yet like him I have undertaken the charge, and find the burden sufficiently recompensed by the honour. Be pleased to accept of these my unworthy labours, this paper monument; and let her pious memory, which I am sure is sacred to you, not only plead the pardon of my many faults, but gain me your protection, which is ambitiously sought by,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

ELEONORA.*

As when some great and gracious monarch dies,
Soft whispers first, and mournful murmurs rise
Among the sad attendants; then the sound
Soon gathers voice, and spreads the news around,
Through town and country, till the dreadful blast
Is blown to distant colonies at last, 6
Who, then, perhaps, were offering vows in vain,
For his long life, and for his happy reign:
So slowly, by degrees, unwilling fame
Did matchless Eleonora's fate proclaim, 10
Till public as the loss the news became.

The nation felt it in the extremest parts,
With eyes o'erflowing, and with bleeding hearts;
But most the poor, whom daily she supplied,
Beginning to be such but when she died. 15
For, while she lived, they slept in peace by night,
Secure of bread, as of returning light;
And with such firm dependence on the day,
That need grew pamp'rd, and forgot to pray:
So sure the dole, so ready at their call, 20
They stood prepared to see the manna fall.

Such multitudes she fed, she clothed, she nursed,
That she herself might fear her wanting first.
Of her five talents, other five she made;
Heaven, that had largely given, was largely paid: 25
And in few lives, in wondrous few, we find
A fortune better fitted to the mind.
Nor did her alms from ostentation fall,
Or proud desire of praise; the soul gave all:
Unbribed it gave, or, if a bribe appear, 30
No less than heaven; to heap huge treasures there.

Want pass'd for merit at her open door:
Heaven saw, he safely might increase his poor,
And trust their sustenance with her so well,
As not to be at charge of miracle. 35
None could be needy, whom she saw, or knew;
All in the compass of her sphere she drew:
He, who could touch her garment, was as sure,
As the first Christians of the apostles' cure.
The distant heard, by fame, her pious deeds, 40
And laid her up for their extremest needs;
A future cordial for a fainting mind;
For, what was ne'er refused, all hoped to find,
Each in his turn: the rich might freely come,
As to a friend, but to the poor, 'twas home. 45
As to some holy house the afflicted came,
The hunger-starved, the naked and the lame;
Want and diseases fled before her name.
For zeal like her's her servants were too slow;

She was the first, where need required, to go; 50
Herself the foundress and attendant too.

Sure she had guests sometimes to entertain,
Guests in disguise, of her great Master's train:
Her Lord himself might come, for aught we know;
Since in a servant's form he lived below: 55
Beneath her roof he might be pleased to stay;
Or some benighted angel, in his way,
Might ease his wings, and, seeing heaven appear
In its best work of mercy, think it there,
Where all the deeds of charity and love 60
Were in as constant method, as above,
All carried on; all of a piece with theirs;
As free her alms, as diligent her cares,
As loud her praises, and as warm her prayers. 64

Yet was she not profuse; but fear'd to waste,
And wisely managed, that the stock might last;
That all might be supplied, and she not grieve,
When crowds appear'd, she had not to relieve:
Which to prevent, she still increased her store;
Laid up, and spared, that she might give the more.
So Pharaoh, or some greater king than he, 71
Provided for the seventh necessity:
Taught from above his magazines to frame;
That famine was prevented ere it came.
Thus Heaven, though all-sufficient, shows a thrift: 75
In his economy, and bounds his gift:
Creating, for our day, one single light;
And his reflection too supplies the night.
Perhaps a thousand other worlds, that lie
Remote from us, and latent in the sky, 80
Are lighten'd by his beams, and kindly nursed;
Of which our earthly dunghill is the worst.

Now, as all virtues keep the middle line,
Yet somewhat more to one extreme incline,
Such was her soul; abhorring avarice, 85
Bounteous, but almost bounteous to a vice:
Had she given more, it had profusion been,
And turn'd the excess of goodness into sin.

These virtues raised her fabric to the sky;
For that, which is next heaven, is charity. 90
But, as high turrets, for their airy steep,
Require foundations, in proportion deep;
And lofty cedars as far upward shoot,
As to the nether heavens they drive the root:
So low did her secure foundation lie, 95
She was not humble, but Humility.
Scarcely she knew that she was great, or fair,
Or wise, beyond what other women are,
Or, which is better, knew, but never durst
compare.

For to be conscious of what all admire, 100
And not be vain, advances virtue higher.

* It appears, from the dedication to the Earl of Abingdon, that this poem was written at his Lordship's own desire. The lady whom the poem affects to praise, was one of the coheiresses of Sir Henry Lee of Chicheley in Oxfordshire, and sister to the celebrated Mrs. Anne Wharton, a lady eminent for her poetical genius, whom Mr. Waller has celebrated in an elegant copy of verses. DERRICK.

The Earl is said to have given Dryden 500 guineas for this poem. TODD.

Ver. 59. ————— *think it there,
Where all the deeds &c.]*

So the original edition points the passage. Derrick places a colon after *the* a. TODD.

But still she found, or rather thought she found,
Her own worth wanting, others' to abound;
Ascribed above their due to every one,
Unjust and scanty to herself alone. 105

Such her devotion was, as might give rules
Of speculation to disputing schools,
And teach us equally the scales to hold
Betwixt the two extremes of hot and cold;
That pious heat may mod'rately prevail, 110
And we be warm'd, but not be scorch'd with zeal.

Business might shorten, not disturb, her
prayer;

Heaven had the best, if not the greater share.
An active life long orisons forbids;
Yet still she pray'd, for still she pray'd by 115
deeds.

Her every day was sabbath; only free
From hours of prayer, for hours of charity.
Such as the Jews from servile toil released;
Where works of mercy were a part of rest;
Such as blest angels exercise above, 120
Varied with sacred hymns and acts of love:
Such sabbaths as that one she now enjoys,
E'en that perpetual one, which she employs,
(For such vicissitudes in heaven there are)
In praise alternate, and alternate prayer. 125
All this she practised here; that when she
sprung

Amidst the choirs, at the first sight she sung:
Sung, and was sung herself in angels' lays;
For, praising her, they did her Maker praise.
All offices of heaven so well she knew, 130
Before she came, that nothing there was new:
And she was so familiarly received,
As one returning, not as one arrived.

Muse, down again precipitate thy flight:
For how can mortal eyes sustain immortal 135
light?

But as the sun in water we can bear,
Yet not the sun, but his reflection there,
So let us view her, here, in what she was,
And take her image in this watery glass:
Yet look not every lineament to see; 140
Some will be cast in shades, and some will be
So lamely drawn, you'll scarcely know 'tis
she.

For where such various virtues we recite,
'Tis like the milky-way, all over bright,
But sown so thick with stars, 'tis undistinguish'd 145
light.

Her virtue, not her virtues, let us call;
For one heroic comprehends them all:
One, as a constellation is but one,
Though 'tis a train of stars, that, rolling on,
Rise in their turn, and in the zodiac run: 150
Ever in motion; now 'tis Faith ascends,
Now Hope, now Charity, that upward tends,
And downwards with diffusive good descends.

As in perfumes composed with art and cost,
'Tis hard to say what scent is uppermost; 155
Nor this part musk or civet can we call,
Or amber, but a rich result of all;
So she was all a sweet, whose every part,
In due proportion mix'd, proclaim'd the Maker's
art.

No single virtue we could most commend, 160
Whether the wife, the mother, or the friend;
For she was all, in that supreme degree,
That as no one prevail'd, so all was she.
The several parts lay hidden in the piece;
The occasion but exerted that, or this. 165

A wife as tender, and as true withal,
As the first woman was before her fall:
Made for the man, of whom she was a part;
Made to attract his eyes, and keep his heart.
A second Eve, but, by no crime accursed; 170
As beauteous, not as brittle as the first.

Had she been first, still Paradise had been,
And death had found no entrance by her sin.
So she not only had preserved from ill
Her sex and ours, but lived their pattern still. 175

Love and obedience to her lord she bore;
She much obey'd him, but she loved him more:
Not awed to duty by superior sway,
But taught by his indulgence to obey.
Thus we love God, as author of our good; 180
So subjects love just kings, or so they shou'd.
Nor was it with ingratitude return'd;
In equal fires the blissful couple burn'd;
One joy possess'd them both, and in one grief
they mourn'd.

His passion still improved; he loved so fast, 185
As if he fear'd each day would be her last.
Too true a prophet to foresee the fate
That should so soon divide their happy state:
When he to heaven entirely must restore
That love, that heart, where he went halves 190
before.

Yet as the soul is all in every part,
So God and he might each have all her heart.

So had her children too; for Charity
Was not more fruitful, or more kind than she:
Each under other by degrees they grew; 195
A goodly perspective of distant view.

Anchises look'd not with so pleased a face,
In numbering o'er his future Roman race,
And marshalling the heroes of his name,
As, in their order, next to light they came. 200

Nor Cybele, with half so kind an eye,
Survey'd her sons and daughters of the sky;
Proud, shall I say, of her immortal fruit?

As far as pride with heavenly minds may suit
Her pious love excell'd to all she bore; 205
New objects only multiplied it more.

And as the chosen found the pearly grain
As much as every vessel could contain;
As in the blissful vision each shall share
As much of glory as his soul can bear; 210
So did she love, and so dispense her care.
Her eldest thus, by consequence, was best,
As longer cultivated than the rest.

The babe had all that infant care beguiles,
And early knew his mother in her smiles: 215
But when dilated organs let in day
To the young soul, and gave it room to play,
At his first aptness, the maternal love
Those rudiments of reason did improve:
The tender age was pliant to command; 220
Like wax it yielded to the forming hand:

Ver. 180. ———author of our good;
So subjects love just kings, or so they shou'd.]

The original edition here rightly prints, for the sake
both of the eye and ear I suppose, *shou'd*. Derrick has
should. Todd.

Ver. 142. *So lamely drawn, you'll scarcely know, &c.*
Derrick. The original edition reads,
So lamely drawn, you scarcely know, &c.

Todd.

True to the artificer, the labour'd mind
 With ease was pious, generous, just, and kind :
 Soft for impression, from the first prepared,
 'Till virtue with long exercise grew hard : 225
 With every act confirm'd, and made at last
 So durable as not to be effaced,
 It turn'd to habit ; and, from vices free,
 Goodness resolved into necessity.
 Thus fix'd she virtue's image, that's her own, 230
 'Till the whole mother in the children shone ;
 For that was their perfection : she was such,
 They never could express her mind too much.
 So unexhausted her perfections were,
 That, for more children, she had more to 235
 spare ;
 For souls unborn, whom her untimely death
 Deprived of bodies, and of mortal breath ;
 And (could they take the impressions of her
 mind)
 Enough still left to sanctify her kind.
 Then wonder not to see this soul extend 240
 The bounds, and seek some other self, a friend :
 As swelling seas to gentle rivers glide,
 To seek repose, and empty out the tide ;
 So this full soul, in narrow limits pent,
 Unable to contain her, sought a vent, 245
 To issue out, and in some friendly breast
 Discharge her treasures, and securely rest :
 To unbosom all the secrets of her heart,
 Take good advice, but better to impart.
 For 'tis the bliss of friendship's holy state, 250
 To mix their minds, and to communicate ;
 Though bodies cannot, souls can penetrate :
 Fix'd to her choice, inviolably true,
 And wisely choosing, for she chose but few.
 Some she must have ; but in no one could find 255
 A tally fitted for so large a mind.
 The souls of friends like kings in progress are ;
 Still in their own, though from the palace far :
 Thus her friend's heart her country dwelling
 was,
 A sweet retirement to a coarser place ; 260
 Where pomp and ceremonies enter'd not,
 Where greatness was shut out, and business well
 forgot.
 This is the imperfect draught ; but short as
 far
 As the true height and bigness of a star
 Exceeds the measures of the astronomer. 265
 She shines above, we know ; but in what place.
 How near the throne, and Heaven's imperial
 face,
 By our weak optics is but vainly guess'd ;
 Distance and altitude conceal the rest.
 Though all these rare endowments of the
 mind 270
 Were in a narrow space of life confined,
 The figure was with full perfection crown'd ;
 Though not so large an orb, as truly round.
 As when in glory, through the public place,
 The spoils of conquer'd nations were to pass, 275
 And but one day for triumph was allow'd,
 The consul was constrain'd his pomp to crowd ;
 And so the swift procession hurried on,
 That all, though not distinctly, might be
 shown :
 So in the straiten'd bounds of life confined 280
 She gave but glimpses of her glorious mind :
 And multitudes of virtues pass'd along ;
 Each pressing foremost in the mighty throng,

Ambitious to be seen, and then make room
 For greater multitudes that were to come. 285
 Yet unemploy'd no minute slipp'd away ;
 Moments were precious in so short a stay.
 The haste of Heaven to have her was so great,
 That some were single acts, though each com-
 plete ;
 But every act stood ready to repeat. 290
 Her fellow-saints with busy care will look
 For her blest name in fate's eternal book ;
 And, pleased to be outdone, with joy will see
 Numberless virtues, endless charity :
 But more will wonder at so short an age, 295
 To find a blank beyond the thirtieth page :
 And with a pious fear begin to doubt
 The piece imperfect, and the rest torn out.
 But 'twas her Saviour's time, and, could there
 be
 A copy near the original, 'twas she. 300
 As precious gums are not for lasting fire,
 They but perfume the temple, and expire :
 So was she soon exhaled, and vanish'd hence ;
 A short sweet odour, of a vast expence.
 She vanish'd, we can scarcely say she died ; 305
 For but a now did heaven and earth divide :
 She pass'd serenely with a single breath ;
 This moment perfect health, the next was
 death :
 One sigh did her eternal bliss assure ;
 So little penance needs, when souls are almost 310
 pure.
 As gentle dreams our waking thoughts pursue ;
 Or, one dream pass'd, we slide into a new ;
 So close they follow, such wild order keep,
 We think ourselves awake, and are asleep :
 So softly death succeeded life in her : 315
 She did but dream of heaven, and she was
 there.
 No pains she suffer'd, nor expired with noise ;
 Her soul was whisper'd out with God's stil'
 voice ;
 As an old friend is beckon'd to a feast,
 And treated like a long-familiar guest 320
 He took her as he found, but found her so,
 As one in hourly readiness to go :
 Even on that day, in all her trim prepared ;
 As early notice she from heaven had heard,
 And some descending courier from above 325
 Had given her timely warning to remove ;
 Or counsel'd her to dress the nuptial room,
 For on that night the bridegroom was to come.
 He kept his hour, and found her where she lay
 Clothed all in white, the livery of the day 330
 Scarce had she sinn'd in thought, or word, or
 act ;
 Unless omissions were to pass for fact :
 That hardly death a consequence could draw,
 To make her liable to nature's law.
 And, that she di'd, we only have to show 335
 The mortal part of her she left below :
 The rest, so smooth, so suddenly she went,
 Look'd like translation through the firmament,
 Or, like the fiery car on the third errand sent.
 O happy soul ! if thou canst view from high, 340
 Where thou art all intelligence, all eye,

Ver. 325. ———[*descending courier.*] The original edition
 by a laughable error of the press—*descending courier*.
 Todd.

Ver. 341. *Where thou art all intelligence, all eye,*] Dryden

If looking up to God, or down to us,
 Thou find'st that any way be puerous,
 Survey the ruins of thy house, and see
 Thy widow'd, and thy orphan family :
 Look on thy tender pledges left behind ;
 And, if thou canst a vacant minute find
 From heavenly joys, that interval afford
 To thy sad children, and thy mourning lord.
 See how they grieve, mistaken in their love,
 And shed a beam of comfort from above ;
 Give them, as much as mortal eyes can bear,
 A transient view of thy full glories there ;
 That they with moderate sorrow may sustain
 And mollify their losses in thy gain.
 Or else divide the grief; for such thou wert,
 That should not all relations bear a part,
 It were enough to break a single heart.
 Let this suffice : nor thou, great saint, refuse
 This humble tribute of no vulgar muse :
 Who, not by cares, or wants, or age depress'd,
 Stems a wild deluge with a dauntless breast ;
 And dares to sing thy praises in a clime
 Where vice triumphs, and virtue is a crime ;
 Where e'en to draw the picture of thy mind,
 Is satire on the most of human kind :
 Take it, while yet 'tis praise; before my rage,
 Unsafely just, break loose on this bad age ;
 So bad, that thou thyself hadst no defence
 From vice, but barely by departing hence.
 Be what, and where thou art : to wish thy
 place,
 Were, in the best, presumption more than grace.
 Thy relics (such thy works of mercy are)
 Have, in this poem, been my holy care.
 As earth thy body keeps, thy soul the sky,
 So shall this verse preserve thy memory ;
 For thou shalt make it live, because it sings of
 thee.

ON
 THE DEATH OF AMYNTAS.

A PASTORAL ELEGY.

'Twas on a joyless and a gloomy morn,
 Wet was the grass, and hung with pearls the
 thorn ;
 When Damon, who design'd to pass the day
 With hounds and horns, and chase the flying
 prey,
 Rose early from his bed ; but soon he found
 The welkin pitch'd with sullen clouds around,
 An eastern wind, and dew upon the ground.
 Thus while he stood, and sighing did survey
 The fields, and cursed the ill omens of the day,
 He saw Menalcas come with heavy pace ;
 Wet were his eyes, and cheerless was his face :

perhaps had in memory his master's description of spirits,
Par. Lost, B. vi. 350.

"All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
 All intellect, all sense—" *Todd*.

Ver. 377. For thou shalt make] Our author owned he did
 not know the person on whom he wrote this long panegyric.
 This must be his excuse for the coldness and insipidity of
 the piece. *Dr. J. WARTON*.

He wrung his hands, distracted with his care,
 And sent his voice before him from afar.
 Return, he cried, return. unhappy swain,
 The spongy clouds are fill'd with gathering rain :
 The promise of the day not only cross'd,
 But e'en the spring, the spring itself is lost.
 Amyntas—oh !—he could not speak the rest,
 Nor needed, for presaging Damon guess'd.
 Equal with Heaven young Damon loved the boy,
 The boast of Nature, both his parents' joy.
 His graceful form revolving in his mind ;
 So great a genius, and a soul so kind,
 Gave sad assurance that his fears were true ;
 Too well the envy of the gods he knew :
 For when their gifts too lavishly are placed,
 Soon they repent, and will not make them last.
 For sure it was too bountiful a dole,
 The mother's features, and the father's soul.
 Then thus he cried : The morn bespoke the
 news :
 The morning did her cheerful light diffuse :
 But see how suddenly she changed her face,
 And brought on clouds and rain, the day's dis-
 grace ;
 Just such, Amyntas, was thy promised race.
 What charms adorn'd thy youth, where Nature
 smiled,
 And more than man was given us in a child !
 His infancy was ripe : a soul sublime
 In years so tender that prevented time :
 Heaven gave him all at once ; then snatch'd away,
 Ere mortals all his beauties could survey :
 Just like the flower that buds and withers in a
 day.

MENALCAS.

The mother, lovely, though with grief oppress'd
 Reclined his dying head upon her breast.
 The mournful family stood all around ;
 One groan was heard, one universal sound :
 All were in floods of tears and endless sorrow
 drown'd.
 So dire a sadness sat on every look,
 E'en Death repented he had given the stroke.
 He grieved his fatal work had been ordain'd,
 But promised length of life to those who yet
 remain'd.
 The mother's and her eldest daughter's grace,
 It seems, had bribed him to prolong their space.
 The father bore it with undaunted soul,
 Like one who durst his destiny control :
 Yet with becoming grief he bore his part,
 Resign'd his son, but not resign'd his heart.
 Patient as Job ; and may he live to see,
 Like him, a new increasing family !

DAMON.

Such is my wish, and such my prophecy,
 For yet, my friend, the beauteous mould re-
 mains ;
 Long may she exercise her fruitful pains !
 But, ah ! with better hap, and bring a race
 More lasting, and endued with equal grace !
 Equal she may, but farther none can go :
 For he was all that was exact below.

MENALCAS.

Damon, behold yon breaking purple cloud :
 Hear'st thou not hymns and songs divinely loud !

There mounts Amyntas ; the young cherubs play
About their godlike mate, and sing him on his
way.

He cleaves the liquid air, behold, he flies, 70
And every moment gains upon the skies.
The new-come guest admires the ethereal state,
The sapphire portal, and the golden gate;
And now admitted in the shining throng,
He shows the passport which he brought along.
His passport is his innocence and grace, 76
Well known to all the natives of the place.
Now sing, ye joyful angels, and admire
Your brother's voice that comes to mend your
quire :
Sing you, while endless tears our eyes bestow ;
For like Amyntas none is left below. 81

ON THE DEATH OF

A VERY YOUNG GENTLEMAN.

HE who could view the book of destiny,
And read whatever there was writ of thee,
O charming youth, in the first opening page,
So many graces in so green an age,
Such wit, such modesty, such strength of mind, 5
A soul at once so manly, and so kind ;
Would wonder, when he turn'd the volume o'er,
And after some few leaves should find no more,
Nought but a blank remain, a dead void space, 10
A step of life that promised such a race.
We must not, dare not think, that Heaven began
A child, and could not finish him a man ;
Reflecting what a mighty store was laid
Of rich materials, and a model made : 15
The cost already furnish'd ; so bestow'd,
As more was never to one soul allow'd :
Yet after this profusion spent in vain,
Nothing but mouldering ashes to remain,
I guess not, lest I split upon the shelf,
Yet durst I guess, Heaven kept it for himself ; 20
And giving us the use, did soon recal,
Ere we could spare, the mighty principal.
Thus then he disappear'd, was rarified ;
For 'tis improper speech to say he died :
He was exhaled ; his great Creator drew 25
His spirit, as the sun the morning dew.
'Tis sin produces death ; and he had none,
But the taint Adam left on every son.
He added not, he was so pure, so good,
'Twas but the original forfeit of his blood : 30
And that so little, that the river ran
More clear than the corrupted fount began.
Nothing remain'd of the first muddy clay ;
The length of course had wash'd it in the way :
So deep, and yet so clear, we might behold 35
The gravel bottom, and that bottom gold.
As such we loved, admired, almost adored,
Gave all the tribute mortals could afford.
Perhaps we gave so much, the powers above
Grew angry at our superstitious love : 40

Ver. 81. *For like Amyntas*] This pastoral is very un-
worthy of our author. Dr. J. WATSON.

For when we more than human homage pay,
The charming cause is justly snatch'd away.

Thus was the crime not his, but ours alone :
And yet we murmur that he went so soon ;
Though miracles are short and rarely shown. 45

Learn then, ye mournful parents, and divide
That love in many, which in one was tied.

That individual blessing is no more,
But multiplied in your remaining store.
The flame's dispersed, but does not all expire ; 50
The sparkles blaze, though not the globe of
fire.

Love him by parts, in all your numerous race,
And from those parts form one collected grace ;
Then, when you have refined to that degree,
Imagine all in one, and think that one is he. 55

UPON

YOUNG MR. ROGERS,

OF GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

OF gentle blood, his parents' only treasure,
Their lasting sorrow, and their vanish'd pleasure,
Adorn'd with features, virtues, wit, and grace,
A large provision for so short a race ;
More moderate gifts might have prolong'd his
date, 5

Too early fitted for a better state ;
But, knowing heaven his home, to shun delay,
He leap'd o'er age, and took the shortest way.

ON

THE DEATH OF MR. PURCELL.

SET TO MUSIC BY DR. BLOW

I.

MARK how the lark and linnet sing ;
With rival notes
They strain their warbling throats,
To welcome in the spring.
But in the close of night, 5
When Philomel begins her heavenly lay,
They cease their mutual spite,
Drink in her music with delight,
And, list'ning, silently obey.

II.

So ceased the rival crew, when Purcell came ; 10
They sung no more, or only sung his fame :
Struck dumb, they all admired the godlike man :
The godlike man,
Alas ! too soon retired,
As he too late began. 15
We beg not hell our Orpheus to restore :
Had he been there,
Their sovereign's fear
Had sent him back before.
The power of harmony too well they knew : 20
He long ere this had tuned their jarring sphere,
And left no hell below.

III.

The heavenly choir, who heard his notes from
high,
Let down the scale of music from the sky :
They handed him along, 55
And all the way he taught, and all the way they
sung.
Ye brethren of the lyre, and tuneful voice,
Lament his lot ; but at your own rejoice :
Now live secure, and linger out your days ;
The gods are pleased alone with Purcell's lays, 30
Nor know to mend their choice.

EPITAPH ON

THE LADY WHITMORE.

FARE, kind, and true, a treasure each alone,
A wife, a mistress, and a friend in one,
Rest in this tomb, raised at thy husband's cost,
Here sadly summing, what he had, and lost.
Come, virgins, ere in equal bands ye join,
Come first, and offer at her sacred shrine;
Pray but for half the virtues of this wife,
Compound for all the rest, with longer life;
And wish your vows, like hers, may be return'd,
So loved when living, and when dead so mourn'd.¹⁰

EPITAPH ON

SIR PALMES FAIRBONE'S TOMB

IN WESTMINSTER-ABBEY.

Sacred to the immortal memory of Sir Palmes Fairbairn, Knight, Governor of Tangier, in execution of which command, he was mortally wounded by a shot from the Moors, then besieging the town, in the forty-sixth year of his age. October 24, 1680

Y^e sacred relics, which your marble keep,
Here, undisturb'd by wars, in quiet sleep :
Discharge the trust, which, when it was below,
Fairbone's undaunted soul did undergo,
And be the town's Palladium from the foe. 5
Alive and dead these walls he will defend :
Great actions great examples must attend.
The Candian siege his early valour knew,
Where Turkish blood did his young hands im-
bue.

From thence returning with deserved applause,
Against the Moors his well-flesh'd sword he
draws: 11

The same the courage, and the same the cause.
His youth and age, his life and death, combine,
As in some great and regular design,
All of a piece throughout, and all divine. ¹⁵
Still nearer heaven his virtues shone more bright,
Like rising flames expanding in their height ;
The martyr's glory crown'd the soldier's fight.
More bravely British general never fell,
Nor general's death was e'er revenged so well ; ²⁰
Which his pleased eyes beheld before their close,
Follow'd by thousand victims of his foes.
To his lamented loss for time to come
His pious widow consecrates this tomb.

UNDER

MR. MILTON'S PICTURE.

BEFORE HIS PARADISE LOST.

THREE Poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn.
The first in lofiness of thought surpass'd;
The next in majesty; in both the last.
The force of nature could no further go;
To make a third, she join'd the former two.

ON THE MONUMENT OF

A FAIR MAIDEN LADY.

WHO DIED AT BATH, AND IS THERE INTERBED.*

BELOW this marble monument is laid
All that heaven wants of this celestial maid.
Preserve, O sacred tomb, thy trust consign'd ;
The mould was made on purpose for the mind :

Ver. 1. *The Poets*] If any other proof was wanting of the high respect and veneration which our poet entertained of the superior genius of Milton, these six nervous lines will for ever remain as a strong and indisputable testimony. They are a confirmation of an anecdote communicated by Richardson, that the Earl of Dorset, having sent the *Paradise Lost* to Dryden, when he returned the book, he said, "This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too." I cannot therefore be induced to think that Dryden himself would have been pleased with the preference Johnson endeavours to give him to Milton, especially after saying that Milton was "the greatest of our English poets." Milton wrote no language, but found a Babylonish dialect harsh and barbarous. He adds, that with respect to English poetry, Dryden

"Lateritiam invenit, marmoream reliquit."

Milton most assuredly did not build his lofty rhyme with coarse and perishable brick, but with the most costly and durable porphyry; nor would Dryden have thanked Johnson for saying in another place that "*From his contemporaries he was in no danger; that he stood in the highest place; and that there was no name above his own.*"

The genius of Milton is universally allowed; but I am of opinion that his taste and judgment were equally excellent: witness the majesty with which he has drawn the figure of Satan, so different from that his favourite Dante had done who was so likely to dazzle and mislead him, and who has so strangely mixed the grotesque with the great Satan, says Dante in the Inferno, had a vast and most gigantic appearance; he stood up to his middle in ice, eagerly trying to distance himself, and far that purpose violently snapping his hands at the ice, and thus he had his face and his place, and a scum on it. He had six blood-shot eyes; three mouths that pour forth torrents of blood; and in each mouth he holds a sinner. This is not, like Milton's, the figure of an archangel fallen. The Satan in the *Divine Comedy* disgraces Cowley. Dr. J. WATSON.

* This lady is interred in the Abbey-church. The epitaph is on a white marble stone fixed in the wall, together with this inscription: "Here lies the body of Mary, third daughter of Richard Frampton of Moreton in Dorsetshire, Esq., and of Jane his wife, sole daughter of Sir Francis Cofhill of Founhill in Wiltz who was born January 1, 1676, and died after seven weeks illness on the 6th of September. 1698.

"This monument was erected by Catharine Frampton, her second sister and executrix, in testimony of her grief, affection and gratitude." DEBBICK.

And she would lose, if, at the latter day,
One atom could be mix'd of other clay.
Such were the features of her heavenly face,
Her limbs were form'd with such harmonious
grace;

So faultless was the frame, as if the whole
Had been an emanation of the soul;
Which her own inward symmetry reveal'd;
And like a picture shone, in glass anneal'd.
Or like the sun eclipsed, with shaded light:
Too piercing, else, to be sustain'd by sight.
Each thought was visible that roll'd within:
As through a crystal case the figured hours are
seen.

And Heaven did this transparent veil provide,
Because she had no guilty thought to hide.
All white, a virgin-saint, she sought the skies:
For marriage, though it sullies not, it dyes.
High though her wit, yet humble was her mind;
As if she could not, or she would not find
How much her worth transcended all her kind.
Yet she had learn'd so much of heaven below,
That, when arriv'd, she scarce had more to
know:

But only to refresh the former hint;
And read her Maker in a fairer print.
So pious, as she had no time to spare
For human thoughts, but was confined to prayer.
Yet in such charities she pass'd the day,
'Twas wondrous how she found an hour to pray.
A soul so calm, it knew not ebbs or flows,
Which passion could but curl, not discompose.
A female softness, with a manly mind:
A daughter duteous, and a sister kind:
In sickness patient, and in death resign'd.

EPITAPH ON

MRS. MARGARET PASTON,

OF BURNINGHAM IN NORFOLK.

So fair, so young, so innocent, so sweet
So ripe a judgment, and so rare a wit.

Require at least an age in one to meet.
In her they met; but long they could not stay,
'Twas gold too fine to mix without alloy.
Heaven's image was in her so well express'd,
Her very sight upbraided all the rest;
Too justly ravish'd from an age like this,
Now she is gone, the world is of a piece.

ON THE MONUMENT

OF THE

MARQUIS OF WINCHESTER.

He who in impious times undaunted stood,
And 'midst rebellion durst be just and good:
Whose arms asserted, and whose sufferings more
Confirm'd the cause for which he fought before,
Rests here, rewarded by an heavenly prince;
For what his earthly could not recompense.
Pray, reader, that such times no more appear:
Or, if they happen, learn true honour here.
Ask of this age's faith and loyalty,
Which to preserve them, Heaven confined in
thee.

Few subjects could a king like thine deserve:
And fewer such a king so well could serve.
Blest king, blest subject, whose exalted state
By sufferings rose, and gave the law to fate.
Such souls are rare, but mighty patterns given
To earth, and meant for ornaments to heaven.

Ver 1. *He who in impious*] He was a nobleman of great spirit and intrepidity, who withstood, in his magnificent castle of Basing in Hampshire, an obstinate siege of two years against the rebels, who levelled it to the ground, because in every window was written *Agnus Loyauté*. He died in 1674, and was buried in the church of Englishield in Berkshire, where his monument with this epitaph still remains. It is remarkable that Milton wrote a beautiful epitaph on the Marchioness his lady. It was the singular lot, both of husband and wife, to have received the honour of being celebrated by two such poets. Dr. J. WARTON.

SONGS, ODES, AND A MASQUE.

THE FAIR STRANGER : *

A SONG.

I.

HAPPY and free, securely blest,
No beauty could disturb my rest;
My amorous heart was in despair,
To find a new victorious fair.

II.

Till you descending on our plains,
With foreign force renew my chains;
Where now you rule without control
The mighty sovereign of my soul.

III.

Your smiles have more of conquering charms,
Than all your native country arms :
Their troops we can expel with ease,
Who vanquish only when we please.

IV.

But in your eyes, oh ! there's the spell,
Who can see them, and not rebel ?
You make us captives by your stay,
Yet kill us if you go away.

ON

THE YOUNG STATESMEN.

CLARENDON had law and sense,
Clifford was fierce and brave;
Bennet's grave look was a pretence,
And Danby's matchless impudence
Help'd to support the knave.

But Sunderland, Godolphin, Lory,
These will appear such chits in story,
'Twill turn all politics to jests,
To be repeated like John Dory,
When fiddlers sing at feasts.

* This song is a compliment to the Duchess of Portsmouth on her first coming to England. DERRICK.

Ver. 6. *But Sunderland.*] This nobleman had certainly great and various abilities, with a complete versatility of genius, and a most insinuating address; but he was totally void of all principles, moral or religious, and a much more abandoned character than Shaftesbury, whom it is so common to calumniate. He certainly urged James II. to

Protect us, mighty Providence,
What would these madmen have ?
First, they would bribe us without pence,
Deceive us without common sense,
And without power enslave.

Shall free-born men, in humble awe,
Submit to servile shame ;
Who from consent and custom draw
The same right to be ruled by law,
Which kings pretend to reign ?

The duke shall wield his conquering sword,
The chancellor make a speech,
The king shall pass his honest word,
The pawn'd revenue sums afford,
And then, come kiss my breech.

So have I seen a king on chess
(His rooks and knights withdrawn,
His queen and bishops in distress)
Shifting about, grow less and less,
With here and there a pawn.

A SONG

FOR ST. CECILIA'S DAY, 1687.

I.

FROM harmony, from heavenly harmony
This universal frame began :
When nature underneath a heap
Of jarring atoms lay,
And could not heave her head,
The tuneful voice was heard from high,
Arise, ye more than dead.
Then cold, and hot, and moist, and dry,
In order to their stations leap,
And Music's power obey.

pursue arbitrary and illegal measures, that he intended should be his ruin, and betrayed him to the Prince of Orange. The Abbé de Longuerue relates, that Dr. Massey, of Christ Church, assured him, he once received an order from King James to expel twenty-four students of that college in Oxford, if they did not embrace popery. Massey, astonished at the order, was advised by a friend to go to London, and show it to the king, who assured him he had never given such an order, and commended Massey for not having obeyed it; yet still this infatuated monarch continued to trust Sunderland. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1. *From harmony.*] The picture of Jubal in the second stanza is finely imagined; but this Ode is lost in the lustre of the subsequent one upon this subject. Dr. J. WARTON.

From harmony, from heavenly harmony
 This universal frame began :
 From harmony to harmony
 Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
 The diapason closing full in Man. 15

II.

What passion cannot Music raise and quell ?
 When Jubal struck the chorded shell,
 His listening brethren stood around,
 And, wondering, on their faces fell
 To worship that celestial sound. 20
 Less than a God they thought there could not
 dwell
 Within the hollow of that shell,
 That spoke so sweetly and so well.
 What passion cannot Music raise and quell ?

III.

The trumpet's loud clangor
 Excites us to arms,
 With shrill notes of anger,
 And mortal alarms.
 The double double double beat
 Of the thundering drum
 Cries, hark ! the foes come ;
 Charge, charge, 'tis too late to retreat. 30

IV.

The soft complaining flute
 In dying notes discovers
 The woes of hopeless lovers,
 Whose dirge is whisper'd by the warbling lute. 35

V.

Sharp violins proclaim
 Their jealous pangs, and desperation,
 Fury, frantic indignation,
 Depth of pains, and height of passion,
 For the fair, disdainful, dame. 40

VI.

But oh ! what art can teach,
 What human voice can reach,
 The sacred organ's praise ?
 Notes inspiring holy love,
 Notes that wing their heavenly ways
 To mend the choirs above. 45

VII.

Orpheus could lead the savage race ;
 And trees uprooted left their place,
 Sequacious of the lyre :
 But bright Cecilia raised the wonder higher :
 When to her organ vocal breath was given,
 An angel heard, and straight appear'd
 Mistaking earth for heaven. 50

GRAND CHORUS.

As from the power of sacred lays
 The spheres began to move,
 And sung the great Creator's praise
 To all the bless'd above ; 55

Ver. 37. *Sharp violins*] It is a judicious remark of Mr. Mason, that Dryden with propriety gives this epithet to the instrument; because, in the poet's time, they could not have arrived at that delicacy of tone, even in the hands of the best masters, which they now have in those of an inferior kind. See *Essays on English Church Music*, by the Rev. W. Mason, M.A., Precentor of York, 12mo. 1785, p. 218. Todd

So when the last and dreadful hour
 This crumbling pageant shall devour, 60
 The trumpet shall be heard on high,
 The dead shall live, the living die,
 And Music shall untune the sky.

SONG.

FAREWELL, FAIR ARMIDA.*

FAREWELL, fair Armida, my joy and my grief,
 In vain I have loved you, and hope no relief;
 Undone by your virtue, too strict and severe,
 Your eyes gave me love, and you gave me de-
 spair :
 Now call'd by my honour, I seek with content 5
 The fate which in pity you would not prevent :
 To languish in love, were to find by delay
 A death that's more welcome the speediest way.

On seas and in battles, in bullets and fire,
 The danger is less than in hopeless desire ; 10
 My death's wound you give, though far off I bear
 My fall from your sight—not to cost you a tear :
 But if the kind flood on a wave should convey
 And under your window my body should lay,
 The wound on my breast when you happen to
 see, 15
 You'll say with a sigh—it was given by me.

THE LADY'S SONG.

I.

A CHOIR of bright beauties in spring did appear,
 To choose a May-lady to govern the year ;

* This song, written on the death of Captain Digby, has been given by Mr. Malone in his *Life of Dryden*, on account, he says, of its "not having been preserved in Dryden's works, and being found *entire only in a scarce Miscellany*, viz. *Covent Garden Drollery*." I must, however, observe, that the Song is printed *entire in New Court-Songs and Poems*, by R. V. Gent. Bro. 1672, p. 78. In this collection the second line runs thus :—

"In vain I have loved you, and find no relief."

The sixth,

"A fate which in pity," &c.

The twelfth,

"My fate from your sight," &c.

An answer from *Armida*, as she is called, follows the Song in this collection; but it is not worth citing. The ridiculous parody on this Song in the *REHEARSAL* is too well known to require copying here. But the following ludicrous stanza, which I have seen in MS. and which is a coeval parody on Dryden's Song to *Armida*, deserves to be cited :—

"Or if the king please that I may, at his charge,
 Just under your window be brought in a barge;
 Nay, 'twill be enough, as I did a brave fighter,
 If but to your window I come in a lighter;
 Or, rather than fail to shew my love fuller,
 I would be content to arrive in a sculler;
 But if me these favours my fate hath deny'd,
 I hope to come floating up with a spring tyde."

Armida is said to have been the beautiful Frances Stuart, wife of Charles, Duke of Richmond. Captain Digby was killed at sea in the engagement between the English and Dutch fleet, off Southwold Bay, in 1672. Todd.

All the nymphs were in white, and the shepherds
in green;
The garland was given, and Phillis was queen :
But Phillis refused it, and sighing did say, 5
I'll not wear a garland while Pan is away.

II.

While Pan and fair Syrinx are fled from our shore,
The Graces are banish'd, and Love is no more :
The soft god of pleasure, that warm'd our desires,
Has broken his bow, and extinguish'd his fires : 10
And vows that himself, and his mother, will
mourn,

'Till Pan and fair Syrinx in triumph return.

III.

Forbear your addresses, and court us no more,
For we will perform what the deity swore :
But if you dare think of deserving our charms, 15
Away with your sheephooks, and take to your
arms :

Then laurels and myrtles your brows shall adorn,
When Pan, and his son, and fair Syrinx, return.

A SONG.

I.

FAIR, sweet, and young, receive a prize
Reserved for your victorious eyes :
From crowds, whom at your feet you see,
Oh pity, and distinguish me !
As I from thousand beauties more 5
Distinguish you, and only you adore.

II.

Your face for conquest was design'd,
Your every motion charms my mind ;
Angels, when you your silence break,
Forget their hymns, to hear you speak ; 10
But when at once they hear and view,
Are loth to mount, and long to stay with you.

III.

No graces can your form improve,
But all are lost, unless you love ;
While that sweet passion you disdain,
Your veil and beauty are in vain : 15
In pity then prevent my fate,
For after dying all reprieve's too late.

A SONG.

HIGH state and honours to others impart,
But give me your heart :
That treasure, that treasure alone,
I beg for my own.
So gentle a love, so fervent a fire, 5
My soul does inspire ;

That treasure, that treasure alone,
I beg for my own.

Your love let me crave ;
Give me in possessing 10
So matchless a blessing ;
That empire is all I would have.

Love's my petition,
All my ambition ;
If e'er you discover 15
So faithful a lover,
So real a flame,
I'll die, I'll die,
So give up my game.

A SONG.

I.

Go tell Amynta, gentle swain,
I would not die, nor dare complain :
Thy tuneful voice with numbers join,
Thy words will more prevail than mine, 3
To souls oppress'd, and dumb with grief,
The gods ordain this kind relief ;
That music should in sounds convey,
What dying lovers dare not say.

II.

A sigh or tear, perhaps, she'll give,
But love on pity cannot live. 11
Tell her that hearts for hearts were made,
And love with love is only paid.
Tell her my pains so fast increase,
That soon they will be past redress ;
But ah ! the wretch, that speechless lies, 15
Attends but death to close his eyes.

A SONG.

TO A FAIR YOUNG LADY, GOING OUT OF THE TOWN
IN THE SPRING.

I.

ASK not the cause, why sullen Spring
So long delays her flowers to bear ;
Why warbling birds forget to sing,
And winter storms invert the year :
Chloris is gone, and fate provides 5
To make it Spring, where she resides.

II.

Chloris is gone, the cruel fair ;
She cast not back a pitying eye :
But left her lover in despair,
To sigh, to languish, and to die : 10
Ah, how can those fair eyes endure
To give the wounds they will not cure !

III.

Great god of love, why hast thou made
A face that can all hearts command,
That all religions can invade, 15
And change the laws of every land ?

Where thou hadst placed such power before,
Thou shouldst have made her mercy more.

IV.

When Chloris to the temple comes,
Adoring crowds before her fall; 20
She can restore the dead from tombs,
And every life but mine recal.
I only am by Love design'd
To be the victim for mankind.

ALEXANDER'S FEAST;

OR, THE POWER OF MUSIC:

AN ODE IN HONOUR OF ST. CECILIA'S DAY.

I.

'Twas at the royal feast, for Persia won
By Philip's warlike son:
Aloft in awful state
The godlike hero sate
On his imperial throne: 5
His valiant peers were placed around;
Their brows with roses and with myrtles bound;
(So should desert in arms be crown'd.)
The lovely Thais, by his side,
Sate like a blooming Eastern bride 10
In flower of youth and beauty's pride.
Happy, happy, happy pair!
None but the brave,
None but the brave, 15
None but the brave deserves the fair.

CHORUS.

Happy, happy, happy pair!
None but the brave,
None but the brave,
None but the brave deserves the fair.

II.

Timotheus, placed on high 20
Amid the tuneful quire,
With flying fingers touch'd the lyre:
The trembling notes ascend the sky,
And heavenly joys inspire.
The song began from Jove, 25
Who left his blissful seats above,
(Such is the power of mighty love.)
A dragon's fiery form belied the god:
Sublime on radiant spires he rode,
When he to fair Olympia press'd: 30
And while he sought her snowy breast:
Then, round her slender waist he curl'd,
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of
the world.

Ver 20. Dr. Burney has given a learned, full, and entertaining account of Timotheus, the musician, in his first volume of his History of Music, p. 405. Mr. Jackson, whose taste and feeling on the subject of music must be allowed to be just and exquisite, censures Dryden for extending the powers of music over the passions, and affirms that pleasure only can be excited. Dr. J. WARTON.

The listening crowd admire the lofty sound,
A present deity they shout around: 35
A present deity the vaulted roofs rebound:
With ravish'd ears
The monarch hears,
Assumes the god, 40
Affects to nod,
And seems to shake the spheres.

CHORUS.

With ravish'd ears
The monarch hears,
Assumes the god, 45
Affects to nod,
And seems to shake the spheres.

III.

The praise of Bacchus then the sweet musician
sung,
Of Bacchus ever fair and ever young:
The jolly god in triumph comes;
Sound the trumpets; beat the drums; 50
Flush'd with a purple grace
He shows his honest face:
Now give the hautboys breath; he comes, he
comes.
Bacchus, ever fair and young,
Drinking joys did first ordain; 55
Bacchus' blessings are a treasure,
Drinking is the soldier's pleasure:
Rich the treasure,
Sweet the pleasure,
Sweet is pleasure after pain. 60

CHORUS.

Bacchus' blessings are a treasure,
Drinking is the soldier's pleasure:
Rich the treasure,
Sweet the pleasure, 65
Sweet is pleasure after pain.

IV.

Soothed with the sound the king grew vain;
Fought all his battles o'er again;
And thrice he routed all his foes; and thrice he
slew the slain.
The master saw the madness rise;
His glowing cheeks, his ardent eyes; 70

Ver. 56. *Bacchus' blessings are a treasure,
Rich the treasure,
Sweet the pleasure,
Sweet is pleasure after pain.*

"I know not how, but martial men are given to love; I think it is, but as they are given to wine; for perils commonly ask to be paid with pleasure."—Bacon. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 66. Suidas, tom. ii. p. 713, mentions the Orthian style in music, in which Timotheus is said to have played to Alexander; and one Antigénides inflamed this prince still more by striking into what were called Harmatian measures. See Plutarch de Fortuna Alexand. II. Orat., and Suidas in the word *ἀρματικός*, a strain usually played in the theatres when Hector was dragged at the chariot wheels, *ὁ ἀρματικός*. Q. Curtius, lib. v. 67, gives a minute description of the burning the palace at Persopolis, when Alexander was attended by Thais. But it does not appear in the accurate Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 18, that Thais had any share in this transaction. Arrian, but more so Aristobulus, endeavoured to exculpate Alexander from the charge of frequent ebriety; but from a fragment of Menander, preserved in the curious repository of anecdotes, Athenæus, lib. x. p. 434, *iv. κόλασι*, he plainly mentions the drunkenness of Alexander as proverbial. Dr. J. WARTON.

And, while he heaven and earth defied,
 Changed his hand, and check'd his pride.
 He chose a mournful muse
 Soft pity to infuse :
 He sung Darius great and good,
 By too severe a fate,
 Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen,
 Fallen from his high estate,
 And weltring in his blood ;
 Deserted, at his utmost need,
 By those his former bounty fed ;
 On the bare earth exposed he lies,
 With not a friend to close his eyes.
 With downcast looks the joyless victor sate,
 Revolving in his alter'd soul
 The various turns of chance below ;
 And, now and then, a sigh he stole ;
 And tears began to flow.

CHORUS.

Revolving in his alter'd soul
 The various turns of chance below ;
 And, now and then, a sigh he stole ;
 And tears began to flow.

V.

The mighty master smiled, to see
 That love was in the next degree ;
 'Twas but a kindred-sound to move,
 For pity melts the mind to love.
 Softly sweet, in Lydian measures,
 Soon he soothed his soul to pleasures.
 War, he sung, is toil and trouble ;
 Honour, but an empty bubble ;
 Never ending, still beginning,
 Fighting still, and still destroying :
 If the world be worth thy winning,
 Think, oh think it worth enjoying :
 Lovely Thais sits beside thee,
 Take the good the gods provide thee.
 The many rend the skies with loud applause ;
 So Love was crown'd, but Music won the cause.
 The prince, unable to conceal his pain,
 Gazed on the fair
 Who caused his care,
 And sigh'd and look'd, sigh'd and look'd,
 Sigh'd and look'd, and sigh'd again :
 At length, with love and wine at once oppress'd,
 The vanquish'd victor sunk upon her breast.

Ver. 78. The mention of this pathetic air reminds me of a story of the celebrated Lully, who having been one day accused of never setting any thing to music, but the languid verses of Quinault, was immediately animated with the reproach, and as it were, seized with a kind of enthusiasm ; he ran instantly to his harpsichord, and striking a few chords, sung in recitative these four lines in the Iphigenia of Racine, which are full of the strongest imagery, and are therefore much more difficult to express in music than verses of more sentiment :

" Un prêtre environné d'une foule cruelle,
 Portera sur ma fille une main criminelle,
 Déchirera son sein, et d'un œil curieux,
 Dans son cœur palpitant consultera les dieux."

One of the company has often declared, that they all thought themselves present at this dreadful spectacle, and that the notes, with which Lully accompanied these words, erected the hair of their heads with horror. Dr J. WATSON.

Ver. 114 *with love and wine at once oppress'd,*] Alexander, however inclined to hard drinking, as indeed were the Greeks, yet multiplied his debauches of this kind after he conquered Persia, in which country the character of a drunkard was reckoned honourable, as may be seen in Plutarch's Sympos. lib. i. Dr. J. WATSON.

CHORUS.

The prince, unable to conceal his pain,
 Gazed on the fair
 Who caused his care,
 And sigh'd and look'd, sigh'd and look'd,
 Sigh'd and look'd, and sigh'd again :
 At length with love and wine at once oppress'd,
 The vanquish'd victor sunk upon her breast.

VI.

Now strike the golden lyre again :
 A louder yet, and yet a louder strain.
 Break his bands of sleep asunder,
 And rouse him, like a rattling peal of thunder.
 Hark, hark, the horrid sound
 Has raised up his head :
 As awaked from the dead,
 And amazed, he stares around.
 Revenge, revenge, Timotheus cries,
 See the furies arise :
 See the snakes that they rear,
 How they hiss in their hair,
 And the sparkles that flash from their eyes !
 Behold a ghastly band,
 Each a torch in his hand !
 Those are Grecian ghosts that in battle were slain,
 And unburied remain
 Inglorious on the plain :
 Give the vengeance due
 To the valiant crew.
 Behold how they toss their torches on high,
 How they point to the Persian abodes,
 And glittering temples of their hostile gods.
 The princes applaud with a furious joy :
 And the king seized a flambeau with zeal to destroy ;
 Thais led the way,
 To light him to his prey,
 And, like another Helen, fired another Troy.

CHORUS.

And the king seized a flambeau with zeal to destroy ;
 Thais led the way,
 To light him to his prey,
 And, like another Helen, fired another Troy.

VII.

Thus long ago,
 Ere heaving bellows learn'd to blow,
 While organs yet were mute ;
 Timotheus, to his breathing flute,
 And sounding lyre,
 Could swell the soul to rage, or kindle soft desire.
 At last divine Cecilia came,
 Inventress of the vocal frame ;
 The sweet enthusiast, from her sacred store,
 Enlarged the former narrow bounds,
 And added length to solemn sounds,
 With nature's mother-wit, and arts unknown before.
 Let old Timotheus yield the prize,
 Or both divide the crown ;
 He raised a mortal to the skies ;
 She drew an angel down.

GRAND CHORUS.

At last divine Cecilia came,
 Inventress of the vocal frame ;

The sweet enthusiast, from her sacred store,
 Enlarged the former narrow bounds, 175
 And added length to solemn sounds,
 With nature's mother-wit, and art's unknown
 before.
 Let old Timotheus yield the prize,
 Or both divide the crown,
 He raised a mortal to the skies;
 She drew an angel down. 180

VENI CREATOR SPIRITUS,

PARAPHRASED.

CREATOR Spirit, by whose aid
 The world's foundations first were laid,
 Come visit every pious mind;
 Come pour thy joys on human kind;
 From sin and sorrow set us free, 5
 And make thy temples worthy thee.
 O source of uncreated light,
 The Father's promised Paraclete!
 Thrice holy fount, thrice holy fire,
 Our hearts with heavenly love inspire; 10
 Come, and thy sacred unction bring
 To sanctify us, while we sing.
 Plenteous of grace, descend from high,
 Rich in thy sevenfold energy!
 Thou strength of his Almighty hand, 15
 Whose power does heaven and earth command.
 Proceeding Spirit, our defence,
 Who dost the gifts of tongues dispense,
 And crown'st thy gift with eloquence!
 Refine and purge our earthly parts; 20
 But, oh, inflame and fire our hearts!
 Our frailties help, our vice control,
 Submit the senses to the soul;

Ver. 180. If Dryden had never written any thing but this Ode, his name would have been immortal, as would that of Gray, if he had never written any thing but his Bard. It is difficult to find new terms to express our admiration of the variety, richness, and melody of its numbers; the force, beauty, and distinctness of its images; the succession of so many different passions and feelings; and the matchless perspicuity of its diction. The scene opens, in the first stanza, in an awful and august manner. The amours of Jupiter are described in a majestic manner in the second, with allusions to Alexander's being flattered with the idea of his being the son of Jupiter and a god. But the sweet musician alters his tone in the third stanza to the praises of Bacchus, and the effects of wine; which inspiring the king with a kind of momentary frenzy and pride, Timotheus suddenly changes his hand, and in an air exquisitely pathetic, particularly the repetition of the words *fallen, fallen*, &c., sets before our eyes the fall and death of Darius, without a friend to attend him in his last moments. But the artist, knowing how nearly allied pity was to love, reminds the hero of the presence of his beautiful Thais, and describes minutely the effects of his passion for her. He does not, however, suffer him long to loiter in the lap of pleasure, but instantly rouses him with deeper and louder notes, till he, staring aroud, Eumenidum demens videt agmina, with their eyes full of indignation, and their hair crowded with hissing serpents, followed by a band of Grecian ghosts, who demand vengeance from their leader, tossing on high the torches they held in their hands, and pointing to the Persian temples and palaces, urging him to destroy them with fire. Such is the unexampled combination of poetical beauties of almost every sort, in which this justly admired Ode abounds. No particle of it can be wished away, but the epigrammatic turn of the four concluding lines. Dr. J. WATSON

And when rebellious they are grown,
 Then lay thy hand, and hold 'em down. 25
 Chase from our minds the infernal foe,
 And peace, the fruit of love, bestow;
 And lest our feet should step astray,
 Protect and guide us in the way.
 Make us eternal truths receive, 30
 And practise all that we believe:
 Give us thyself, that we may see
 The Father, and the Son, by thee.
 Immortal honour, endless fame,
 Attend the Almighty Father's name: 35
 The Saviour Son be glorified,
 Who for lost man's redemption died:
 And equal adoration be,
 Eternal Paraclete, to thee.

THE SECULAR MASQUE.

Enter JANUS.

JANUS.

CHRONOS, Chronos, mend thy pace,
 An hundred times the rolling sun
 Around the radiant belt has run
 In his revolving race.
 Behold, behold, the goal in sight, 5
 Spread thy fans, and wing thy flight.

Enter CHRONOS, with a scythe in his hand, and a globe on his back, which he sets down at his entrance.

CHRONOS.

Weary, weary of my weight,
 Let me, let me drop my freight,
 And leave the world behind. 10
 I could not bear,
 Another year,
 The load of human-kind.

Enter MOMUS laughing.

MOMUS.

Ha! ha! ha! ha! ha! well hast thou done
 To lay down thy pack,
 And lighten thy back, 15
 The world was a fool, e'er since it begun,
 And since neither Janus, nor Chronos, nor I,
 Can hinder the crimes,
 Or mend the bad times,
 'Tis better to laugh than to cry. 20

CHORUS OF ALL THREE.

'Tis better to laugh than to cry.

JANUS.

Since Momus comes to laugh below,
 Old Time begin the show,
 That he may see, in every scene,
 What changes in this age have been. 25

CHRONOS.

Then goddess of the silver bow begin.
 [*Horns, or hunting-music within.*]

Ver. 39. *Eternal Paraclete.*] This is a most elegant and beautiful little morsel, and one of his most correct compositions. Its poetry and plety aid each other. Dr. J. WATSON

Enter DIANA.

DIANA.

With horns and with hounds, I waken the day ;
 And hie to the woodland-walks away :
 I tuck up my robe, and am buskin'd soon,
 And tie to my forehead a waxing moon. 30
 I course the fleet stag, unkennel the fox,
 And chase the wild goats o'er summits of rocks,
 With shouting and hooting we pierce through the
 sky,
 And Echo turns hunter, and doubles the cry. 35

CHORUS OF ALL.

With shouting and hooting we pierce through the
 sky,
 And Echo turns hunter, and doubles the cry.

JANUS.

Then our age was in its prime :

CHRONOS.

Free from rage :

DIANA.

— And free from crime :

MOMUS.

A very merry, dancing, drinking,
 Laughing, quaffing, and unthinking time. 40

CHORUS OF ALL.

Then our age was in its prime,
 Free from rage and free from crime,
 A very merry, dancing, drinking,
 Laughing, quaffing, and unthinking time. 45

[Dance of DIANA'S attendants.]

Enter MARS.

MARS.

Inspire the vocal brass, inspire ;
 The world is past its infant age :
 Arms and honour,
 Arms and honour,
 Set the martial mind on fire, 50
 And kindle manly rage.
 Mars has look'd the sky to red ;
 And Peace, the lazy good, is fled.
 Plenty, peace, and pleasure fly ;
 The sprightly green, 55
 In woodland-walks no more is seen ;
 The sprightly green has drunk the Tyrian dye.

CHORUS OF ALL.

Plenty, peace, &c.

MARS.

Sound the trumpet, beat the drum ;
 Through all the world around,
 Sound a reveillé, sound, sound,
 The warrior god is come. 60

CHORUS OF ALL.

Sound the trumpet, &c.

MOMUS.

Thy sword within the scabbard keep,
 And let mankind agree ;
 Better the world were fast asleep,
 Than kept awake by thee. 65

The fools are only thinner,
 With all our cost and care ;
 But neither side a winner,
 For things are as they were. 70

CHORUS OF ALL.

The fools are only, &c.

Enter VENUS.

VENUS.

Calms appear, when storms are past ;
 Love will have his hour at last :
 Nature is my kindly care ; 75
 Mars destroys, and I repair ;
 Take me, take me, while you may,
 Venus comes not every day.

CHORUS OF ALL.

Take her, take her, &c.

CHRONOS.

The world was then so light, 80
 I scarcely felt the weight ;
 Joy ruled the day, and Love the night.
 But, since the queen of pleasure left the ground,
 I faint, I lag,
 And feebly drag 85
 The ponderous orb around.

MOMUS.

All, all of a piece throughout :
 Thy chace had a beast in view ;
 Thy wars brought nothing about ; [Pointing to Diana
 Thy lovers were all untrue. [To Mars. 90
 [To Venus.]

JANUS.

'Tis well an old age is out.

CHRONOS.

And time to begin a new.

CHORUS OF ALL.

All, all of a piece throughout ;
 Thy chace had a beast in view :
 Thy wars brought nothing about ; 95
 Thy lovers were all untrue.
 'Tis well an old age is out,
 And time to begin a new.

Dance of huntmen, nymphs, warriors, and lovers.

SONG

OF A SCHOLAR AND HIS MISTRESS,

WHO, BEING CROSSED BY THEIR FRIENDS, FELL MAD FOR ONE
 ANOTHER ; AND NOW FIRST MEET IN BEDLAM.

[Music within.]

The Lovers enter at opposite doors, each held by a Keeper.

PHILLIS.

Look, look, I see—I see my love appear !
 'Tis he—'Tis he alone ;
 For, like him, there is none :
 'Tis the dear, dear man, 'tis thee, dear.

AMYNTAS.

Hark ! the winds war ;
 The foamy waves roar ;
 I see a ship afar,
 Tossing and tossing, and making to the shore :
 But what's that I view,
 So radiant of hue,
 St. Hermo, St. Hermo, that sits upon the sails ?
 Ah ! No, no, no.
 St. Hermo, never, never shone so bright ;
 'Tis Phillis, only Phillis, can shoot so fair a light ;
 'Tis Phillis, 'tis Phillis, that saves the ship alone.
 For all the winds are hush'd, and the storm is
 overblown.

PHILLIS.

Let me go, let me run, let me fly to his arms.

AMYNTAS.

If all the fates combine,
 And all the furies join,
 I'll force my way to Phillis, and break through
 the charm.

[Here they break from their keepers, run to each other, and embrace.]

PHILLIS.

Shall I marry the man I love ?
 And shall I conclude my pains ?
 Now bless'd be the Powers above,
 I feel the blood bound in my veins ;
 With a lively leap it began to move,
 And the vapours leave my brains.

AMYNTAS.

Body join'd to body, and heart join'd to heart,
 To make sure of the cure,
 Go call the man in black, to mumble o'er his part.

PHILLIS.

But suppose he should stay——

AMYNTAS.

At worst if he delay,
 'Tis a work must be done,
 We'll borrow but a day,
 And the better, the sooner begun.

CHORUS OF BOTH.

At worst if he delay, &c.

[They run out together hand in hand.]

SONG,*

IN "THE INDIAN EMPEROR."

Ah fading joy ! how quickly art thou past !
 Yet we thy ruin haste.
 As if the cares of human life were few,
 We seek out new :
 And follow fate, which would too fast pursue.

* I cannot forbear adding in this place, some beautiful little lyrical pieces of our author, which, by being scattered up and down in his voluminous dramatic works, are, from their situation, not so much known and noticed as they should be, but which contain some of the most musical and mellifluous lines he has ever written. Dr. J. WATSON.

See, how on every bough the birds express,
 In their sweet notes, their happiness.
 They all enjoy, and nothing spare ;
 But on their mother Nature lay their care :
 Why then should man, the lord of all below,
 Such troubles choose to know,
 As none of all his subjects undergo ?

Hark, hark, the waters fall, fall, fall,
 And with a murmuring sound
 Dash, dash, upon the ground,
 To gentle slumbers call.

SONG,

IN "THE INDIAN EMPEROR."

I look'd and saw within the book of fate,
 When many days did lour,
 When lo ! one happy hour
 Leap'd up, and smiled to save the sinking state ;
 A day shall come when in thy power
 Thy cruel foes shall be ;
 Then shall thy land be free :
 And then in peace shall reign ;
 But take, oh take that opportunity,
 Which once refused will never come again.

SONG,

IN "THE MAIDEN QUEEN."

I FEED a flame within, which so torments me.
 That it both pains my heart, and yet contents me :
 'Tis such a pleasing smart, and I so love it,
 That I had rather die, than once remove it.
 Yet he, for whom I grieve, shall never know it ;
 My tongue does not betray, nor my eyes show it.
 Not a sigh, nor a tear, my pain discloses,
 But they fall silently, like dew on roses.
 Thus, to prevent my love from being cruel,
 My heart's the sacrifice, as 'tis the fuel :
 And while I suffer this to give him quiet,
 My faith rewards my love, though he deny it.
 On his eyes will I gaze, and there delight me ;
 Where I conceal my love no frown can fright me :
 To be more happy, I dare not aspire ;
 Nor can I fall more low, mounting no higher.

SONG,

IN THE FIRST PART OF "THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA"

I.

WHEREVER I am, and whatever I do,
 My Phillis is still in my mind ;
 When angry, I mean not to Phillis to go,
 My feet, of themselves, the way find

Unknown to myself I am just at her door, ⁵
 And, when I would rail, I can bring out no more,
 Than, Phillis, too fair and unkind!

II.
 When Phillis I see, my heart bounds in my
 breast,
 And the love I would stifle is shown;
 But asleep, or awake, I am never at rest, ¹⁰
 When from my eyes Phillis is gone.
 Sometimes a sad dream does delude my sad
 mind;
 But, alas! when I wake, and no Phillis I find,
 How I sigh to myself all alone!

III.
 Should a king be my rival in her I adore, ¹⁵
 He should offer his treasure in vain:
 Oh, let me alone to be happy and poor,
 And give me my Phillis again!
 Let Phillis be mine, and but ever be kind,
 I could to a desert with her be confined, ²⁰
 And envy no monarch his reign.

IV.
 Alas! I discover too much of my love,
 And she too well knows her own power!
 She makes me each day a new martyrdom prove,
 And makes me grow jealous each hour: ²⁵
 But let her each minute torment my poor mind,
 I had rather love Phillis, both false and unkind,
 Than ever be freed from her power.

SONG,

IN TWO PARTS,

IN THE SECOND PART OF "THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA."

I.
He. How unhappy a lover am I,
 While I sigh for my Phillis in vain;
 All my hopes of delight
 Are another man's right,
 Who is happy, while I am in pain! ⁵

II.
She. Since her honour allows no relief,
 But to pity the pains which you bear,
 'Tis the best of your fate,
 In a hopeless estate,
 To give o'er, and betimes to despair. ¹⁰

III.
He. I have tried the false med'cine in vain;
 For I wish what I hope not to win:
 From without, my desire
 Has no food to its fire;
 But it burns and consumes me within. ¹⁵

IV.
She. Yet, at least, 'tis a pleasure to know
 That you are not unhappy alone:
 For the nymph you adore
 Is as wretched, and more:
 And counts all your sufferings her own. ²⁰

V.
He. O ye gods, let me suffer for both;
 At the feet of my Phillis I'll lie:
 I'll resign up my breath,
 And take pleasure in death,
 To be pitied by her when I die. ²⁵

VI.
She. What her honour denied you in life,
 In her death she will give to your love;
 Such a flame as is true
 After fate will renew,
 For the souls to meet closer above. ³⁰

SONG OF THE SEA-FIGHT,

IN "AMBOYNA"

Who ever saw a noble sight,
 That never view'd a brave sea-fight!
 Hang up your bloody colours in the air,
 Up with your fights, and your nettings prepare;
 Your merry mates cheer, with a lusty bold
 spright, ⁵
 Now each man his brindice, and then to the fight.
 St. George, St. George, we cry;
 The shouting Turks reply.
 Oh now it begins, and the gun-room grows hot, ¹⁰
 Ply it with culverin and with small shot;
 Hark, does it not thunder! no, 'tis the guns roar,
 The neighbouring billows are turn'd into gore;
 Now each man must resolve to die,
 For here the coward cannot fly. ¹⁵
 Drums and trumpets toll the knell,
 And culverins the passing bell.
 Now, now they grapple, and now board amain;
 Blow up the hatches, they're off all again:
 Give them a broadside, the dice run at all,
 Down comes the mast and yard, and tacklings ²⁰
 fall;
 She grows giddy now, like blind Fortune's wheel,
 She sinks there, she sinks, she turns up her keel.
 Who ever beheld so noble a sight,
 As this so brave, so bloody sea-fight!

INCANTATION IN ŒDIPUS.

Tir. CHOOSE the darkest part o' the grove,
 Such as ghosts at noon-day love.
 Dig a trench, and dig it nigh
 Where the bones of Laius lie;
 Altars raised of turf or stone,
 Will th' infernal pow'rs have none;
 Answer me, if this be done?

All Pr. 'Tis done.
Tir. Is the sacrifice made fit?
 Draw her backward to the pit: ¹⁰
 Draw the barren heifer back;
 Barren let her be, and black.

Cut the curled hair that grows
Full betwixt her horns and brows :
And turn your faces from the sun ;
Answer me, if this be done !
All Pr. 'Tis done.

Trr. Pour in blood, and blood-like wine,
To Mother Earth and Proserpine :
Mingle milk into the stream ;
Feast the ghosts, that love the steam :
Snatch a brand, from funeral pile :
Toss it in, to make them boil :
And turn your faces from the sun ;
Answer me, if this be done !
All Pr. 'Tis done.

SONG,

IN "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

CEASE, Augusta ! cease thy mourning,
Happy days appear,
God-like Albion is returning,
Loyal hearts to cheer !
Every grace his youth adorning,
Glorious as the star of morning,
Or the planet of the year.

SONG,

IN "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

ALBION, by the nymph attended,
Was to Neptune recommended,
Peace and plenty spread the sails ;
Venus, in her shell before him,
From the sands in safety bore him,
And supplied Etesian gales.
Archon, on the shore commanding,
Lowly met him at his landing,
Crowds of people swarm'd around ;
Welcome, rang like peals of thunder,
Welcome, rent the skies asunder,
Welcome, heaven and earth resound.

SONG,

IN "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

INFERNAL offspring of the Night,
Debar'd of heaven your native right,
And from the glorious fields of light,
Condemn'd in shades to drag the chain,
And fill with groans the gloomy plain ;
Since pleasures here are none below,
Be ill our good, our joy be woe :
Our work t' embroil the worlds above,
Disturb their union, disunite their love,
And blast the beauteous frame of our victorious
foe.

SONG,

IN "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

SEE the god of seas attends thee,
Nymphs divine, a beauteous train ;
All the calmer gales befriend thee
In thy passage o'er the main :
Every maid her locks is binding,
Every Triton's horn is winding,
Welcome to the watery plain.

SONG,

IN "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

I.

ALBION, loved of gods and men,
Prince of Peace too mildly reigning,
Cease thy sorrow and complaining,
Thou shalt be restored again :
Albion, loved of gods and men.

II.

Still thou art the care of heaven,
In thy youth to exile driven :
Heaven thy run then prevented,
Till the guilty land repented :
In thy age, when none could aid thee,
Foes conspired, and friends betray'd thee.
To the brink of danger driven,
Still thou art the care of Heaven.

SONG,

IN "KING ARTHUR."

Where a battle is supposed to be given behind the scenes, with drums, trumpets, and military shouts and excursions, after which the Britons, expressing their joy for the victory, sing this song of triumph.

COME, if you dare, our trumpets sound ;
Come, if you dare, the foes rebound :
We come, we come, we come, we come,
Says the double, double, double beat of the thundering drum.

Now they charge on amain,
Now they rally again :
The gods from above the mad labour behold,
And pity mankind, that will perish for gold.

The fainting Saxons quit their ground,
Their trumpets languish in the sound :
They fly, they fly, they fly, they fly ;
Victoria, Victoria, the bold Britons cry.

Now the victory's won,
To the plunder we run :
We return to our lasses like fortunate traders,
Triumphant with spoils of the vanquish'd invaders.

SONG,

IN "KING ARTHUR."

Man sings. Oh sight, the mother of desires,
 What charming objects dost thou yield !
 'Tis sweet, when tedious night expires,
 To see the rosy morning gild
 The mountain-tops, and paint the field ! 5
 But when Clarinda comes in sight,
 She makes the summer's day more bright;
 And when she goes away, 'tis night.

Chor. When fair Clarinda comes in sight, &c.

Wom. sings. 'Tis sweet the blushing morn to 10
 view;
 And plains adorn'd with pearly dew :
 But such cheap delights to see,
 Heaven and nature
 Give each creature;
 They have eyes, as well as we : 15
 This is the joy, all joys above,
 To see, to see,
 That only she,
 That only she we love !

Chor. This is the joy, all joys above, &c. 20

SONG,

IN "KING ARTHUR."

Two daughters of this aged stream are we ;
 And both our sea-green locks have comb'd for thee ;
 Come bathe with us an hour or two,
 Come naked in, for we are so :
 What danger from a naked foe ? 5
 Come bathe with us, come bathe and share
 What pleasures in the floods appear ;
 We'll beat the waters till they bound,
 And circle round, around, around, 10
 And circle round, around.

SONGS TO BRITANNIA,

IN "KING ARTHUR."

SONG I.

YE blustering brethren of the skies,
 Whose breath has ruffled all the watery plain,
 Retire, and let Britannia rise,
 In triumph o'er the main. 5
 Serene and calm, and void of fear,
 The Queen of Islands must appear :
 Serene and calm, as when the Spring
 The new-created world began,
 And birds on boughs did softly sing 10
 Their peaceful homage paid to man ;

While Eurus did his blasts forbear,
 In favour of the tender year.
 Retreat, rude winds, retreat
 To hollow rocks, your stormy seat ;
 There swell your lungs, and vainly, vainly 15
 threaten.

SONG II.

For folded flocks, on fruitful plains,
 The shepherd's and the farmer's gains,
 Fair Britain all the world outvies ;
 And Pan, as in Arcadia, reigns, 5
 Where pleasure mix'd with profit lies.

Though Jason's fleece was famed of old,
 The British wool is growing gold ;
 No mines can more of wealth supply ;
 It keeps the peasant from the cold, 10
 And takes for kings the Tyrian dye.

SONG III.

FAIREST isle, all isles excelling,
 Seat of pleasures and of loves :
 Venus here will choose her dwelling,
 And forsake her Cyprian groves.

Cupid from his favourite nation, 5
 Care and envy will remove ;
 Jealousy, that poisons passion,
 And despair, that dies for love.

Gentle murmurs, sweet complaining, 10
 Sighs, that blow the fire of love ;
 Soft repulses, kind disdain,
 Shall be all the pains you prove.

Every swain shall pay his duty,
 Grateful every nymph shall prove ;
 And as these excel in beauty, 15
 Those shall be renown'd for love.

SONG OF JEALOUSY,

IN "LOVE TRIUMPHANT."

WHAT state of life can be so blest
 As love, that warms a lover's breast ?
 Two souls in one, the same desire
 To grant the bliss, and to require !
 But if in heaven a hell we find, 5

'Tis all from thee,
 O Jealousy !
 'Tis all from thee,
 O Jealousy !
 Thou tyrant, tyrant Jealousy, 10
 Thou tyrant of the mind !

All other ills, though sharp they prove,
 Serve to refine, and perfect love :
 In absence, or unkind disdain,
 Sweet hope relieves the lover's pain. 15

But, ah ! no cure but death we find,
To set us free
From Jealousy :
O Jealousy !

Thou tyrant, tyrant Jealousy,
Thou tyrant of the mind ! 20

False in thy glass all objects are,
Some set too near, and some too far .

Thou art the fire of endless night,
The fire that burns, and gives no light. 25
All torments of the damn'd we find
In only thee,
O Jealousy !
Thou tyrant, tyrant Jealousy,
Thou tyrant of the mind ! 30

PROLOGUES AND EPILOGUES.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE RIVAL LADIES."

'Tis much desired, you judges of the town
Would pass a vote to put all prologues down ;
For who can show me, since they first were writ,
They e'er converted one hard-hearted wit ?
Yet the world's mended well ; in former days 5
Good prologues were as scarce as now good plays.
For the reforming poets of our age,
In this first charge, spend their poetic rage :
Expect no more when once the prologue's done ;
The wit is ended ere the play's begun. 10
You now have habits, dances, scenes, and rhymes ;
High language often ; ay, and sense, sometimes.
As for a clear contrivance, doubt it not,
They blow out candles to give light to th' plot. 15
And for surpise, two bloody-minded men
Fight till they die, then rise and dance again.
Such deep intrigues you're welcome to this day :
But blame yourselves, not him who writ the play ;
Though his plot's dull, as can be well desired, 20
Wit stiff as any you have e'er admired :
He's bound to please, not to write well ; and
knows,
There is a mode in plays as well as clothes ;
Therefore, kind judges——

A SECOND PROLOGUE ENTERS.

2. Hold ; would you admit
For judges all you see within the pit ?
1. Whom would he then except, or on what 25
score ?
2. All who (like him) have writ ill plays before ;
For they, like thieves condemn'd, are hangmen
made,
To execute the members of their trade.
All that are writing now he would disown,
But then he must except—even all the town ; 30
All choleric, losing gamesters, who, in spite,
Will damn to-day, because they lost last night ;
All servants, whom their mistress' scorn upbraids ;
All maudlin lovers, and all slighted maids ;
All, who are out of humour, or severe ; 35
All, that want wit, or hope to find it here.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE INDIAN QUEEN."

As the music plays a soft air, the curtain rises slowly, and discovers
an Indian boy and girl sleeping under two plantain-trees ; and,
when the curtain is almost up, the music turns into a tune ex-
pressing an alarm, at which the boy awakes, and speaks :

BOY.

WAKE, wake, Quevira ! our soft rest must cease,
And fly together with our country's peace !
No more must we sleep under plantain shade,
Which neither heat could pierce, nor cold invade :
Where bounteous nature never feels decay, 5
And opening buds drive falling fruits away.

QUEVIRA.

Why should men quarrel here, where all possess
As much as they can hope for by success ?—
None can have most, where nature is so kind,
As to exceed man's use, though not his mind. 10

BOY.

By ancient prophecies we have been told,
Our world shall be subdued by one more old ;—
And, see, that world already's hither come.

QUEVIRA.

If these be they, we welcome then our doom !
Their looks are such, that mercy flows from
thence, 15
More gentle than our native innocence.

BOY.

Why should we then fear these, our enemies,
That rather seem to us like deities ?

QUEVIRA.

By their protection, let us beg to live ;
They came not here to conquer, but forgive.— 20
If so, your goodness may your power express,
And we shall judge both best by our success.

EPILOGUE

TO "THE INDIAN QUEEN." SPOKEN BY MONTEZUMA.

You see what shifts we are enforced to try,
 To help out wit with some variety;
 Shows may be found that never yet were seen,
 'Tis hard to find such wit as ne'er has been :
 You have seen all that this old world can do, 5
 We, therefore, try the fortune of the new,
 And hope it is below your aim to hit
 At untaught nature with your practised wit :
 Our naked Indians, then, when wits appear,
 Would as soon choose to have the Spaniards here.
 'Tis true, you have marks enough,—the plot, the
 show, 11
 The poet's scenes, nay, more, the painter's too;
 If all this fail, considering the cost,
 'Tis a true voyage to the Indies lost :
 But if you smile on all, then these designs, 15
 Like the imperfect treasure of our minds,
 Will pass for current wheresoe'er they go,
 When to your bounteous hands their stamps they
 owe.

EPILOGUE

TO "THE INDIAN EMPEROR." BY A MERCURY.

To all and singular in this full meeting,
 Ladies and gallants, Phoebus sends ye greeting.
 To all his sons, by whate'er title known,
 Whether of court, or coffee-house, or town ;
 From his most mighty sons, whose confidence 5
 Is placed in lofty sound, and humble sense,
 Even to his little infants of the time,
 Who write new songs, and trust in tune and
 rhyme.
 Be't known, that Phoebus (being daily grieved
 To see good plays condemn'd, and bad received)
 Ordains, your judgment upon every cause, 11
 Henceforth, be limited by wholesome laws.
 He first thinks fit no sonneteer advance
 His censure, farther than the song or dance.
 Your wit burlesque may one step higher climb, 15
 And in his sphere may judge all doggrel rhyme ;
 All proves, and moves, and loves, and honours
 too ;
 All that appears high sense, and scarce is low.
 As for the coffee-wits, he says not much ;
 Their proper business is to damn the Dutch : 20
 For the great dons of wit
 Phoebus gives them full privilege alone,
 To damn all others, and cry up their own.
 Last, for the ladies, 'tis Apollo's will,
 They should have power to save, but not to kill ; 25
 For love and he long since have thought it fit,
Wit live by beauty, beauty reign by wit.

PROLOGUE

TO "SIR MARTIN MARR-ALL."

Fools, which each man meets in his dish each
 day,
 Are yet the great regalias of a play ;
 In which to poets you but just appear,
 To prize that highest, which cost them so dear :
 Fops in the town more easily will pass ;
 One story makes a statutable ass :
 But such in plays must be much thicker sown,
 Like yolks of eggs, a dozen beat to one.
 Observing poets all their walks invade,
 As men watch woodcocks gliding through a
 glade : 10
 And when they have enough for comedy,
 They stow their several bodies in a pie :
 The poet's but the cook to fashion it,
 For gallants, you yourselves have found the wit.
 To bid you welcome, would your bounty wrong ; 15
 None welcome those who bring their cheer along.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE TEMPEST."*

As when a tree's cut down, the secret root
 Laves under ground, and thence new branches
 shoot ;
 So from old Shakspeare's honour'd dust, this day
 Springs up and buds a new-reviving play :
 Shakspeare, who (taught by none) did first impart 5
 To Fletcher wit, to labouring Jonson art.
 He, monarch like, gave those, his subjects, law ;
 And is that nature which they paint and draw.
 Fletcher reach'd that which on his heights did
 grow,
 While Jonson crept, and gather'd all below. 11
 This did his love, and this his mirth, digest :
 One imitates him most, the other best.
 If they have since outwrit all other men,
 'Tis with the drops which fell from Shakspeare's
 pen.
 The storm, which vanish'd on the neighbouring
 shore, 15
 Was taught by Shakspeare's Tempest first to roar.
 That innocence and beauty, which did smile
 In Fletcher, grew on this enchanted isle.
 But Shakspeare's magic could not copied be ;
 Within that circle none durst walk but he. 20
 I must confess 'twas bold, nor would you now
 That liberty to vulgar wits allow,
 Which works by magic supernatural things :
 But Shakspeare's power is sacred as a king's.
 Those legends from old priesthood were received,
 And he then writ, as people then believed. 25
 But if for Shakspeare we your grace implore,
 We for our theatre shall want it more :

* Bonarelli, in his *Fili di Sciro*, has introduced a shepherdess in love with two persons, like the alterations in the Tempest. Dr. J. WATSON

Who, by our dearth of youths, are forced to
employ
One of our women to present a boy ;
And that 's a transformation, you will say,
Exceeding all the magic in the play.
Let none expect, in the last act, to find
Her sex transform'd from man to womankind.
Whate'er she was before the play began,
All you shall see of her is perfect man.
Or, if your fancy will be farther led
To find her woman—it must be a-bed.

PROLOGUE

TO "TYRANNIC LOVE."

SELF-LOVE, which, never rightly understood,
Makes poets still conclude their plays are good,
And malice, in all critics, reigns so high,
That for small errors, they whole plays decry ;
So that to see this fondness, and that spite,
You'd think that none but madmen judge or write.
Therefore our poet, as he thinks not fit
To impose upon you what he writes for wit ;
So hopes, that, leaving you your censures free,
You equal judges of the whole will be :
They judge but half, who only faults will see.
Poets, like lovers, should be bold and dare,
They spoil their business with an over-care ;
And he, who servilely creeps after sense,
Is safe, but ne'er will reach an excellence.
Hence 'tis, our poet, in his conjuring,
Allow'd his fancy the full scope and swing.
But when a tyrant for his theme he had,
He loosed the reins, and bid his muse run mad :
And though he stumbles in a full career,
Yet rashness is a better fault than fear.
He saw his way ; but in so swift a pace,
To choose the ground might be to lose the race.
They then, who of each trip the advantage take,
Find but those faults, which they want wit to
make.

EPILOGUE.

TO "THE WILD GALLANT," WHEN REVIVED.

OF all dramatic writing, comic wit,
As 'tis the best, so 'tis most hard to hit.
For it lies all in level to the eye,
Where all may judge, and each defect may spy.
Humour is that, which every day we meet,
And therefore known as every public street ;
In which, if e'er the poet go astray,
You all can point, 'twas there he lost his way.
But, what's so common, to make pleasant too,
Is more than any wit can always do.
For 'tis like Turks, with hen and rice to treat ;
To make regalias out of common meat.
But, in your diet, you grow savages :
Nothing but human flesh your taste can please ;

And, as their feasts with slaughter'd slaves began,
So you, at each new play, must have a man.
Hither you come, as to see prizes fought ;
If no blood's drawn, you cry, the prize is nought.
But fools grow wary now ; and, when they see
A poet eyeing round the company,
Straight each man for himself begins to doubt ;
They shrink like seamen when a press comes out.
Few of them will be found for public use,
Except you charge an oaf upon each house,
Like the train bands, and every man engage
For a sufficient fool, to serve the stage.
And when, with much ado, you get him there,
Where he in all his glory should appear,
Your poets make him such rare things to say.
That he's more wit than any man i' the play :
But of so ill a mingle with the rest,
As when a parrot's taught to break a jest.
Thus, aiming to be fine, they make a show,
As tawdry squires in country churches do.
Things well consider'd, 'tis so hard to make
A comedy, which should the knowing take,
That our dull poet, in despair to please,
Does humbly beg, by me, his writ of ease.
'Tis a land-tax, which he's too poor to pay ;
You therefore must some other impost lay.
Would you but change, for serious plot and verse,
Thus motley garniture of fool and farce,
Nor scorn a mode, because 'tis taught at home,
Which does, like vests, our gravity become,
Our poet yields you should this play refuse :
As tradesmen, by the change of fashions, lose,
With some content, their fripperies of France,
In hope it may their staple trade advance.

PROLOGUE

SPOKEN THE FIRST DAY OF THE KING'S HOUSE ACTING
AFTER THE FIRE.

So shipwreck'd passengers escape to land,
So look they, when on the bare beach they stand
Dropping and cold, and their first fear scarce o'er,
Expecting famine on a desert shore.
From that hard climate we must wait for bread,
Whence e'en the natives, forced by hunger, fled.
Our stage does human chance present to view,
But ne'er before was seen so sadly true :
You are changed too, and your pretence to see
Is but a nobler name for charity.
Your own provisions furnish out our feasts,
While you the founders make yourselves the
guests.
Of all mankind beside fate had some care,
But for poor Wit no portion did prepare,
'Tis left a rent-charge to the brave and fair.
You cherish'd it, and now its fall you mourn,
Which blind unmanner'd zealots make their scorn,
Who think that fire a judgment on the stage,
Which spared not temples in its furious rage.
But as our new-built city rises higher,
So from old theatres may new aspire,
Since fate contrives magnificence by fire.
Our great metropolis does far surpass
Whate'er is now, and equals all that was .

Our wit as far does foreign wit excel,
And, like a king, should in a palace dwell.
But we with golden hopes are vainly fed,
Talk high, and entertain you in a shed :
Your presence here, for which we humbly sue,
Will grace old theatres, and build up new.

EPILOGUE

TO THE SECOND PART OF "THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA."

THEY, who have best succeeded on the stage,
Have still conform'd their genius to their age.
Thus Jonson did mechanic humour show,
When men were dull, and conversation low.
Then comedy was faultless, but 'twas coarse :
Cobb's tankard was a jest, and Otter's horse.
And, as their comedy, their love was mean ;
Except, by chance, in some one labour'd scene,
Which must atone for an ill-written play.
They rose, but at their height could seldom stay.
Fame then was cheap, and the first comer sped ;
And they have kept it since, by being dead.
But, were they now to write, when critics weigh
Each line, and every word, throughout a play,
None of them, no not Jonson in his height,
Could pass, without allowing grains for weight.
Think it not envy, that these truths are told ;
Our poet's not malicious, though he's bold.
'Tis not to brand them, that their faults are shown,
But, by their errors, to excuse his own.
If love and honour now are higher raised,
'Tis not the poet, but the age is praised.
Wit's now arrived to a more high degree ;
Our native language more refined and free.
Our ladies and our men now speak more wit
In conversation, than those poets writ.
Then, one of these is, consequently, true ;
That what this poet writes comes short of you,
And imitates you ill (which most he fears),
Or else his writing is not worse than theirs.
Yet, though you judge (as sure the critics will),
That some before him writ with greater skill,
In this one praise he has their fume surpass'd,
To please an age more gallant than the last.

PROLOGUE

TO "AMBOYNA."

As needy gallants in the scribes' hands,
Court the rich knave that gripes their mortgaged
lands,
The first fat buck of all the season's sent,
And keeper takes no fee in compliment :
The dotage of some Englishmen is such.
To fawn on those who ruin them—the Dutch.
They shall have all, rather than make a war
With those who of the same religion are.
The Straits, the Guinea trade, the herrings too,
Nay, to keep friendship, they shall pickle you.
Some are resolved not to find out the cheat,
But, cuckold-like, love him who does the feat :

What injuries soe'er upon us fall,
Yet, still, the same religion answers all :
Religion wheedled you to civil war,
Drew English blood, and Dutchmen's now would
spare :

Be gull'd no longer, for you'll find it true,
They have no more religion, faith—than you ;
Interest's the god they worship in their state ;
And you, I take it, have not much of that.
Well, monarchies may own religion's name,
But states are atheists in their very frame.
They share a sin, and such proportions fall,
That, like a stink, 'tis nothing to them all.
How they love England, you shall see this day ;
No map shows Holland truer than our play :
Their pictures and inscriptions well we know ;
We may be bold one medal sure to show.
View then their falsehoods, rapine, cruelty ;
And think what once they were, they still would
be :

But hope not either language, plot, or art ;
'Twas writ in haste, but with an English heart :
And least hope wit ; in Dutchmen that would be
As much improper, as would honesty.

EPILOGUE

TO "AMBOYNA."

A POET once the Spartans led to fight,
And made them conquer in the muse's right ;
So would our poet lead you on this day,
Showing your tortured fathers in his play.
To one well-born the affront is worse, and more,
When he's abused, and baffled by a boor :
With an ill grace the Dutch their mischiefs do,
They've both ill-nature and ill-manners too.
Well may they boast themselves an ancient nation,
For they were bred ere manners were in fashion ;
And their new commonwealth has set them free,
Only from honour and civility.
Venetians do not more uncouthly ride,
Than did their lubber state mankind bestride ;
Their sway became them with as ill a mien.
As their own paunches swell above their chin :
Yet is their empire no true growth, but humour,
And only two kings' touch can cure the tumour.
As Cato did his Afric fruits display,
So we before your eyes their Indies lay :
All loyal English will, like him, conclude,
Let Cæsar live, and Carthage be subdued !

PROLOGUE

SPOKEN AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW HOUSE,*
MARCH 26, 1674.

A PLAIN built house, after so long a stay,
Will send you half unsatisfied away ;

* This prologue must certainly have been written for the King's company, which I suppose at this time might have

When, fall'n from your expected pomp, you find
A bare convenience only is design'd.
You, who each day can theatres behold,
Like Nero's palace, shining all with gold,
Our mean ungild'd stage will scorn, we fear,
And, for the homely room, disdain the cheer.
Yet now cheap druggets to a mode are grown,
And a plain suit, since we can make but one,
Is better than to be by tarnish'd gaudry known.
They, who are by your favours wealthy made,
With mighty sums may carry on the trade :
We, broken bankers, half destroy'd by fire,
With our small stock to humble roofs retire :
Pity our loss, while you their pomp admire.
For fame and honour we no longer strive,
We yield in both, and only beg to live :
Unable to support their vast expense,
Who build and treat with such magnificence ;
That, like the ambitious monarchs of the age,
They give the law to our provincial stage.
Great neighbours enviously promote excess,
While they impose their splendour on the less.
But only fools, and they of vast estate,
The extremity of modes will imitate,
The dangling knee-fringe, and the bib-cravat.
Yet if some pride with want may be allow'd,
We in our plainness may be justly proud :
Our royal master will'd it should be so ;
Whate'er he's pleased to own, can need no show :
That sacred name gives ornament and grace,
And, like his stamp, makes basest metals pass.
'Twere folly now a stately pile to raise,
To build a playhouse while you throw down
plays,
While scenes, machines, and empty operas reign,
And for the pencil you the pen disdain :
While troops of famish'd Frenchmen hither
drive,
And laugh at those upon whose alms they live :
Old English authors vanish and give place
To these new conquerors of the Norman race.
More tamely than your fathers you submit ;
You're now grown vassals to them in your wit.
Mark, when they play, how our fine fops advance
The mighty merits of their men of France,
Keep time, cry Bon, and humour the cadence.
Well, please yourselves ; but sure 'tis understood,
That French machines have ne'er done England
good.

opened their house in Drury-lane. The reflection cast upon
the taste of the town in these three lines,

'Twere folly now a stately pile to raise,
To build a playhouse while you throw down plays,
While scenes, machines, and empty operas reign :

is certainly levelled at the Duke's company, who had exhibited the siege of Rhodes, and other expensive operas, and who now were getting up *Psyche*, *Circe*, &c. *DERRICK*.

Ver. 30. *Our royal master!* It is to be lamented, that after the fire of London a magnificent theatre had not been built at the expense of the public, or of the King. Few princes have so much encouraged theatrical spectacles as Leo the Tenth. He ordered a magnificent stage to be erected, and actors to be brought from Florence to Rome, to act the *Mandragola* of Machiavel, though a most licentious drama, and abounding in the most severe ridicule on the Popish ceremonies, particularly in Act v. Scene i. and Act iii. Scene v.; yet this same Pope, with that inconsistency that is to be found in almost all human characters, addressed a solemn brief to Sannazarus, thanking him for his famous poem, *De Partu Virginis*, and also Providence, for raising up such a champion, at a time when the Holy Church was so violently attacked, and in such danger. Dr. J. WARTON.

I would not prophesy our house's fate :
But while vain shows and scenes you over-rate, 50
'Tis to be feared—
That as a fire the former house o'erthrew,
Machines and tempests will destroy the new.

PROLOGUE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, 1674. SPOKEN BY
MR. HART.*

POETS, your subjects, have their parts assign'd
To unbend, and to divert their sovereign's mind
When tired with following nature, you think fit
To seek repose in the cool shades of wit,
And, from the sweet retreat, with joy survey
What rests, and what is conquer'd, of the way.
Here, free yourselves from envy, care, and strife,
You view the various turns of human life :
Safe in our scene, through dangerous courts you
go,
And, undebauch'd, the vice of cities know.
Your theories are here to practice brought,
As in mechanic operations wrought ;
And man, the little world, before you set,
As once the sphere of crystal shew'd the great.
Blest sure are you above all mortal kind,
If to your fortunes you can suit your mind :
Content to see, and shun, those ills we show,
And crimes on theatres alone to know.
With joy we bring what our dead authors write,
And beg from you the value of their wit :
That Shakspeare's, Fletcher's, and great Jonson's
claim
May be renew'd from those who gave them fame.
None of our living poets dare appear ;
For muses so severe are worshipp'd here,
That, conscious of their faults, they shun the
eye,
And, as profane, from sacred places fly,
Rather than see the offended God, and die.
We bring no imperfections, but our own ;
Such faults as made are by the makers shown :
And you have been so kind, that we may boast,
The greatest judges still can pardon most.
Poets must stoop, when they would please our
pit,
Debased even to the level of their wit ;
Disdaining that, which yet they know will take,
Hating themselves what their applause must
make.
But when to praise from you they would aspire,
Though they like eagles mount, your Jove is
higher.
So far your knowledge all their power transcends,
As what should be beyond what is extends.

* Several gentlemen, who had adhered to their principles of loyalty during the usurpation of Cromwell, and the exile of the Royal Family, being left unprovided for at the Restoration, they applied themselves to different occupations for a livelihood : among them was Mr. Hart, the speaker of this prologue, who had served his Majesty as a captain in the civil war, and was now an actor in a capital cast, and in great estimation. *DERRICK*.

PROLOGUE

TO "CIRCE." * [BY DR. DAVENANT, 1675.]

WERE you but half so wise as you're severe,
Our youthful poet should not need to fear:
To his green years your censures you would suit,
Not blast the blossom, but expect the fruit.
The sex, that best does pleasure understand,
Will always choose to err on t' other hand.
They check him not that's awkward in delight,
But clap the young rogue's cheek, and set him right.

Thus hearten'd well, and flesh'd upon his prey,
The youth may prove a man another day.
Your Ben and Fletcher, in their first young fight,
Did no Volpone, nor no Arbaces write;
But hoppy'd about, and short excursions made
From bough to bough, as if they were afraid,
And each was guilty of some Slighted Maid.
Shakspeare's own Muse her Pericles first bore;
The Prince of Tyre was elder than the Moor:
'Tis miracle to see a first good play;
All hawthorns do not bloom on Christmas-day.
A slender poet must have time to grow,
And spread and burnish as his brothers do.
Who still looks lean, sure with some pox is cursed;
But no man can be Falstaff-fat at first.
Then damn not, but indulge his rude essays,
Encourage him, and bloat him up with praise,
That he may get more bulk before he dies:
He's not yet fed enough for sacrifice.
Perhaps, if now your grace you will not grudge,
He may grow up to write, and you to judge.

EPILOGUE

INTENDED TO HAVE BEEN SPOKEN BY THE LADY HEN. MAR. WENTWORTH, WHEN "CALISTO" WAS ACTED AT COURT.

As Jupiter I made my court in vain;
I'll now assume my native shape again.
I'm weary to be so unkindly used,
And would not be a god, to be refused.
State grows uneasy when it hinders love;
A glorious burden, which the wise remove.
Now, as a nymph, I need not sue, nor try
The force of any lightning but the eye.
Beauty and youth more than a god command;
No Jove could e'er the force of these withstand.
'Tis here that sovereign power admits dispute;
Beauty sometimes is justly absolute.
Our sullen Catos, whatsoever they say,
Even while they frown and dictate laws, obey.
You, mighty sir, our bonds more easy make,
And gracefully, what all must suffer, take;
Above those forms the grave affect to wear;
For 'tis not to be wise to be severe.

* Circe was an Opera. Tragedy among the ancients was throughout accompanied with music. DR. J. WATSON.

Ver. 1. *As Jupiter*] It was a sister of the Duchess of Marlborough, a maid of honour, and afterwards Duchess of Tirocnal, celebrated by Grammont, that acted in the Masque of Calisto at court, 1675. DR. J. WATSON.

True wisdom may some gallantry admit,
And soften business with the charms of wit.
These peaceful triumphs with your cares you bought,
And from the midst of fighting nations brought.
You only hear it thunder from afar,
And sit in peace the arbiter of war:
Peace, the loathed manna, which hot brains despise,
You knew its worth, and made it early prize;
And in its happy leisure sit and see
The promises of more felicity:
Two glorious nymphs of your own godlike line,
Whose morning rays like noontide strike and shine:
Whom you to suppliant monarchs shall dispose,
To bind your friends, and to disarm your foes.

PROLOGUE

TO "AURENGZEER."

OUR author, by experience, finds it true,
'Tis much more hard to please himself than you;
And out of no feign'd modesty, this day
Damns his laborious trifle of a play:
Not that it's worse than what before he writ,
But he has now another taste of wit;
And, to confess a truth, though out of time,
Grows weary of his long-loved mistress, Rhyme.
Passion's too fierce to be in fetters bound,
And nature flies him like enchanted ground:
What verse can do, he has perform'd in this,
Which he presumes the most correct of his;
But spite of all his pride, a secret shame
Invades his breast at Shakspeare's sacred name:
Awd when he hears his godlike Romans rage,
He, in a just despair, would quit the stage;
And to an age less polish'd, more unskill'd,
Does, with disdain, the foremost honours yield.
As with the greater dead he dares not strive,
He would not match his verse with those who live:

Let him retire, betwixt two ages cast,
The first of this, and hindmost of the last.
A losing gamester, let him sneak away;
He bears no ready money from the play.
The fate, which governs poets, thought it fit
He should not raise his fortunes by his wit.
The clergy thrive, and the litigious bar;
Dull heroes fatten with the spoils of war;
All southern vices, Heaven be praised, are here;
But wit's a luxury you think too dear.
When you to cultivate the plant are loth,
'Tis a shrewd sign 'twas never of your growth;
And wit in northern climates will not blow,
Except, like orange-trees, 'tis housed from snow.
There needs no care to put a playhouse down,
'Tis the most desert place of all the town:
We and our neighbours, to speak proudly, are,
Like monarchs, ruin'd with expensive war;
While, like wise English, unconcern'd you sit,
And see us play the tragedy of wit.

EPILOGUE

TO "THE MAN OF MODE; OR, SIR FOPLING FLUTTER."
[BY SIR GEORGE ETHERIDGE, 1676.]

Most modern wits such monstrous fools have shown,

They seem not of Heaven's making, but their own.
Those nauseous harlequins in farce may pass;
But there goes more to a substantial ass:
Something of man must be exposed to view,
That, gallants, they may more resemble you.
Sir Fopling is a fool so nicely writ,
The ladies would mistake him for a wit;
And, when he sings, talks loud, and cocks, would cry,

I vow, methinks, he's pretty company:
So brisk, so gay, so travell'd, so refined,
As he took pains to graff upon his kind.
True fops help nature's work, and go to school,
To file and finish God Almighty's fool.
Yet none Sir Fopling him, or him can call;
He's knight o' the shire, and represents ye all.
From each he meets he culls whate'er he can;
Legion's his name, a people in a man.
His bulky folly gathers as it goes,
And, rolling o'er you, like a snow-ball grows.
His various modes from various fathers follow;
One taught the toss, and one the new French wallow:

His sword-knot this, his cravat that design'd;
And this, the yard-long snake he twirls behind.
From one the sacred periwig he gain'd,
Which wind ne'er blew, nor touch of hat profaned.
Another's diving bow he did adore,
Which with a shog casts all the hair before,
Till he with full decorum brings it back,
And rises with a water-spaniel shake.
As for his songs, the ladies' dear delight,
These sure he took from most of you who write.
Yet every man is safe from what he fear'd;
For no one fool is hunted from the herd.

EPILOGUE

TO "ALL FOR LOVE"

POETS, like disputants, when reasons fail,
Have one sure refuge left—and that's to rail.
Fop, coxcomb, fool, are thunder'd through the pit;

And this is all their equipage of wit.
We wonder how the devil this difference grows,
Betwixt our fools in verse, and yours in prose;
For, 'faith, the quarrel rightly understood,
'Tis civil war with their own flesh and blood.
The thread-bare author hates the gaudy coat;
And swears at the gilt coach, but swears a-foot:
For 'tis observed of every scribbling man,
He grows a fop as fast as e'er he can;
Prunes up, and asks his oracle, the glass,
If pink and purple best become his face.
For our poor wretch, he neither rails nor prays;
Nor likes your wit just as you like his plays;

He has not yet so much of Mr. Bayes.
He does his best; and if he cannot please,
Would quietly sue out his *writ of ease*.
Yet, if he might his own grand jury call,
By the fair sex he begs to stand or fall.
Let Caesar's power the men's ambition move,
But grace you him who lost the world for love!
Yet if some antiquated lady say,
The last age is not copied in his play;
Heaven help the man who for that face must drudge,

Which only has the wrinkles of a judge.
Let not the young and beauteous join with those;
For should you raise such numerous hosts of foes,
Young wits and sparks he to his aid must call;
'Tis more than one man's work to please you all.

PROLOGUE

TO "LIMBERHAM"

TRUE wit has seen its best days long ago;
It ne'er look'd up, since we were dipp'd in show;
When sense in doggerl rhymes and clouds was lost,

And dulness flourish'd at the actor's cost.
Nor stopp'd it here; when tragedy was done,
Satire and humour the same fate have run,
And comedy is sunk to trick and pun.
Now our machining lumber will not sell,
And you no longer care for heaven or hell;
What stuff can please you next, the Lord can tell.
Let them, who the rebellion first began
To wit, restore the monarch, if they can;
Our author dares not be the first bold man.
He, like the prudent citizen, takes care
To keep for better marts his staple ware;
His toys are good enough for Stourbridge fair.
Tricks were the fashion; if it now be spent,
'Tis time enough at Easter to invent;
No man will make up a new suit for Lent.
If now and then he takes a small pretence,
To forage for a little wit and sense,
Pray pardon him, he meant you no offence.
Next summer, Nostradamus tells, they say,
That all the critics shall be shipp'd away,
And not enow be left to damn a play.
To every sail beside, good Heaven, be kind;
But drive away that swarm with such a wind,
That not one locust may be left behind!

EPILOGUE

TO "MITHRIDATES, KING OF PONTUS." [BY MR. N. LEE, 1678.]

You've seen a pair of faithful lovers die:
And much you care; for most of you will cry,
'Twas a just judgment on their constancy.
For, Heaven be thank'd, we live in such an age,
When no man dies for love, but on the stage:

Ver. 5. *When no man dies for love.* One of the most remarkable differences betwixt ancient and modern tragedy

And e'en those martyrs are but rare in plays;
 A cursed sign how much true faith decays.
 Love is no more a violent desire;
 'Tis a mere metaphor, a painted fire.
 In all our sex, the name examined well, 10
 'Tis pride to gain, and vanity to tell.
 In woman, 'tis of subtle interest made:
 Curse on the punk that made it first a trade!
 She first did wit's prerogative remove,
 And made a fool presume to prate of love. 15
 Let honour and preferment go for gold;
 But glorious beauty is not to be sold:
 Or, if it be, 'tis at a rate so high,
 That nothing but adoring it should buy.
 Yet the rich cullies may their boasting spare; 20
 They purchase but sophisticated ware.
 'Tis prodigality that buys deceit,
 Where both the giver and the taker cheat.
 Men but refine on the old half-crown way;
 And women fight, like Swissers, for their pay. 25

Your neighbours would not look on you as men,
 But think the nation all turn'd Picts again.
 Faith, as you manage matters, 'tis not fit
 You should suspect yourselves of too much wit: 20
 Drive not the jest too far, but spare this piece;
 And, for this once, be not more wise than Greece.
 See twice! do not pell-mell to damning fall,
 Like true-born Britons, who ne'er think at all:
 Pray be advised; and though at Mons you won, 25
 On pointed cannon do not always run.
 With some respect to ancient wit proceed;
 You take the four first councils for your creed.
 But, when you lay tradition wholly by,
 And on the private spirit alone rely, 30
 You turn fanatics in your poetry.
 If, notwithstanding all that we can say,
 You needs will have your pen'orths of the play,
 And come resolved to damn, because you pay, 35
 Record it, in memorial of the fact,
 The first play buried since the woollen act.

PROLOGUE

TO "ŒDIPUS."

WHEN Athens all the Grecian state did guide,
 And Greece gave laws to all the world beside;
 Then Sophocles with Socrates did sit,
 Supreme in wisdom one, and one in wit: 5
 And wit from wisdom differ'd not in those,
 But, as 'twas sung in verse, or said in prose.
 Then, Œdipus, on crowded theatres,
 Drew all admiring eyes and listening ears:
 The pleased spectator shouted every line, 10
 The noblest, manliest, and the best design!
 And every critic of each learned age,
 By this just model has reform'd the stage.
 Now, should it fail, (as Heaven avert our fear)
 Damn it in silence, lest the world should hear. 15
 For were it known this poem did not please,
 You might set up for perfect savages:

arises from the prevailing custom of describing only those distresses that are occasioned by the passion of love: a passion, which, from the universality of its dominion, may justly claim a large share in representations of human life: but which, by totally engrossing the theatre, hath contributed to degrade that noble school of virtue into an academy of effeminacy. When Racine persuaded the celebrated Arnauld to read his Phædra, "Why," said that severe critic to his friend, "have you falsified the manners of Hippolytus, and represented him in love?" "Alas!" replied the poet, "without that circumstance, how would the ladies and the beaux have received my piece?" And it may well be imagined, that to gratify so considerable and important a part of his audience, was the powerful motive that induced Corneille to enervate even the matchless and affecting story of Œdipus, by the frigid and impertinent episode of Theseus's passion for Dirce. Shakspeare has shown us, by his Hamlet, Macbeth, and Cæsar, and above all by his Lear, that very interesting tragedies may be written, that are not founded on gallantry and love; and that Boileau was mistaken, when he affirmed,

"— de l'amour la sensible peinture,
 Est pour aller au cœur la route la plus sûre."

The finest pictures of love in all antiquity are the Phædra, Medea, Simætha, second Idyllium of Theocritus, and the Dido of Virgil. All of these pictures are of the effects of love in women; no description of it in men, so capital and so striking, has been given. The tenth eclogue of Virgil is but feeble in comparison of these mentioned above. Dr. J. WATSON.

EPILOGUE

TO "ŒDIPUS."

WHAT Sophocles could undertake alone,
 Our poets found a work for more than one;
 And therefore two lay tugging at the piece,
 With all their force, to draw the ponderous mass 5
 from Greece;
 A weight that bent even Seneca's strong muse, 5
 And which Corneille's shoulders did refuse.
 So hard it is the Athenian harp to string!
 So much two consuls yield to one just king.
 Terror and pity this whole poem sway;
 The mightiest machines that can mount a play. 10
 How heavy will those vulgar souls be found,
 Whom two such engines cannot move from ground!
 When Greece and Rome have smiled upon this 15
 birth,
 You can but damn for one poor spot of earth
 And when your children find your judgment 15
 such,
 They'll scorn their sires, and wish themselves
 born Dutch;
 Each haughty poet will infer with ease,
 How much his wit must under-write to please.
 As some strong churl would, brandishing, ad-
 vance
 The monumental sword that conquer'd France; 20
 So you, by judging this, your judgment teach,
 Thus far you like, that is, thus far you reach.
 Since then the vote of full two thousand years
 Has crown'd this plot, and all the dead are theirs, 25
 Think it a debt you pay, not alms you give,
 And, in your own defence, let this Play live.
 Think them not vain, when Sophocles is shown,
 To praise his worth they humbly doubt their 30
 own.
 Yet as weak states each other's power assure,
 Weak poets by conjunction are secure. 30
 Their treat is what your palates relish most,
 Charm! song! and show! a murder and a ghost!
 We know not what you can desire or hope,
 To please you more, but burning of a Pope.

PROLOGUE

TO "TROILUS AND CRESSIDA." SPOKEN BY MR. BETTERTON,
REPRESENTING THE GHOST OF SHAKSPEARE.

SEE, my loved Britons, see your Shakspeare rise,
An awful ghost confess'd to human eyes !
Unnamed, methinks, distinguish'd I had been
From other shades, by this eternal green,
About whose wreaths the vulgar poets strive,
And with a touch, their wither'd bays revive.
Untaught, unpractised, in a barbarous age,
I found not, but created first the stage.
And, if I drain'd no Greek or Latin store,
Twas, that my own abundance gave me more.
On foreign trade I needed not rely,
Like fruitful Britain, rich without supply.
In this my rough-drawn play you shall behold
Some master-strokes, so manly and so bold,
That he who meant to alter, found 'em such,
He shook, and thought it sacrilege to touch.
Now, where are the successors to my name ?
What bring they to fill out a poet's fame ?
Weak, short-lived issues of a feeble age ;
Scarce living to be christen'd on the stage !
For humour farce, for love they rhyme dispense,
That tolls the knell for their departed sense.
Dulness might thrive in any trade but this :
'Twould recommend to some fat benefice.
Dulness, that in a playhouse meets disgrace,
Might meet with reverence in its proper place.
The fulsome clench, that nauseates the town,
Would from a judge or alderman go down,
Such virtue is there in a robe and gown !
And that insipid stuff which here you hate,
Might somewhere else be call'd a grave debate ;
Dulness is decent in the church and state.
But I forget that still 'tis understood,
Bad plays are best decried by showing good.
Sit silent then, that my pleased soul may see
A judging audience once and worthy me ;
My faithful scene from true records shall tell,
How Trojan valour did the Greek excel ;
Your great forefathers shall their fame regain,
And Homer's angry ghost repine in vain.

PROLOGUE

TO "CESAR BORGIA." [BY MR. N. LEE, 1680.]

THE unhappy man, who once has trail'd a pen,
Lives not to please himself, but other men ;
Is always drudging, wastes his life and blood,
Yet only eats and drinks what you think good.

VER. 1. *The unhappy man.*] Lee had so melodious a voice, and such pathetic elocution, that reading one of his own scenes to Major Mohun at a rehearsal, Mohun, in the warmth of his admiration, threw down his part, and exclaimed, "Unless I were able to play it as well as you read it, to what purpose should I undertake it?" Yet it is a very remarkable circumstance, that Lee failed as an actor in attempting to perform the character of Duncan in *Macbeth*, 1672; as did Otway in a play of Mrs. Afra Behn, entitled the *Jealous Bridegroom*. After this failure, the first wrote his *Alcibiades*, and the last-mentioned author his *Nero*. DR. J. WARTON

What praise soe'er the poetry deserve,
Yet every fool can bid the poet starve.
That fumbling lecher to revenge is bent,
Because he thinks himself or whore is meant :
Name but a cuckold, all the city swarms ;
From Leadenhall to Ludgate is in arms :
Were there no fear of Antichrist, or France,
In the blest time poor poets live by chance.
Either you come not here, or, as you grace
Some old acquaintance, drop into the place,
Careless and qualmish with a yawning face :
You sleep o'er wit, and by my troth you may ;
Most of your talents lie another way.
You love to hear of some prodigious tale,
The bell that toll'd alone, or Irish whale.
News is your food, and you enough provide,
Both for yourselves, and all the world beside.
One theatre there is of vast resort,
Which whilome of Requests was call'd the Court ;
But now the great Exchange of News 'tis hight,
And full of hum and buz from noon 'till night.
Up stairs and down you run, as for a race,
And each man wears three nations in his face.
So big you look, though claret you retrench,
That, arm'd with bottled ale, you huff the French
But all your entertainment still is fed
By villains in your own dull island bred.
Would you return to us, we dare engage
To show you better rogues upon the stage.
You know no poison but plain ratsbane here ;
Death's more refined, and better bred elsewhere.
They have a civil way in Italy,
By smelling a perfume to make you die ;
A trick would make you lay your snuff-box by.
Murder's a trade, so known and practised there,
That 'tis infallible as is the chair.
But, mark their feast, you shall behold such
pranks ;
The Pope says grace, but 'tis tho devil gives
thanks.

PROLOGUE

TO "SOPHONISBA," AT OXFORD, 1680.

THESPIA, the first professor of our art,
At country wakes, sung ballads from a cart.
To prove this true, if Latin be no trespass,
"Dicibur et plaustris vexisse Poemata Thespia.
But Æschylus, says* Horace in some page,
Was the first mountebank that trod the stage :

* *Successit vetus his Comœdia, etc., i. e.* Comedy began to be cultivated and improved from the time that tragedy had obtained its end, *τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἔπειτα*, under Æschylus. There is no reason to suppose, with some critics, that Horace meant to date its origin from hence. The supposition is, in truth, contradicted by *experience* and the *order of things*. For, as a celebrated French writer observes, "*Le talent d'imiter, qui nous est naturel, nous porte plutôt à la comédie, qui roule sur des choses de notre connoissance, qu'à la tragédie, qui prend des sujets plus éloignés de l'usage commun ; et en effet, en Grèce aussi bien qu'en France, la comédie est l'aînée de la tragédie.*"—[Hist. du Théât. Franc. par M. de Fontenelle.] The latter part of this assertion is clear from the piece referred to ; and the other, which respects Greece, seems countenanced by Aristotle himself [*τῆς ποιητ. κ. α.*] 'Tis true, comedy, though its rise be everywhere, at least, as early as that of tragedy, is perfected much later. Menander,

Yet Athens never knew your learned sport
Of tossing poets in a tennis-court.
But 'tis the talent of our English nation
Still to be plotting some new reformation:
And few years hence, if anarchy goes on,
Jack Presbyter shall here erect his throne,
Knock out a tub with preaching once a day,
And every prayer be longer than a play.
Then all your heathen wits shall go to pot,
For disbelieving of a Popish-plot:
Your poets shall be used like infidels,
And worst, the author of the Oxford bells:
Nor should we 'scape the sentence, to depart,
E'en in our first original, a cart.
No zealous brother there would want a stone,
To maul us cardinals, and pelt Pope Joan:
Religion, learning, wit, would be suppress'd,
Rags of the whore, and trappings of the beast:
Scot, Suarez, Tom of Aquin, must go down,
As chief supporters of the triple crown;
And Aristotle's for destruction ripe;
Some say, he call'd the soul an organ-pipe,
Which, by some little help of derivation,
Shall then be proved a pipe of inspiration.

Go back to your dear dancing on the rope,
Or see what's worse, the devil and the pope.
The plays that take on our corrupted stage,
Methinks, resemble the distracted age;
Noise, madness, all unreasonable things,
That strike at sense, as rebels do at kings.
The style of forty-one our poets write,
And you are grown to judge like forty-eight.
Such censures our mistaking audience make,
That 'tis almost grown scandalous to take.
They talk of fevers that infect the brains;
But nonsense is the new disease that reigns.
Weak stomachs, with a long disease oppress'd,
Cannot the cordials of strong wit digest.
Therefore thin nourishment of farce ye choose,
Decoctions of a barley-water muse:
A meal of tragedy would make ye sick,
Unless it were a very tender chick.
Some scenes in sippets would be worth our time;
Those would go down; some love that's poach'd
in rhyme;
If these should fail—
We must lie down, and, after all our cost,
Keep holiday, like watermen in frost;
While you turn players on the world's great stage,
And act yourselves the farce of your own age

A PROLOGUE.

If yet there be a few that take delight
In that which reasonable men should write;
To them alone we dedicate this night.
The rest may satisfy their curious itch,
With city-gazettes, or some factious speech,
Or whate'er libel, for the public good,
Stirs up the shrove-tide crew to fire and blood.
Remove your benches, you apostate pit,
And take, above, twelve pennyworth of wit;

we know, appeared long after *Æschylus*. And, though the French tragedy, to speak with *Aristotle*, *ἡ τῆς τραγῆδος φύσις* in the hands of *Cornelle*, this cannot be said of their comedy, which was forced to wait for a *Moliere*, before it arrived at that pitch of perfection. But then this is owing to the superior difficulty of the comic drama. Nor is it any objection that the contrary of this happened at Rome. For the Romans, when they applied themselves in earnest to the stage, had not to invent, but to imitate, or rather *translate*, the perfect models of Greece. And it chanced, for reasons which I shall not stay to deduce, that their poets had better success in copying their *comedy* than *tragedy*.

The two happiest subjects, said *Fontenelle*, for tragedy and comedy among the moderns, are the *Cid*, and *l'Ecole des Femmes*. But, unluckily, the respective authors that wrote on each, were not arrived at the full force of their geniuses when they treated these subjects. Events that have actually happened, are, after all, the properest subjects for poetry. The best eulogium of *Virgil*,* the best ode of *Horace*,† are founded on real incidents. If we briede cast our eyes over the most interesting and affecting stories, ancient or modern, we shall find that they are such, as, however adorned and a little diversified, are yet grounded on true history, and on real matters of fact. Such, for instance, among the ancients, are the stories of *Joseph*, of *Œdipus*, the Trojan War and its consequences, of *Virginia*, and the *Horatii*: such, among the moderns, are the stories of *King Lear*, the *Cid*, *Romeo* and *Juliet*, and *Oronoko*. The series of events contained in these stories seem far to surpass the utmost powers of human imagination. In the best conducted fiction, some mark of improbability and in-coherence will still appear. Dr. J. WARTON.

PROLOGUE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, 1681.

THE famed Italian muse, whose rhymes advance
Orlando and the Paladins of France,
Records, that, when our wit and sense is flown,
'Tis lodged within the circle of the moon,
In earthen jars, which one, who thither soar'd,
Set to his nose, snuff'd up, and was restored.
Whate'er the story be, the moral's true;
The wit we lost in town, we find in you.
Our poets their fled parts may draw from hence,
And fill their windy heads with sober sense.
When London votes with Southwark's disagree,
Here may they find their long-lost loyalty.
Here busy senates, to the old cause inclined,
May snuff the votes their fellows left behind:
Your country neighbours, when their grain grows
dear,
May come, and find their last provision here:
Whereas we cannot much lament our loss,
Who neither carried back, nor brought one cross.
We look'd what representatives would bring;
But they help'd us, just as they did the king.
Yet we despair not; for we now lay forth
The Sibyl's books to those who know their worth,
And though the first was sacrificed before,
These volumes doubly will the price restore.
Our poet bade us hope this grace to find,
To whom by long prescription you are kind.
He, whose undaunted Muse, with loyal rage,
Has never spared the vices of the age,
Here finding nothing that his spleen can raise,
Is forced to turn his satire into praise.

* The First.

† Ode xlii. lib. ii.

PROLOGUE

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, UPON HIS FIRST APPEARANCE AT
THE DUKE'S THEATRE, AFTER HIS RETURN FROM SCOT-
LAND, 1682.

IN those cold regions which no summers cheer,
Where brooding darkness covers half the year,
To hollow caves the shivering natives go;
Bears range abroad, and hunt in tracks of snow :
But when the tedious twilight wears away,
And stars grow paler at the approach of day,
The longing crowds to frozen mountains run ;
Happy who first can see the glimmering sun :
The surly savage offspring disappear,
And curse the bright successor of the year.
Yet, though rough bears in covert seek defence,
White foxes stay, with seeming innocence :
That crafty kind with day-light can dispense.
Still we are throng'd so full with Reynard's race,
That loyal subjects scarce can find a place :
Thus modest truth is cast behind the crowd :
Truth speaks too low ; Hypocrisy too loud.
Let them be first to flatter in success ;
Duty can stay, but guilt has need to press.
Once, when true zeal the sons of God did call,
To make their solemn show at heaven's White-
hall,
The fawning devil appear'd among the rest,
And made as good a courtier as the best.
The friends of Job, who rail'd at him before,
Came cap in hand when he had three times
more.

Yet late repentance may, perhaps, be true ;
Kings can forgive, if rebels can but sue :
A tyrant's power in rigour is express'd ;
The father yearns in the true prince's breast.
We grant, an o'ergrown Whig no grace can
mend ;
But most are babes, that know not they offend.
The crowd to restless motion still inclined,
Are clouds, that tack according to the wind.
Driven by their chiefs their storms of hailstones
pour ;
Then mourn, and soften to a silent shower.
Oh, welcome to this much-offending land,
The prince that brings forgiveness in his hand !
Thus angels on glad messages appear :
Their first salute commands us not to fear :
Thus Heaven, that could constrain us to obey,
(With reverence if we might presume to say)
Seems to relax the rights of sovereign say :
Permits to man the choice of good and ill,
And makes us happy by our own free-will.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE EARL OF ESSEX," [BY MR. J. BANKS, 1682.] SPOKEN
TO THE KING AND THE QUEEN AT THEIR COMING TO
THE HOUSE.

WHEN first the ark was landed on the shore,
And Heaven had vow'd to curse the nation no
more ;
When tops of hills the longing patriarch saw,
And the new scene of earth began to draw ;

The dove was sent to view the waves' decrease,
And first brought back to man the pledge of
peace.

'Tis needless to apply, when those appear,
Who bring the olive, and who plant it here.
We have before our eyes the royal dove,
Still innocent, as harbinger of love :
The ark is open'd to dismiss the train,
And people with a better race the plain.
Tell me, ye Powers, why should vain man pursue,
With endless toil, each object that is new,
And for the seeming substance leave the true ?
Why should he quit for hopes his certain good,
And loathe the manna of his daily food ?
Must England still the scene of changes be,
Toss'd and tempestuous, like our ambient sea ?
Must still our weather and our wills agree ?
Without our blood our liberties we have :
Who that is free would fight to be a slave ?
Or, what can wars to after-times assure,
Of which our present age is not secure ?
All that our monarch would for us ordain,
Is but to enjoy the blessings of his reign.
Our land's an Eden, and the main's our fence,
While we preserve our state of innocence :
That lost, then beasts their brutal force employ,
And first their lord, and then themselves destroy.
What civil broils have cost, we know too well ;
Oh, let it be enough that once we fell !
And every heart conspire, and every tongue,
Still to have such a king, and this king long.

AN EPILOGUE

FOR THE KING'S HOUSE.

WE act by fits and starts, like drowning men,
But just peep up, and then pop down again.
Let those who call us wicked change their sense ;
For never men lived more on Providence.
Not lottery cavaliers are half so poor,
Nor broken city, nor a vacation whore.
Not courts, nor courtiers living on the rents
Of the three last ungiving parliaments :
So wretched, that, if Pharaoh could divine,
He might have spared his dream of seven lean
kine,
And changed his vision for the Muses nine.
The comet, that, they say, portends a dearth,
Was but a vapour drawn from play-house earth :
Pent there since our last fire, and, Lilly says,
Foreshows our change of state, and thin third-
days.

'Tis not our want of wit that keeps us poor ;
For then the printer's press would suffer more.
Their pamphleteers each day their venom spit ;
They thrive by treason, and we starve by wit.
Confess the truth, which of you has not laid
Four farthings out to buy the Hatfield maid ?
Or, which is duller yet, and more would spite us,
Democritus his wars with Heraclitus ?
Such are the authors, who have run us down,
And exercised you critics of the town.
Yet these are pearls to your lampooning rhymes,
Y' abuse yourselves more dully than the times
Scandal, the glory of the English nation,
Is worn to rags, and scribbled out of fashion.

Such harmless thrusts, as if, like fencers wise, ³⁰
 They had agreed their play before their prize.
 Faith, they may hang their harps upon the
 willows;
 'Tis just like children when they box with pillows.
 Then put an end to civil wars for shame;
 Let each knight-errant, who has wrong'd a dame,
 Throw down his pen, and give her, as he can, ³⁵
 The satisfaction of a gentleman.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE LOYAL BROTHER; * OR, THE PERSIAN PRINCE."
 [BY MR. SOUTHERN, 1682.]

POETS, like lawful monarchs, ruled the stage,
 Till critics, like damn'd Whigs, debauch'd our age.
 Mark how they jump : critics would regulate
 Our theatres, and Whigs reform our state :
 Both pretend love, and both (plague rot them !)
 hate. ⁵

The critic humbly seems advice to bring ;
 The fawning Whig petitions to the king :
 But one's advice into a satire slides ;
 T' other's petition a remonstrance hides.
 These will no taxes give, and those no pence ; ¹⁰
 Critics would starve the poet, Whigs the prince.
 The critic all our troops of friends discards ;
 Just so the Whig would fain pull down the guards.
 Guards are illegal, that drive foes away,
 As watchful shepherds, that fright beasts of prey. ¹⁵
 Kings, who disband such needless aids as these,
 Are safe—as long as e'er their subjects please :
 And that would be till next queen Bess's night :
 Which thus grave penny chroniclers indite.

* "The Loyal Brother; or, the Persian Prince," Mr. Southern's first play, was acted at Drury-lane in 1682; a time in which the Tory interest, after long struggles, carried all before it. The character of the Loyal Brother was a compliment intended for the Duke of York. This prologue is a continued invective against the Whigs. DERRICK.

Ver. 18. — *queen Bess's night* : At the King's-head tavern, the corner of Chancery-lane, and opposite the Inner-Temple-gate, the principal opponents to the court-measures and the chiefs of the Whig party assembled, under the name of the King's-head Club, and afterwards the Green-ribbon Club, from ribbons of that colour which they wore in their hats. Here they subscribed a guinea a-piece for a bonfire, in which the effigies of the Pope was to be burnt on the 17th of November, being the anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's birth, with more than ordinary pomp; for it was heretofore an annual ceremony, usually made without any remarkable parade. The procession now consisted of one representing the dead body of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, carried on a horse, with a person preceding it ringing a bell, to remind people of his murder, then followed a mob of fellows, dressed like carnalites, jesuits, bishops, cardinals, &c. and several boys with incense-pots, surrounding an image of the Pope, with that of the devil just behind him.

Like thief and parson in a Tyburn cart.

In this manner they marched from Bishopsgate to the corner of Chancery-lane, where they committed the in-offensive effigies to the flames; while the balconies and windows of the King's-head were filled with people of consequence, who countenanced the tumult; which, the Hon. Roger North says, struck a terror upon people's spirits. The year of acting the play, to which we have here a prologue, great additions, alterations, and expensive improvements, were intended to be made in this procession which

Sir Edmondbury first, in woful wise, ²⁰
 Leads up the show, and milks their maudlin eyes.
 There's not a butcher's wife but drabs her part,
 And pities the poor pageant from her heart;
 Who, to provoke revenge, rides round the fire,
 And, with a civil congé, does retire : ²⁵
 But guiltless blood to ground must never fall;
 There's Antichrist behind, to pay for all.
 The punk of Babylon in pomp appears,
 A lewd old gentleman of seventy years :
 Whose age in vain our mercy would implore; ³⁰
 For few take pity on an old cast whore.
 The devil, who brought him to the shame, takes
 part;
 Sits cheek by jowl, in black, to cheer his heart;
 Like thief and parson in a Tyburn-cart.
 The word is given, and with a loud huzza ³⁵
 The mitred poppet from his chair they draw :
 On the slain corpse contending nations fall :
 Alas ! what's one poor pope among them all !
 He burns ; now all true hearts your triumphs
 ring :

And next, for fashion, cry, God save the king. ⁴⁰
 A needful cry in 'midst of such alarms,
 When forty thousand men are up in arms.
 But after he's once saved, to make amends,
 In each succeeding health they damn his friends : ⁴⁵
 So God begins, but still the devil ends.
 What if some one, inspired with zeal, should call,
 Come, let's go cry, God save him, at Whitehall ?
 His best friends would not like this over-care,
 Or think him e'er the safer for this prayer. ⁵⁰
 Five praying saints are by an act allow'd ;
 But not the whole church-militant in crowd.
 Yet, should Heaven all the true petitions drain
 Of Presbyterians who would kings maintain,
 Of forty thousand, five would scarce remain.

PROLOGUE

TO THE KING AND QUEEN, UPON THE UNION OF THE
 TWO COMPANIES IN 1682.

SINCE faction ebbs, and rogues grow out of
 fashion,
 Their penny scribes take care to inform the
 nation,
 How well men thrive in this or that plantation :

How Pennsylvania's air agrees with Quakers,
 And Carolina's with Associators : ⁵
 Both e'en too good for madmen and for traitors.

Truth is, our land with saints is so run o'er,
 And every age produces such a store,
 That now there's need of two New-Englands
 more.

What's this, you'll say, to us and our vocation ? ¹⁰
 Only thus much, that we have left our station,
 And made this theatre our new plantation.

was prevented entirely by the loyalty and vigilance of the sheriffs of the city, Sir Dudley North and Sir Peter Rich, who paraded the streets all day and the best part of the night. DERRICK.

The factious natives never could agree;
But aiming, as they call'd it, to be free,
Those play-house Whigs set up for property. 15

Some say, they no obedience paid of late;
But would new fears and jealousies create;
Till topsy-turvy they had turn'd the state.

Plain sense, without the talent of foretelling,
Might guess 'twould end in downright knocks
and quelling: 20
For seldom comes there better of rebelling.

When men will, needlessly, their freedom barter
For lawless power, sometimes they catch a Tartar;
There's a damn'd word that rhymes to this, call'd
Charter.

But, since the victory with us remains, 25
You shall be call'd to twelve in all our gains;
If you'll not think us saucy for our pains.

Old men shall have good old plays to delight 'em:
And you, fair ladies and gallants, that slight 'em,
We'll treat with good new plays; if our new wits
can write 'em. 30

We'll take no blundering verse, no fustian tumour,
No dribbling love, from this or that perfumer;
No dull fat fool sham'm'd on the stage for hu-
mour.

For, faith, some of 'em such vile stuff have made, 35
As none but fools or fairies ever play'd;
But 'twas, as shopmen say, to force a trade.

We've given you tragedies, all sense defying,
And singing men, in woful metre dying;
This 'tis when heavy lubbers will be flying.

All these disasters we well hope to weather; 40
We bring you none of our old lumber hither:
Whig poets and Whig sheriffs may hang together.

PROLOGUE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. SPOKEN BY MR. HART,
AT THE ACTING OF "THE SILENT WOMAN."

WHAT Greece,* when learning flourish'd, only
knew,
Athenian judges, you this day renew.
Here too are annual rites to Pallas done,
And here poetic prizes lost or won.
Methinks I see you, crown'd with olives, sit, 5
And strike a sacred horror from the pit.
A day of doom is this of your decree,
Where even the best are but by mercy free:
A day, which none but Jonson durst have wish'd
to see.

* Plato sent a copy of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes to Dionysius the king of Sicily, telling him that from this play and the other comedies of Aristophanes, he might learn the nature of the Athenian republic. DR. J. WARTON.

Here they, who long have known the useful
stage, 10

Come to be taught themselves to teach the age.
As your commissioners our poets go,
To cultivate the virtue which you sow;
In your Lycæum first themselves refined,
And delegated thence to human-kind. 15
But as ambassadors, when long from home,
For new instructions to their princes come;
So poets, who your precepts have forgot,
Return, and beg they may be better taught:
Follies and faults elsewhere by them are shown, 20
But by your manners they correct their own.
The illiterate writer, empiric-like, applies
To minds diseased, unsafe, chance, remedies:
The learn'd in schools, where knowledge first
began, 25

Studies with care the anatomy of man;
Sees virtue, vice, and passions in their cause,
And fame from science, not from fortune, draws.
So Poetry, which is in Oxford made
An art, in London only is a trade.
There haughty dunces, whose unlearned pen 30
Could ne'er spell grammar, would be reading men.
Such build their poems the Lucretian way;
So many huddled atoms make a play;
And if they hit in order by some chance,
They call that nature, which is ignorance. 35
To such a fame let mere town-wits aspire,
And their gay nonsense their own cuts admire.
Our poet, could he find forgiveness here,
Would wish it rather than a plaudit there.
He owns no crown from those Prætorian bands, 40
But knows that right is in the senate's hands,
Not impudent enough to hope your praise,
Low at the Muses' feet his wreath he lays,
And, where he took it up, resigns his bays.
Kings make their poets whom themselves think 45
fit,
But 'tis your suffrage makes authentic wit.

EPILOGUE,

SPOKEN BY THE SAME.

No poor Dutch peasant, wing'd with all his fear,
Flies with more haste, when the French arms
draw near,
Than we with our poetic train come down,
For refuge hither, from the infected town:
Heaven for our sins this summer has thought fit 5
To visit us with all the plagues of wit.
A French* troop first swept all things in its way;
But those hot Monsieurs were too quick to stay:

Ver. 25. *Studies with care the anatomy of man;* ["Créer un sujet; inventer un nœud et un dénouement; donner à chaque personnage son caractère, et le soutenir; faire en sorte qu'aucun d'eux ne paraisse et ne sorte sans une raison sentie de tous les spectateurs; ne laisser jamais le théâtre vuide; faire dire à chacun ce qu'il doit dire; avec noblesse sans enflure, avec simplicité sans bassesse; faire de beaux vers qui ne sentent point le poète, et tels que le personnage aurait dû en faire, s'il parlait en vers; c'est-à-dire une partie des devoirs que tout auteur d'une tragédie doit remplir."] DR. J. WARTON.

* In a very old French mystery acted at Paris, 1490, in order to render the character of Judas more detestable, the

Yet, to our cost, in that short time, we find
 They left their itch of novelty behind. 10
 The Italian merry-andrews took their place,
 And quite debauch'd the stage with lewd grimace :
 Instead of wit, and humours, your delight
 Was there to see two hobby-horses fight;
 Stout Scaramoucha with rush lance rode in, 15
 And ran a tilt at centaur Arlequin.
 For love you heard how amorous asses bray'd,
 And cats in gutters gave their serenade.
 Nature was out of countenance, and each day
 Some new-born monster shown you for a play. 20
 But when all fail'd, to strike the stage quite
 dumb,

Those wicked engines call'd machines are come.
 Thunder and lightning now for wit are play'd,
 And shortly scenes in Lapland will be laid : 25
 Art magic is for poetry profess'd ;
 And cats and dogs, and each obscene beast,
 To which Egyptian dotards once did bow,
 Upon our English stage are worship'd now.
 Witchcraft reigns there, and raises to renown 30
 Macbeth and Simon Magus of the town ;
 Fletcher's despised, your Jonson's out of fashion,
 And wit the only drug in all the nation.
 In this low ebb our wares to you are shown ;
 By you those staple authors' worth is known ;
 For wit's a manufacture of your own. 35
 When you, who only can, their scenes have
 praised,
 We'll boldly back, and say, their price is raised.

EPILOGUE,

SPOKEN AT OXFORD, BY MRS. MARSHALL.

OFF has our poet wish'd, this happy seat
 Might prove his fading Muse's last retreat :
 I wonder'd at his wish, but now I find
 He sought for quiet, and content of mind ;
 Which noiseful towns, and courts can never know, 5
 And only in the shades like laurels grow.
 Youth, ere it sees the world, here studies rest,
 And age returning thence concludes it best.
 What wonder if we court that happiness
 Yearly to share, which hourly you possess. 10
 Teaching e'en you, while the vex'd world we show,
 Your peace to value more, and better know ?
 'Tis all we can return for favours past,
 Whose holy memory shall ever last,
 For patronage from him whose care presides 15
 O'er every noble art, and every science guides :
 Bathurst, a name the learn'd with reverence know,
 And scarcely more to his own Virgil owe ;
 Whose age enjoys but what his youth deserved,
 To rule those Muses whom before he served. 20

author affirms, that before he became acquainted with Christ, he had assassinated the son of his king, had afterwards murdered his father, and married his mother. DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 11. *The Italian*] Apostolo Zeno had made a collection of four thousand old Italian tragedies and comedies. I Similimi di Trissino, wrote in his old age, is an imitation of the Menocephali of Plautus. See Trissino's fine letter in blank verse prefixed to Sophonisba addressed to Leo X. DR. J. WARTON.

His learning, and untainted manners too,
 We find, Athenians, are derived to you :
 Such ancient hospitality there rests
 In yours, as dwell in the first Grecian breasts, 25
 Whose kindness was religion to their guests.
 Such modesty did to our sex appear,
 As, had there been no laws, we need not fear,
 Since each of you was our protector here.
 Converse so chaste, and so strict virtue shown, 30
 As might Apollo with the Muses own.
 Till our return, we must despair to find
 Judges so just, so knowing, and so kind.

PROLOGUE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

DISCORD and plots, which have undone our age,
 With the same ruin have o'erwhelm'd the stage.
 Our house has suffer'd in the common woe,
 We have been troubled with Scotch rebels too.
 Our brethren are from Thames to Tweed departed, 5
 And of our sisters, all the kinder-hearted,
 To Edinburgh gone, or coach'd, or carted.
 With bonny bluecap there they act all night
 For Scotch half-crown, in English three-pence 10
 hight.

One nymph, to whom fat Sir John Falstaff's lean,
 There with her single person fills the scene. 11
 Another, with long use and age decay'd,
 Dived here old woman, and rose there a maid.
 Our trusty doorkeepers of former time
 There strut and swagger in heroic rhyme. 15
 Tack but a copper-lace to druggist suit,
 And there's a hero made without dispute :
 And that, which was a capon's tail before,
 Becomes a plume for Indian emperor.
 But all his subjects, to express the care 20
 Of imitation, go, like Indians, bare :
 Laced linen there would be a dangerous thing ;
 It might perhaps a new rebellion bring ;
 The Scot, who wore it, would be chosen king.
 But why should I these renegades describe, 25
 When you yourselves have seen a lewder tribe ?
 Teague has been here, and, to this learned pit,
 With Irish action slander'd English wit :
 You have beheld such barbarous Macs appear, 30
 As merited a second massacre :
 Such as, like Cain, were branded with disgrace,
 And had their country stamp'd upon their face.
 When strollers durst presume to pick your purse,
 We humbly thought our broken troop not worse. 35
 How ill soe'er our action may deserve,
 Oxford's a place where wit can never starve.

PROLOGUE

TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

THOUGH actors cannot much of learning boast,
 Of all who want it, we admire it most :
 We love the praises of a learned pit,
 As we remotely are allied to wit.

We speak our poet's wit, and trade in ore,
Like those, who touch upon the golden shore:
Betwixt our judges can distinction make,
Discern how much, and why, our poems take:
Mark if the fools, or men of sense, rejoice;
Whether the applause be only sound or voice.
When our fop gallants, or our city folly,
Clap over-loud, it makes us melancholy:
We doubt that scene which does their wonder

raise,
And, for their ignorance, condemn their praise.
Judge then, if we who act, and they who write,
Should not be proud of giving you delight.
London likes grossly; but this nicer pit
Examines, fathoms all the depths of wit;
The ready finger lays on every blot;
Knows what should justly please, and what should

not.
Nature herself lies open to your view;
You judge by her, what draught of her is true,
Where outlines false, and colours seem too faint,
Where bunglers daub, and where true poets paint.
But, by the sacred genius of this place,
By every Muse, by each domestic grace,
Be kind to wit, which but endeavours well,
And, where you judge, presumes not to excel.
Our poets hither for adoption come,
As nations sued to be made free of Rome:
Not in the suffragating tribes to stand,
But in your utmost, last, provincial band.
If his ambition may those hopes pursue,
Who with religion loves your arts and you,
Oxford to him a dearer name shall be,
Than his own mother-university.
Thebes did his green, unknowing, youth engage;
He chooses Athens in his riper age.

PROLOGUE

TO "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

FULL twenty years and more, our labouring stage
Has lost, on this incorrigible age:
Our poets, the John Ketches of the nation,
Have seem'd to lash ye, even to exhortation;
But still no sign remains; which plainly notes,
You bore like heroes, or you bribed like Oates.
What can we do, when mimicking a fop,
Like beating nut-trees, makes a larger crop?
'Faith, we 'll e'en spare our pains! and, to content
you,
Will fairly leave you what your Maker meant
you.

Ver S. ——— *why, our poems take*.] The pleasure properly to be expected from a good tragedy is "the pleasure that arises from pity and terror." Has Pope, in the first lines of his famous prologue to *Cato*, touched on this pleasure? or made this the essential business of tragedy? It is observable that in Greece the Drama was perfected in half a century; in Europe it took up 400 years to bring it to any perfection. Aristotle, in the *Poetics*, complains of the effeminacy of the Athenian taste, in forcing their poets to soften some of their most striking catastrophes, and diminishing the terror and *sublimity* of their pieces. In the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles, Deianira utters a sentiment that was Solon's years before Solon lived. Sophocles also uses the word *chariot-race*, long before it was framed at Athens. But the description of the chariot-race at the Isthmian games is the greatest anachronism. Dr. J. WARTON.

Satire was once your physic, wit your food;
One nourish'd not, and t'other drew no blood:
We now prescribe, like doctors in despair,
The diet your weak appetites can bear.
Since hearty beef and mutton will not do,
Here's julep-dance, ptisan of song and show.
Give you strong sense, the liquor is too heady;
You're come to farce,—that's asses' milk,—already.
Some hopeful youths there are, of callow wit,
Who one day may be men, if Heaven think fit,
Sound may serve such, ere they to sense are

grown,
Like leading-strings, till they can walk alone.
But yet, to keep our friends in countenance, know,
The wise Italians first invented show;
Thence into France the noble pageant pass'd:
'Tis England's credit to be cozen'd last.
Freedom and zeal have choused you o'er and o'er;
Pray give us leave to bubble you once more;
You never were so cheaply fool'd before:
We bring you change, to humour your disease;
Change for the worse has ever used to please:
Then, 'tis the mode of France; without whose

rules,
None must presume to set up here for fools.
In France, the oldest man is always young,
Sees operas daily, learns the tunes so long.
Till foot, hand, head, keep time with every song:
Each sings his part, echoing from pit and box,
With his hoarse voice, half harmony, half pox.
Le plus grand roi du monde is always ringing,
They show themselves good subjects by their

singing:
On that condition, set up every throat;
You Whigs may sing, for you have changed your

note.
Cits and citesses, raise a joyful strain,
'Tis a good omen to begin a reign;
Voices may help your charter to restoring,
And get by singing, what you lost by roaring.

EPILOGUE

TO "ALBION AND ALBANUS."

AFTER our Æsop's fable shown to-day,
I come to give the moral of the play.
Feign'd Zeal, you saw, set out the speedier pace;
But the last heat, Plain Dealing won the race:
Plain Dealing for a jewel has been known;
But ne'er till now the jewel of a crown.
When Heaven made man, to show the work divine,
Truth was his image, stamp'd upon the coin:
And when a king is to a god refined,
On all he says and does he stamps his mind:
This proves a soul without alloy, and pure;
Kings, like their gold, should every touch endure.
To dare in fields is valour; but how few
Dare be so thoroughly valiant,—to be true!
The name of great, let other kings affect:
He's great indeed, the prince that is direct.
His subjects know him now, and trust him more
Than all their kings, and all their laws before.
What safety could their public acts afford?
Those he can break; but cannot break his word

So great a trust to him alone was due ;
 Well have they trusted whom so well they knew.
 The saint, who walk'd on waves, securely trod,
 While he believed the beck'ning of his God ;
 But when his faith no longer bore him out, 25
 Began to sink, as he began to doubt.
 Let us our native character maintain ;
 'Tis of our growth, to be sincerely plain.
 To excel in truth we loyally may strive,
 Set privilege against prerogative : 30
 He plights his faith, and we believe him just ;
 His honour is to promise, ours to trust.
 Thus Britain's basis on a word is laid,
 As by a word the world itself was made.

PROLOGUE

TO "ARVIRAGUS AND PHILICIA" REVIVED.* [BY LODOWICK
 CARLELL, ESQ.] SPOKEN BY MR. HART.

WITH sickly actors and an old house too,
 We've match'd with glorious theatres and new,
 And with our alehouse scenes, and clothes bare
 worn,
 Can neither raise old plays, nor new adorn.
 If all these ills could not undo us quite, 5
 A brisk French troop is grown your dear de-
 light ;†
 Who with broad bloody bills call you each day,
 To laugh and break your buttons at their play ;
 Or see some serious piece, which we presume 10
 Is fall'n from some incomparable plume ;
 And therefore, Messieurs, if you'll do us grace,
 Send lackeys early to preserve your place.
 We dare not on your privilege intrench,
 Or ask you why you like them ? they are French.
 Therefore some go with courtesy exceeding, 15
 Neither to hear nor see, but show their breeding :
 Each lady striving to out-laugh the rest ;
 To make it seem they understood the jest.
 Their countrymen come in, and nothing say,
 To teach us English where to clap the play : 20
 Civil, egad ! our hospitable land
 Bears all the charge, for them to understand :
 Meantime we languish, and neglected lie,
 Like wives, while you keep better company :
 And wish for your own sakes, without a satire, 25
 You'd less good breeding, or had more good-
 nature.

* This tragedy was first acted at Blackfriars in 1639, and revived with success in 1890. DENNICK.

† The story of Moliere reading his plays to his old servant (Le Furet) to see what effect they would have on her, is well known. But it is not so much known, that when he read over a new piece to the comedians, he used to desire them to bring their children with them, that he might see how they looked, and what notice they took of any passages.

The famous naturalist Robault was the person from whom Moliere drew the character of the philosopher he has introduced in his *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*. Moliere was intimately acquainted with him. Moliere even borrowed the hat that Robault commonly wore, and which was of an uncommon size, and intended to produce it upon the stage, but his friend discovered his design, and took it out of his hands. Ben Jonson is said to have known personally a man who could not bear any noise, from whom he exactly copied his character of Morose. DR. J. WASTON.

PROLOGUE

TO "DON SEBASTIAN." SPOKEN BY A WOMAN.

THE judge removed, though he's no more my
 lord,
 May plead at bar, or at the council-board :
 So may cast poets write ; there's no pretension
 To argue loss of wit from loss of pension.
 Your looks are cheerful ; and in all this place 5
 I see not one that wears a damning face.
 The British nation is too brave, to show
 Ignoble vengeance on a vanquish'd foe.
 At last be civil to the wretch imploring ;
 And lay your paws upon him, without roaring. 10
 Suppose our poet was your foe before,
 Yet now, the business of the field is o'er ;
 'Tis time to let your civil wars alone,
 When troops are into winter-quarters gone. 15
 Jove was alike to Latian and to Phrygian ;
 And you well know a play's of no religion.
 Take good advice and please yourselves this day ;
 No matter from what hands you have the play.
 Among good fellows every health will pass,
 That serves to carry round another glass : 20
 When with full bowls of Burgundy you dine,
 Though at the mighty monarch you repine,
 You grant him still Most Christian in his wine.
 Thus far the poet ; but his brains grow addle,
 And all the rest is purely from this noddle. 25
 You have seen young ladies at the senate-door
 Prefer petitions, and your grace implore ;
 However grave the legislators were,
 Their cause went ne'er the worse for being fair.
 Reasons as weak as theirs, perhaps, I bring ; 30
 But I could bribe you with as good a thing.
 I heard him make advances of good-nature ;
 That he, for once, would sheathe his cutting satire.
 Sign but his peace, he vows he'll ne'er again .
 The sacred names of fops and beaux profane. 35
 Strike up the bargain quickly ; for I swear,
 As times go now, he offers very fair.
 Be not too hard on him with statutes neither ;
 Be kind ; and do not set your teeth together,
 To stretch the laws, as cobblers do their leather. 40
 Horses by Papists are not to be ridden,
 But sure the Muses' horse was ne'er forbidden ;
 For in no rate book it was ever found
 That Pegasus was valued at five pound ;
 Fine him to daily drudging and inditing : 45
 And let him pay his taxes out in writing.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE PROPHETESS."* [BY BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.
 REVIVED BY MR. DRYDEN. SPOKEN BY MR. BETTERTON.]

WHAT Nostradame, with all his art, can guess
 The fate of our approaching Prophetess !

* The Prophetess, or the History of Diocletian, was revived in 1690, with alterations and additions, after the manner of an opera, by Mr. Betterton, and not by Dryden,

A play, which, like a perspective set right,
 Presents our vast expenses close to sight;
 But turn the tube, and there we sadly view
 Our distant gains; and those uncertain too:
 A sweeping tax, which on ourselves we raise,
 And all, like you, in hopes of better days.
 When will our losses warn us to be wise!
 Our wealth decreases, and our charges rise.
 Money, the sweet allurer of our hopes,
 Ebbs out in oceans, and comes in by drops.
 We raise new objects to provoke delight;
 But you grow sated, ere the second sight.
 False men, e'en so you serve your mistresses:
 They rise three stories in their towering dress;
 And, after all, you love not long enough
 To pay the rigging, ere you leave them off.
 Never content with what you had before,
 But true to change, and Englishmen all o'er.
 Now honour calls you hence; and all your care
 Is to provide the horrid pomp of war.
 In plume and scarf, jack-boots, and Bilbo blade,
 Your silver goes, that should support our trade.
 Go, unkind heroes, leave our stage to mourn;
 'Till rich from vanquish'd rebels you return;
 And the fat spoils of Teague in triumph draw,
 His firkin-butter, and his usquebaugh.
 Go, conquerors of your male and female foes;
 Men without hearts, and women without hose.
 Each bring his love a Bogland captive home;
 Such proper pages will long trains become;
 With copper collars, and with brawny backs,
 Quite to put down the fashion of our blacks.
 Then shall the pious Muses pay their vows,
 And furnish all their laurels for your brows;
 Their tuneful voice shall raise for your delights;
 We want not poets fit to sing your flights.
 But you, bright beauties, for whose only sake
 Those doughty knights such dangers undertake,
 When they with happy gales are gone away,
 With your propitious presence grace our play;
 And with a sigh their empty seats survey:
 Then think, on that bare bench my servant sat;
 I see him ogle still, and hear him chat;
 Selling facetious bargains, and propounding
 That witty recreation, call'd dumb-founding.
 Their loss with patience we will try to bear;
 And would do more, to see you often here:
 That our dead stage, revived by your fair eyes,
 Under a female regency may rise.

as Langbaine, who is generally pretty exact, asserts. Our author only wrote the prologue, and that was forbid by the Earl of Dorset, then Lord Chamberlain, after the first day of its being spoken. King William was at this time prosecuting the war in Ireland, which is alluded to in these lines:

'Till rich from vanquish'd rebels you return;
 And the fat spoils of Teague in triumph draw,
 His firkin-butter, and his usquebaugh.

"This prologue," says Colley Cibber in his *Apology*, "had some familiar metaphorical sneers at the Revolution itself; and as the poetry of it was good, the offence of it was less pardonable."

Go, conquerors of your male and female foes,
 Men without hearts, and women without hose.

DERRICK.

PROLOGUE

TO THE "MISTAKES."*

Enter MR. BRIGHT.

GENTLEMEN, we must beg your pardon; here's no Prologue to be had to-day; our new play is like to come on, without a frontispiece; as bald as one of you young beaux, without your periwig. I left our young poet, snivelling and sobbing behind the scenes, and cursing somebody that has deceived him.

Enter MR. BOWEN.

Hold your prating to the audience: here's honest Mr. Williams, just come in, half mellow, from the Rose Tavern. He swears he is inspired with claret, and will come on, and that extempore too, either with a prologue of his own or something like one. Oh, here he comes to his trial, at all adventures; for my part I wish him a good deliverance.

[Exit MR. BRIGHT and MR. BOWEN.]

Enter MR. WILLIAMS.

Save ye, sirs, save ye! I am in a hopeful way. I should speak something, in rhyme, now, for the play:

But the deuce take me, if I know what to say.
 I'll stick to my friend the author, that I can tell ye,
 To the last drop of claret, in my belly.
 So far I'm sure 'tis rhyme—that needs no granting:
 And, if my verses' feet stumble—you see my own
 are wanting.

Our young poet has brought a piece of work,
 In which, though much of art there does not lurk,
 It may hold out three days—and that's as long as
 Cork.

But, for this play—(which till I have done, we
 show not)

What may be its fortune—by the Lord—I know
 not.

This I dare swear, no malice here is writ:

'Tis innocent of all things; even of wit.

He's no high-flier; he makes no sky-rockets,

His squibs are only levell'd at your pockets,

And if his crackers light among your self,
 You are blown up; if not, then he's blown up
 himself.

By this time, I'm something recover'd of my
 fluster'd madness:

And now a word or two in sober sadness.

Ours is a common play; and you pay down

A common harlot's price; just half-a-crown.

You'll say, I play the pimp, on my friend's score;

But since 'tis for a friend, your gibes give o'er:

For many a mother has done that before.

How's this, you cry? an actor write? we know it;

But Shakspeare was an actor, and a poet.

Has not great Jonson's learning often fail'd?

But Shakspeare's greater genius still prevail'd.

Have not some writing actors, in this age,

Deserved and found success upon the stage?

* The Mistakes, or False Reports, was not written, but, according to G. Jacob, spoiled by Joseph Harris, a comedian, who dedicated it to Mr. afterwards Sir Godfrey Kneller. It was acted in 1690. DERRICK.

To tell the truth, when our old wits are tired,
Not one of us but means to be inspired.
Let your kind presence grace our homely cheer :
Peace and the butt is all our business here : 33
So much for that ; and the devil take small beer.

PROLOGUE

TO "KING ARTHUR," SPOKEN BY MR. BETTERTON.

SURE there's a dearth of wit in this dull town,
When silly plays so savourily go down ;
As, when clipp'd money passes, 'tis a sign
A nation is not over-stock'd with coin.
Happy is he, who, in his own defence,
Can write just level to your humble sense ;
Who higher than your pitch can never go ;
And, doubtless, he must creep, who writes below.
So have I seen, in hall of knight, or lord,
A weak arm throw on a long shovel-board ;
He barely lays his piece, bar rubs and knocks,
Secured by weakness not to reach the box.
A feeble poet will his business do,
Who, straining all he can, comes up to you :
For, if you like yourselves, you like him too. 15
An ape his own dear image will embrace ;
An ugly beau adores a hatchet face :
So, some of you, on pure instinct of nature,
Are led, by kind, to admire your fellow creature.
In fear of which, our house has sent this day, 20
To ensure our new-built vessel, call'd a play ;
No sooner named, than one cries out,—These
staggers
Come in good time, to make more work for
wagers.

The town divides, if it will take or no ;
The courtiers bet, the city, the merchants, too ; 25
A sign they have but little else to do.
Bets, at the first, were fool-traps ; where the wise,
Like spiders, lay in ambush for the flies :
But now they're grown a common trade for all,
And actions by the new-book rise and fall ; 30
Wits, cheats, and fops, are free of Wager-hall.
One policy as far as Lyons carries ;
Another, nearer home, sets up for Paris.
Our bets, at last, would even to Rome extend,
But that the pope has proved our trusty friend. 35
Indeed, it were a bargain worth our money,
Could we ensure another Ottoboni.
Among the rest there are a sharpening set,
That pray for us, and yet against us bet.
Sure Heaven itself is at a loss to know 40
If these would have their prayers be heard, or
no :
For, in great stakes, we piously suppose,
Men pray but very faintly they may lose.
Leave off these wagers ; for, in conscience speaking,
The city needs not your new tricks for breaking : 45
And if you gallants lose, to all appearing,
You'll want an equipage for volunteering ;
While thus, no spark of honour left within ye,
When you should draw the sword, you draw the
guinea.

EPILOGUE

TO "HENRY II." [BY MR. MOUNTFORT, 1693.] SPOKEN
BY MRS. BRACEGIRDLE.

THUS you the sad catastrophe have seen,
Occasion'd by a mistress and a queen.
Queen Eleanor the proud was French, they say ;
But English manufacture got the day.
Jane Chifford was her name, as books aver : 5
Fair Rosamond was but her nom de guerre.
Now tell me, gallants, would you lead your life
With such a mistress, or with such a wife !
If one must be your choice, which d'ye approve,
The curtain lecture, or the curtain love ? 10
Would ye be godly with perpetual strife,
Still drudging on with homely Joan your wife ;
Or take your pleasure in a wicked way,
Like honest whoring Harry in the play !
I guess your minds : the mistress would be taken, 15
And nauseous matrimony sent a packing.
The devil's in you all ; mankind's a rogue ;
You love the bride, but you detest the clog.
After a year, poor spouse is left i' the lurch,
And you, like Haynes, return to mother-Church. 20
Or, if the name of Church comes cross your mind,
Chapels of ease behind our scenes you find.
The playhouse is a kind of market-place ;
One chaffers for a voice, another for a face :
Nay, some of you, I dare not say how many, 25
Would buy of me a pen'orth for your penny.
E'en this poor face, which with my fan I hide,
Would make a shift my portion to provide,
With some small perquisites I have besid.
Though for your love, perhaps, I should not care, 30
I could not hate a man that bids me fair.
What might ensue, 'tis hard for me to tell ;
But I was drench'd to-day for loving well,
And fear the poison that would make me swell.

PROLOGUE

TO "ALBUCAZAR"

To say, this comedy pleased long ago,
Is not enough to make it pass you now.
Yet, gentlemen, your ancestors had wit ;
When few men censured, and when fewer writ.
And Jonson, of those few the best, chose this, 5
As the best model of his master-piece.
Subtle was got by our Albumazar,
That Alchymist by this Astrologer ;
Here he was fashion'd, and we may suppose
He liked the fashion well, who wore the clothes.
But Ben made nobly his what he did mould ; 11
What was another's lead, becomes his gold :
Like an unrighteous conqueror he reigns,
Yet rules that well, which he unjustly gains.
But this our age such authors does afford, 15
As make whole plays, and yet scarce write one word :

Ver 15. — *the mistress would be taken,
And nauseous matrimony sent a packing.*

The incident of Lady Easy's throwing her handkerchief
over Sir Charles's head, whilst he was sleeping, seems to
have been taken from the *Memoirs of Bassompierre*, concern-
ing a Count d'Orgeville and his mistress, tom. ii. p. 6,
1728, at Amsterdam. Dr. J. WATSON.

Who, in this anarchy of wit, rob all,
 And what's their plunder, their possession call :
 Who, like bold padders, scorn by night to prey,
 But rob by sunshine, in the face of day :
 Nay, scarce the common ceremony use
 Of, Stand, sir, and deliver up your Muse ;
 But knock the Poet down, and, with a grace,
 Mount Pegasus before the author's face.
 Faith, if you have such country Toms abroad,
 'Tis time for all true men to leave that road.
 Yet it were modest, could it but be said,
 They strip the living, but these rob the dead ;
 Dare with the mummies of the Muses play,
 And make love to them the Egyptian way ;
 Or, as a rhyming author would have said,
 Join the dead living to the living dead.
 Such men in Poetry may claim some part :
 They have the licence, though they want the art ;
 And might, where theft was praised, for Laureats
 stand,

Poets, not of the head, but of the hand.
 They make the benefits of others studying,
 Much like the meals of politic Jack-Pudding,
 Whose dish to challenge no man has the courage ;
 'Tis all his own, when once he has spit i' the
 porridge.
 But, gentlemen, you're all concern'd in this ;
 You are in fault for what they do amiss :
 For they their thefts still undiscover'd think,
 And durst not steal, unless you please to wink.
 Perhaps, you may award by your decree,
 They should refund ; but that can never be.
 For should you letters of reprisal seal,
 These men write that which no man else would
 steal.

AN EPILOGUE.

You saw our wife was chaste, yet thoroughly tried,
 And, without doubt, you're hugely edified ;
 For, like our hero, whom we show'd to-day,
 You think no woman true, but in a play.
 Love once did make a pretty kind of show :
 Esteem and kindness in one breast would grow :
 But 'twas Heaven knows how many years ago.
 Now some small chat, and guinea expectation,
 Gets all the pretty creatures in the nation :
 In comedy your little selves you meet ;
 'Tis Covent Garden drawn in Bridges-street.
 Smile on our author then, if he has shown
 A jolly nut-brown bastard of your own.
 Ah ! happy you, with ease and with delight,
 Who act those follies, Poets toil to write !
 The sweating Muse does almost leave the chace ;
 She puffs, and hardly keeps your Protean vices
 pace.

Pinch you but in one vice, away you fly
 To some new frisk of contrariety.
 You roll like snow-balls, gathering as you run,
 And get seven devils, when dispossess'd of one.
 Your Venus once was a Platonic queen ;
 Nothing of love beside the face was seen ;
 But every inch of her you now uncase,
 And clap a rizard-musk upon the face.
 For sins like these, the zealous of the land,
 With little hair, and little or no band,

Declare how circulating pestilences
 Watch, every twenty years, to snap offences.
 Saturn, e'en now, takes doctoral degrees ;
 He'll do your work this summer without fees.
 Let all the boxes, Phœbus, find thy grace,
 And, ah, preserve the eighteen-penny place !
 But for the pit confounders, let 'em go,
 And find as little mercy as they show :
 The Actors thus, and thus thy Poets pray :
 For every critic saved, thou damn'st a play.

EPILOGUE

TO "THE HUSBAND HIS OWN CUCKOLD." *

LIKE some raw sophister that mounts the pulpit,
 So trembles a young Poet at a full pit.
 Unused to crowds, the Parson quakes for fear.
 And wonders how the devil he durst come there ;
 Wanting three talents needful for the place,
 Some beard, some learning, and some little grace :
 Nor is the puny Poet void of care ;
 For authors, such as our new authors are,
 Have not much learning, nor much wit to spare :
 And as for grace, to tell the truth, there's scarce one,
 But has as little as the very Parson :
 Both say, they preach and write for your in-
 struction :

But 'tis for a third day, and for induction.
 The difference is, that though you like the play,
 The poet's gain is ne'er beyond his day.
 But with the Parson 'tis another case,
 He, without holiness, may rise to grace ;
 The Poet has one disadvantage more,
 That, if his play be dull, he's damn'd all o'er,
 Not only a damn'd blockhead, but damn'd poor.
 But dulness well becomes the sable garment ;
 I warrant that ne'er spoil'd a Priest's perflumment :
 Wit's not his business, and as wit now goes,
 Sirs, 'tis not so much yours as you suppose,
 For you like nothing now but nauseous beaux
 You laugh not, gallants, as by proof appears,
 At what his beauship says, but what he wears ;
 So 'tis your eyes are tickled, not your ears :
 The tailor and the furrier find the stuff,
 The wit lies in the dress, and monstrous muff
 The truth on 't is, the payment of the pit
 Is like for like, clipt money for clipt wit.
 You cannot from our absent author hope,
 He should equip the stage with such a fop :

* This comedy was written by John Dryden, jun., our author's second son. It was acted at the theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-fields in 1696. DERRICK.

Ver. 15. *The poet's gain is ne'er beyond his day*] Dryden did not receive for his plays from the bookseller above 25l. The third night brought about 70l. The Dedication five or ten guineas perhaps. Tonson paid Sir Richard Steele for Addison's *Drummer*, 50*l.*, 1715. And Dr. Young received 50*l.* for his *Revenge*, 1721. Southerne, for his *Spartan Dame*, in 1723, had 120*l.*, and now it is 100*l.* and 150*l.* There were plays on Sundays till the third year of Charles the First's reign. Otway had but one benefit for a play. Southerne was the first who had two benefits from a new representation. Farguhar had three for *Constant Couple* in 1700. Three of Ben Jonson's plays, *Sejanus*, *Catiline*, and the *New Inn*, and two of Beaumont and Fletcher's, viz. *The Faithful Shepherdess*, and the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, were damned the first night. Even the *Silent Woman* had like to have been condemned. Dr. J. WATSON.

Fools change in England, and new fools arise,
For though the immortal species never dies,
Yet every year new maggots make new flies.
But where he lives abroad, he scarce can find
One fool, for million that he left behind.

PROLOGUE

TO "THE PILGRIM," * REVIVED FOR OUR AUTHOR'S BENEFIT,
ANNO 1700.

How wretched is the fate of those who write !
Brought muzzled to the stage, for fear they bite.
Where, like Tom Dove, they stand the common
foe ;

Lugg'd by the critic, baited by the beau.
Yet worse, their brother Poets damn the Play, 5
And roar the loudest, though they never pay.
The fops are proud of scandal, for they cry,
At every lewd, low character—That's I.
He, who writes letters to himself, would swear,
The world forgot him, if he was not there. 10
What should a Poet do ? 'Tis hard for one
To pleasure all the fools that would be shown :
And yet not two in ten will pass the town.
Most coxcombs are not of the laughing kind ;
More goes to make a fop, than fops can find. 15

Quack Maurus, though he never took degrees
In either of our universities ;
Yet to be shown by some kind wit he looks,
Because he play'd the fool, and writ three books. 20
But, if he would be worth a Poet's pen,
He must be more a fool, and write again :
For all the former fustian stuff he wrote,
Was dead-born doggrel, or is quite forgot ;
His man of Uz, stript of his Hebrew robe,
Is just the proverb, and as poor as Job. 25
One would have thought he could no longer jog ;
But Arthur was a level, Job's a bog.
There, though he crept, yet still he kept in sight ;
But here he founders in, and sinks down right.
Had he prepared us, and been dull by rule, 30
Tobit had first been turn'd to ridicule :
But our bold Briton, without fear or awe,
O'erleaps at once the whole Apocrypha ;
Invades the Psalms with rhymes, and leaves no room
For any Vandal Hopkins yet to come. 35

But when, if, after all, this godly gear
Is not so senseless as it would appear ;
Our mountebank has laid a deeper train,
His cant, like Merry Andrew's noble vein,
Cat-calls the sects to draw 'em in again. 40
At leisure hours, in epic song he deals,
Writes to the rumbling of his coach's wheels,
Prescribes in haste, and seldom kills by rule,
But rides triumphant between stool and stool.

Well, let him go ; 'tis yet too early day, 45
To get himself a place in farce or play.
We know not by what name we should arraign him,
For no one category can contain him ;

* This play, with alterations by Sir John Vanbrugh, and a secular masque, together with this prologue and an epilogue written by our author, was revived for his benefit in 1700, his fortune being at that time in as declining a state as his health : they were both spoken by Mr. Cibber, then a very young actor, much to Dryden's satisfaction. DERRICK.

EPILOGUE

TO "THE PILGRIM," *

A pedant, canting preacher, and a quack,
Are load enough to break one ass's back : 5
At last grown wanton, he presumed to write,
Traduced two kings, their kindness to requite ;
One made the doctor, and one dubb'd the knight.

PERHAPS the parson stretch'd a point too far,
When with our Theatres he waged a war.
He tells you, that this very moral age
Received the first infection from the Stage.
But sure, a banish'd court, with lewdness fraught,
The seeds of open vice, returning, brought. 6
Thus lodged (as vice by great example thrives)
It first debauch'd the daughters and the wives.
London, a fruitful soil, yet never bore
So plentiful a crop of horns before. 10
The Poets, who must live by courts, or starve,
Were proud so good a government to serve ;
And, mixing with buffoons and pimps profane,
Tainted the Stage, for some small snip of gain.
For they, like harlots, under bawds profess'd, 15
Took all the ungodly pains, and got the least.
Thus did the thriving malady prevail,
The court, its head, the Poets but the tail.
The sin was of our native growth, 'tis true ;
The scandal of the sin was wholly new. 20
Misses they were, but modestly conceal'd ;
Whitehall the naked Venus first reveal'd.
Who standing as at Cyprus, in her shrine,
The strumpet was adorned with rites divine.
Ere this, if saints had any secret motion, 25
'Twas chamber-practice all, and close devotion.
I pass the peccadillos of their time ;
Nothing but open lewdness was a crime.
A monarch's blood was venial to the nation,
Compared with one foul act of fornication. 30
Now, they would silence us, and shut the door,
That let in all the barefaced vice before.
As for reforming us, which some pretend,
That work in England is without an end :
Well may we change, but we shall never mend. 35
Yet, if you can but bear the present Stage,
We hope much better of the coming age.
What would you say, if we should first begin
To stop the trade of love behind the scene :
Where actresses make bold with married men ? 40
For while abroad so prodigal the dolt is,
Poor spouse at home as ragged as a colt is.
In short, we'll grow as moral as we can,
Save here and there a woman or a man :
But neither you, nor we, with all our pains, 45
Can make clean work ; there will be some re-
mains,
While you have still your Oates, and we our Hains.

* Dryden in this epilogue labours to throw the fault of the licentiousness of dramatic writers, which had been so severely censured by the Rev. Jeremy Collier, upon the example of a court returned from banishment, accompanied by all the vices and follies of foreign climates ; and whom to please was the poet's business, as he wrote to eat. DERRICK.

TRANSLATIONS FROM
THEOCRITUS, LUCRETII, AND HORACE.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND MISCELLANY.

For this last half year I have been troubled with the disease (as I may call it) of translation. The cold prose fits of it, which are always the most tedious with me, were spent in *THE HISTORY OF THE LEAGUE*; the hot which succeeded them, in this volume of Verse Miscellanies. The truth is, I fancied to myself, a kind of ease in the change of the paroxysm; never suspecting but the humour would have wasted itself in two or three pastorals of Theocritus, and as many odes of Horace. But finding, or at least thinking I found, something that was more pleasing in them than my ordinary productions, I encouraged myself to renew my old acquaintance with Lucretius and Virgil; and immediately fixed upon some parts of them, which had most affected me in the reading. These were my natural impulses for the undertaking; but there was an accidental motive which was full as forcible, and God forgive him who was the occasion of it. It was my Lord Roscommon's Essay on Translated Verse; which made me uneasy till I tried whether or no I was capable of following his rules, and of reducing the speculation into practice. For many a fair precept in Poetry is like a seeming demonstration in the Mathematics, very specious in the diagram, but failing in the mechanic operation. I think I have generally observed his instructions; I am sure my reason is sufficiently convinced both of their truth and usefulness; which, in other words, is to confess no less a vanity, than to pretend that I have at least in some places made examples to his rules. Yet, withal, I must acknowledge, that I have many times exceeded my commission; for I have both added and omitted, and even sometimes very boldly made such expositions of my authors, as no Dutch commentator will forgive me. Perhaps, in such particular passages, I have thought that I discovered some beauty yet undiscovered by those pedants, which none but a Poet could have found. Where I have taken away some of their expressions, and cut them shorter, it may possibly be on this consideration, that what was beautiful in the Greek or Latin, would not appear so shining in the English; and where I have enlarged them, I desire the false critics would not always think, that those thoughts are wholly mine, but that either they are secretly in the Poet, or may be fairly deduced from him; or at least, if both those considerations should fail, that my own is of a piece with his, and that if he were living, and an Englishman, they are such as he would probably have written.

For, after all, a translator is to make his author appear as charming as possibly he can, provided he maintains his character, and makes him not unlike himself. Translation is a kind of drawing after the life, where every one will acknowledge there is a double sort of likeness, a good one and a bad. 'Tis one thing to draw the outlines true, the features like, the proportions exact, the colouring itself perhaps tolerable; and another thing to make all these graceful, by the posture, the shadowings, and chiefly by the spirit which animates the whole. I cannot, without some indignation, look on an ill copy of an excellent original. Much less can I behold with patience Virgil, Homer, and some others, whose beauties I have been endeavouring all my life to imitate, so abused, as I may say, to their faces, by a botching interpreter. What English readers, unacquainted with Greek or Latin, will believe me, or any other man, when we commend those authors, and confess we derive all that is pardonable in us from their fountains, if they take those to be the same Poets, whom our Ogilbys have translated? But I dare assure them, that a good Poet is no more like himself, in a dull translation, than his carcase would be to his living body. There are many, who understand Greek and Latin, and yet are ignorant of their mother-tongue. The proprieties and delicacies of the

English are known to few: 'tis impossible even for a good wit to understand and practise them, without the help of a liberal education, long reading, and digesting of those few good authors we have amongst us, the knowledge of men and manners, the freedom of habitudes and conversation with the best company of both sexes; and, in short, without wearing off the rust, which he contracted, while he was laying in a stock of learning. Thus difficult it is to understand the purity of English, and critically to discern not only good writers from bad, and a proper style from a corrupt, but also to distinguish that which is pure in a good author, from that which is vicious and corrupt in him. And for want of all these requisites, or the greatest part of them, most of our ingenious young men take up some cried-up English Poet for their model, adore him, and imitate him, as they think, without knowing wherein he is defective, where he is boyish and trifling, wherein either his thoughts are improper to his subjects, or his expressions unworthy of his thoughts, or the turn of both is unharmonious.

Thus it appears necessary that a man should be a nice critic in his mother-tongue, before he attempts to translate a foreign language. Neither is it sufficient, that he be able to judge of words and style; but he must be a master of them too: he must perfectly understand his author's tongue, and absolutely command his own. So that, to be a thorough translator, he must be a thorough Poet. Neither is it enough to give his author's sense in good English, in poetical expressions, and in musical numbers: for, though all these are exceeding difficult to perform, there yet remains an harder task; and 'tis a secret of which few translators have sufficiently thought. I have already hinted a word or two concerning it; that is, the maintaining the character of an author, which distinguishes him from all others, and makes him appear that individual poet, whom you would interpret. For example, not only the thoughts, but the style and versification of Virgil and Ovid, are very different: yet I see, even in our best poets, who have translated some parts of them, that they have confounded their several talents; and, by endeavouring only at the sweetness and harmony of numbers, have made them both so much alike, that if I did not know the originals, I should never be able to judge by the copies, which was Virgil, and which was Ovid. It was objected against a late noble painter,* that he drew many graceful pictures, but few of them were like. And this happened to him, because he always studied himself, more than those who sat to him. In such translators I can easily distinguish the hand which performed the work, but I cannot distinguish their poet from another. Suppose two authors are equally sweet, yet there is as great distinction to be made in sweetness, as in that of sugar, and that of honey. I can make the difference more plain, by giving you (if it be worth knowing) my own method of proceeding, in my translations out of four several poets in this volume—Virgil, Theocritus, Lucretius, and Horace. In each of these, before I undertook them, I considered the genius and distinguishing character of my author. I looked on Virgil as a succinct, grave, and majestic writer; one who weighed not only every thought, but every word and syllable: who was still aiming to crowd his sense into as narrow a compass as possibly he could; for which reason he is so very figurative, that he requires (I may almost say) a grammar apart to construe him. His verse is everywhere sounding the very thing in your ears, whose sense it bears: yet the numbers are perpetually varied, to increase the delight of the reader; so that the same sounds are never repeated twice together. On the contrary, Ovid and Claudian, though they write in styles differing from each other, yet have each of them but one sort of music in their verses. All the versification and little variety of Claudian is included within the compass of four or five lines, and then he begins again in the same tenour; perpetually closing his sense at the end of a verse, and that verse commonly which they call golden, or two substantives and two adjectives, with a verb betwixt them to keep the peace. Ovid, with all his sweetness, has as little variety of numbers and sound as he: he is always, as it were, upon the hand-gallop, and his verse runs upon carpet-ground. He avoids, like the others, all Synalœphas, or cutting off one vowel when it comes before another, in the following word; so that minding only smoothness, he wants both variety and majesty. But to return to Virgil: though he is smooth where smoothness is required, yet he is so far from affecting it, that he seems rather to disdain it; frequently makes use of Synalœphas, and concludes his sense in the middle of his verse. He is every where above conceits of epigrammatic wit, and gross hyperboles; he maintains majesty in the midst of plainness: he shines, but glares not; and is stately without ambition, (which is the vice of Lucan). I drew my definition of poetical wit from my particular consideration of him: for propriety of thoughts and word-

are only to be found in him; and where they are proper they will be delightful. Pleasure follows of necessity, as the effect does the cause; and therefore is not to be put into the definition. This exact propriety of Virgil I particularly regarded, as a great part of his character; but must confess, to my shame, that I have not been able to translate any part of him so well, as to make him appear wholly like himself. For where the original is close, no version can reach it in the same compass. Hannibal Caro's, in the Italian, is the nearest, the most poetical, and the most sonorous of any translation of the *Æneids*: yet, though he takes the advantage of blank verse, he commonly allows two lines for one of Virgil, and does not always hit his sense. Tasso tells us, in his letters, that Sperone Speroni, a great Italian wit, who was his contemporary, observed of Virgil and Tully, that the Latin orator endeavoured to imitate the copiousness of Homer, the Greek poet; and that the Latin poet made it his business to reach the conciseness of Demosthenes, the Greek orator. Virgil therefore, being so very sparing of his words, and leaving so much to be imagined by the reader, can never be translated as he ought, in any modern tongue. To make him copious, is to alter his character; and to translate him line for line is impossible; because the Latin is naturally a more succinct language than either the Italian, Spanish, French, or even than the English, which, by reason of its monosyllables, is far the most compendious of them. Virgil is much the closest of any Roman poet, and the Latin hexameter has more feet than the English heroic.

Besides all this, an author has the choice of his own thoughts and words, which a translator has not; he is confined by the sense of the inventor to those expressions which are the nearest to it: so that Virgil studying brevity, and having the command of his own language, could bring those words into a narrow compass, which a translator cannot render without circumlocutions. In short, they, who have called him the torture of grammarians, might also have called him the plague of translators; for he seems to have studied not to be translated. I own that, endeavouring to turn his Nisus and Euryalus as close as I was able, I have performed that Episode too literally; that, giving more scope to Mezentius and Lausus, that version which has more of the majesty of Virgil, has less of his conciseness; and all that I can promise for myself, is only that I have done both better than Ogilby, and perhaps as well as Caro. So that, methinks, I come like a malefactor, to make a speech upon the gallows, and to warn all other poets, by my sad example, from the sacrilege of translating Virgil. Yet, by considering him so carefully as I did before my attempt, I have made some faint resemblance of him; and, had I taken more time, might possibly have succeeded better; but never so well, as to have satisfied myself.

He who excels all other poets in his own language, were it possible to do him right, must appear above them in our tongue; which, as my Lord Roscommon justly observes, approaches nearest to the Roman in its majesty: nearest indeed, but with a vast interval betwixt them. There is an inimitable grace in Virgil's words, and in them principally consists that beauty, which gives so inexpressible a pleasure to him who best understands their force. This diction of his, I must once again say, is never to be copied; and, since it cannot, he will appear but lame in the best translation. The turns of his verse, his breakings, his propriety, his numbers, and his gravity, I have as far imitated, as the poverty of our language, and the hastiness of my performance, would allow. I may seem sometimes to have varied from his sense; but I think the greatest variations may be fairly deduced from him; and where I leave his commentators, it may be I understand him better: at least I writ without consulting them in many places. But two particular lines in Mezentius and Lausus I cannot so easily excuse. They are indeed remotely allied to Virgil's sense; but they are too like the tenderness of Ovid, and were printed before I had considered them enough to alter them. The first of them I have forgotten, and cannot easily retrieve, because the copy is at the press; the second is this:—

“When Lausus died, I was already slain.”

This appears pretty enough at first sight; but I am convinced, for many reasons, that the expression is too bold; that Virgil would not have said it, though Ovid would. The reader may pardon it, if he please, for the freeness of the confession; and instead of that, and the former, admit these two lines, which are more according to the author:

“Nor ask I life, nor fought with that design;
As I had used my fortune use thou thine.”

Having with much ado got clear of Virgil, I have in the next place to consider the genius of

Lucretius, whom I have translated more happily in those parts of him which I undertook. If he was not of the best age of Roman Poetry, he was at least of that which preceded it; and he himself refined it to that degree of perfection, both in the language and the thoughts, that he left an easy task to Virgil; who, as he succeeded him in time, so he copied his excellencies: for the method of the Georgics is plainly derived from him. Lucretius had chosen a subject naturally crabbed; he therefore adorned it with poetical descriptions, and precepts of morality, in the beginning and ending of his books, which you see Virgil has imitated with great success, in those four books, which in my opinion are more perfect in their kind than even his divine *Æneids*. The turn of his verse he has likewise followed, in those places which Lucretius has most laboured, and some of his very lines he has transplanted into his own works, without much variation. If I am not mistaken, the distinguishing character of Lucretius (I mean of his soul and genius) is a certain kind of noble pride, and positive assertion of his opinions. He is every where confident of his own reason, and assuming an absolute command, not only over his vulgar reader, but even his patron Memmius. For he is always bidding him attend, as if he had the rod over him, and using a magisterial authority, while he instructs him. From his time to ours, I know none so like him, as our Poet and Philosopher of Malmesbury. This is that perpetual dictatorship, which is exercised by Lucretius; who, though often in the wrong, yet seems to deal *bond fide* with his reader, and tells him nothing but what he thinks: in which plain sincerity, I believe, he differs from our Hobbes, who could not but be convinced, or at least doubt of some eternal truths, which he has opposed. But for Lucretius, he seems to disdain all manner of replies, and is so confident of his cause, that he is beforehand with his antagonists urging for them, whatever he imagined they could say, and leaving them, as he supposes, without an objection for the future: all this, too, with so much scorn and indignation, as if he were assured of the triumph before he entered into the lists. From this sublime and daring genius of his, it must of necessity come to pass, that his thoughts must be masculine, full of argumentation, and that sufficiently warm. From the same fiery temper proceeds the loftiness of his expressions, and the perpetual torrent of his verse, where the barrenness of his subject does not too much constrain the quickness of his fancy. For there is no doubt to be made, but that he could have been every where as poetical, as he is in his descriptions, and in the moral part of his Philosophy, if he had not aimed more to instruct, in his System of Nature, than to delight. But he was bent upon making Memmius a materialist, and teaching him to defy an invisible power. In short, he was so much an atheist, that he forgot sometimes to be a poet. These are the considerations, which I had of that author, before I attempted to translate some parts of him. And, accordingly, I laid by my natural diffidence and scepticism for awhile, to take up that dogmatical way of his, which, as I said, is so much his character, as to make him that individual Poet. As for his opinions concerning the mortality of the soul, they are so absurd, that I cannot, if I would, believe them. I think a future state demonstrable even by natural arguments; at least, to take away rewards and punishments, is only a pleasing prospect to a man, who resolves beforehand not to live morally. But, on the other side, the thought of being nothing after death is a burthen insupportable to a virtuous man, even though a heathen. We naturally aim at happiness, and cannot bear to have it confined to the shortness of our present being, especially when we consider, that virtue is generally unhappy in this world, and vice fortunate: so that 'tis hope of futurity alone, that makes this life tolerable, in expectation of a better. Who would not commit all the excesses, to which he is prompted by his natural inclinations, if he may do them with security while he is alive, and be incapable of punishment after he is dead? If he be cunning and secret enough to avoid the laws, there is no band of morality to restrain him: for fame and reputation are weak ties: many men have not the least sense of them: powerful men are only awed by them, as they conduce to their interest, and that not always, when a passion is predominant: and no man will be contained within the bounds of duty, when he may safely transgress them. These are my thoughts abstractedly, and without entering into the notions of our Christian faith, which is the proper business of divines.

But there are other arguments in this poem (which I have turned into English) not belonging to the mortality of the soul, which are strong enough to a reasonable man, to make him less in love with life, and consequently in less apprehensions of death. Such as are the natural satiety proceeding from a perpetual enjoyment of the same things; the inconveniences of old age, which make him incapable of corporeal pleasures; the decay of understanding and memory, which render him contemptible, and useless to others. These, and many other reasons, so pathetically urged, so beautifully expressed, so adorned with examples, and so admirably raised by the *Prosopopeia* of Nature, who is

brought in speaking to her children, with so much authority and vigour, deserve the pains I have taken with them, which I hope have not been unsuccessful or unworthy of my author: at least I must take the liberty to own, that I was pleased with my own endeavours, which but rarely happens to me; and that I am not dissatisfied upon the review of any thing I have done in this author.

It is true, there is something, and that of some moment, to be objected against my Englishing the *Nature of Love*,* from the fourth book of Lucretius: and I can less easily answer why I translated it, than why I thus translated it. The objection arises from the obscenity of the subject; which is aggravated by the too lively and alluring delicacy of the verses. In the first place, without the least formality of an excuse, I own it pleased me: and let my enemies make the worst they can of this confession: I am not yet so secure from that passion, but that I want my author's antidotes against it. He has given the truest and most philosophical account both of the disease and remedy, which I ever found in any author: for which reasons I translated him. But it will be asked why I turned him into this luscious English? for I will not give it a worse word. Instead of an answer, I would ask again of my supercilious adversaries, whether I am not bound, when I translate an author, to do him all the right I can, and to translate him to the best advantage? If, to mince his meaning, which I am satisfied was honest and instructive, I had either omitted some part of what he said, or taken from the strength of his expression, I certainly had wronged him; and that freeness of thought and words being thus cashiered in my hands, he had no longer been Lucretius. If nothing of this kind be to be read, physicians must not study nature, anatomies must not be seen, and somewhat I could say of particular passages in books, which, to avoid profaneness, I do not name. But the intention qualifies the act; and both mine and my author's were to instruct as well as please. It is most certain that barefaced bawdry is the poorest pretence to wit imaginable. If I should say otherwise, I should have two great authorities against me. The one is the *Essay on Poetry*, which I publicly valued before I knew the author of it, and with the commendation of which my Lord Roscommon so happily begins his *Essay on Translated Verse*: the other is no less than our admired Cowley, who says the same thing in other words: for in his *Ode concerning Wit* he writes thus of it

"Much less can that have any place,
At which a virgin hides her face
Such dress the fire must purge away; 'tis just
The author blush, there, where the reader must."

Here indeed Mr. Cowley goes farther than the *Essay*: for he asserts plainly, that obscenity has no place in wit: the other only says, 'tis a poor pretence to wit, or an ill sort of wit, which has nothing more to support it than bare-faced ribaldry; which is both unmannerly in itself, and fulsome to the reader. But neither of these will reach my case: for in the first place, I am only the translator, not the inventor; so that the heaviest part of the censure falls upon Lucretius, before it reaches me; in the next place, neither he nor I have used the grossest words, but the cleanest metaphors we could find, to palliate the broadness of the meaning; and, to conclude, have carried the poetical part no farther, than the philosophical exacted.

There are a sort of blundering, half-witted people, who make a great deal of noise about a verbal slip; though Horace would instruct them better in true criticism:

"— non ego paucis
Offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit,
Aut humana parum cavit natura."

True judgment in poetry, like that in painting, takes a view of the whole together, whether it be good or not; and where the beauties are more than the faults, concludes for the poet against the little judge. It is a sign that malice is hard driven, when it is forced to lay hold on a word or syllable: to arraign a man is one thing, and to cavil at him is another. In the midst of an ill-natured generation of scribblers, there is always justice enough left in mankind, to protect good writers: and they too are obliged, both by humanity and interest, to espouse each other's cause against false critics, who are the common enemies.

This last consideration puts me in mind of what I owe to the ingenious and learned translator of

* Omitted in the present edition.

Lucretius. I have not here designed to rob him of any part of that commendation which he has so justly acquired by the whole author, whose fragments only fall to my portion. What I have now performed, is no more than I intended above twenty years ago. The ways of our translation are very different; he follows him more closely than I have done, which became an interpreter of the whole Poem : I take more liberty, because it best suited with my design, which was to make him as pleasing as I could. He had been too voluminous, had he used my method in so long a work ; and I had certainly taken his, had I made it my business to translate the whole. The preference, then, is justly his ; and I join with Mr. Evelyn in the confession of it, with this additional advantage to him, that his reputation is already established in this Poet, mine is to make its fortune in the world. If I have been any where obscure, in following our common author, or if Lucretius himself is to be condemned, I refer myself to his excellent annotations, which I have often read, and always with some new pleasure.

My preface begins already to swell upon me, and looks as if I were afraid of my reader, by so tedious a bespeaking of him : and yet I have Horace and Theocritus upon my hands ; but the Greek gentleman shall quickly be dispatched, because I have more business with the Roman.

That which distinguishes Theocritus from all other Poets, both Greek and Latin, and which raises him even above Virgil in his Eclogues, is the inimitable tenderness of his passions, and the natural expression of them in words so becoming of a pastoral. A simplicity shines through all he writes : he shows his art and learning by disguising both. His shepherds never rise above their country education in their complaints of love. There is the same difference betwixt him and Virgil, as there is betwixt Tasso's Aminta and the Pastor Fido of Guarini. Virgil's shepherds are too well read in the Philosophy of Epicurus and of Plato ; and Guarini's seem to have been bred in courts : but Theocritus and Tasso have taken theirs from cottages and plains. It was said of Tasso, in relation to his similitudes, *mai esce del bosco* ; that he never departed from the woods, that is, all his comparisons were taken from the country. The same may be said of our Theocritus. He is softer than Ovid ; he touches the passions more delicately, and performs all this out of his own fund, without diving into the arts and sciences for a supply. Even his Doric dialect has an incomparable sweetness in its clownishness, like a fair shepherdess in her country russet, talking in a Yorkshire tone. This was impossible for Virgil to imitate ; because the severity of the Roman language denied him that advantage. Spenser has endeavoured it in his Shepherd's Kalendar ; but neither will it succeed in English ; for which reason I forbore to attempt it. For Theocritus writ to Sicilians, who spoke that dialect ; and I direct this part of my translations to our ladies, who neither understand nor will take pleasure in such homely expressions.

I proceed to Horace. Take him in parts, and he is chiefly to be considered in his three different talents, as he was a Critic, a Satirist, and a Writer of Odes. His morals are uniform, and run through all of them : for let his Dutch commentators say what they will, his philosophy was Epicurean ; and he made use of gods and providence, only to serve a turn in Poetry. But since neither his Criticisms, which are the most instructive of any that are written in this art, nor his Satires, which are incomparably beyond Juvenal's (if to laugh and rally is to be preferred to railing and declaiming), are no part of my present undertaking, I confine myself wholly to his Odes. These are also of several sorts : some of them are panegyric, others moral, the rest jovial, or (if I may so call them) Bacchanalian. As difficult as he makes it, and as indeed it is, to imitate Pindar, yet, in his most elevated flights, and in the sudden changes of his subject with almost imperceptible connexions, that Theban Poet is his master. But Horace is of the more bounded fancy, and confines himself strictly to one sort of verse, or stanza, in every Ode. That which will distinguish his style from all other Poets, is the elegance of his words, and the numerousness of his verse. There is nothing so delicately turned in all the Roman language. There appears in every part of his diction, or, to speak English, in all his expressions, a kind of noble and bold purity. His words are chosen with as much exactness as Virgil's ; but there seems to be a greater spirit in them. There is a secret happiness attends his choice, which in Petronius is called *Curiosa Felicitas*, and which I suppose he had from the *feliciter audere* of Horace himself. But the most distinguishing part of all his character seems to me to be, his briskness, his jollity, and his good humour ; and those I have chiefly endeavoured to copy. His other excellencies, I confess, are above my imitation. One Ode, which infinitely pleased me in the reading, I have attempted to translate in Pindaric Verse : it is that, which is inscribed to the present Earl of Rochester, to whom I have particular obligations, which this small testimony of my gratitude can never pay. It is his darling in the Latin, and I have taken some pains to make it my master-piece in

English : for which reason I took this kind of verse, which allows more latitude than any other. Every one knows it was introduced into our language, in this age, by the happy genius of Mr. Cowley. The seeming easiness of it has made it spread : but it has not been considered enough, to be so well cultivated. It languishes in almost every hand but his, and some very few, whom, to keep the rest in countenance, I do not name. He, indeed, has brought it as near perfection as was possible in so short a time. But if I may be allowed to speak my mind modestly, and without injury to his sacred ashes, somewhat of the purity of the English, somewhat of more equal thoughts, somewhat of sweetness in the numbers, in one word, somewhat of a finer turn, and more Lyrical Verse, is yet wanting. As for the soul of it, which consists in the warmth and vigour of fancy, the masterly figures, and the copiousness of imagination, he has excelled all others in this kind. Yet, if the kind itself be capable of more perfection, though rather in the ornamental parts of it, than the essential, what rules of morality or respect have I broken, in naming the defects, that they may hereafter be amended? Imitation is a nice point, and there are few Poets who deserve to be models in all they write. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is admirable; but am I therefore bound to maintain, that there are no flats amongst his elevations, when 'tis evident he creeps along sometimes, for above an hundred lines together? Cannot I admire the height of his invention, and the strength of his expression, without defending his antiquated words, and the perpetual harshness of their sound? It is as much commendation as a man can bear, to own him excellent; all beyond it is idolatry.

Since Pindar was the prince of Lyric Poets, let me have leave to say, that, in imitating him, our numbers should, for the most part, be Lyrical. For variety, or rather where the majesty of thought requires it, they may be stretched to the English Heroic of five feet, and to the French Alexandrine of six. But the ear must preside, and direct the judgment to the choice of numbers. Without the nicety of this, the harmony of Pindaric Verse can never be complete: the cadency of one line must be a rule to that of the next; and the sound of the former must slide gently into that which follows; without leaping from one extreme into another. It must be done like the shadowings of a picture, which fall by degrees into a darker colour. I shall be glad, if I have so explained myself as to be understood; but if I have not, *quod nequeo dicere, et sentio tantum*, must be my excuse.

There remains much more to be said on this subject; but, to avoid envy, I will be silent. What I have said is the general opinion of the best judges, and in a manner has been forced from me, by seeing a noble sort of Poetry so happily restored by one man, and so grossly copied by almost all the rest. A musical ear, and a great genius, if another Mr. Cowley could arise, in another age may bring it to perfection. In the meantime,

“— Fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secandi.”

I hope it will not be expected from me that I should say anything of my fellow undertakers in this Miscellany. Some of them are too nearly related to me, to be commended without suspicion of partiality: others, I am sure, need it not; and the rest I have not perused.

To conclude, I am sensible that I have written this too hastily and too loosely: I fear I have been tedious, and which is worse, it comes out from the first draught, and uncorrected. This I grant is no excuse; for it may be reasonably urged, why he did not write with more leisure, or, if he had it not (which was certainly my case) why did he attempt to write on so nice a subject? The objection is unanswerable; but, in part of recompense, let me assure the reader, that, in hasty productions, he is sure to meet with an author's present sense, which cooler thoughts would possibly have disguised. There is undoubtedly more of spirit, though not of judgment, in these uncorrect Essays, and consequently, though my hazard be the greater yet the reader's pleasure is not the less.

JOHN DRYDEN.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THEOCRITUS.

AMARYLLIS :

OR THE THIRD IDYLLIUM OF THEOCRITUS, PARAPHRASED.

To Amaryllis love compels my way,
My browsing goats upon the mountains stray :
O Tityrus, tend them well, and see them fed
In pastures fresh, and to their watering led ;
And 'ware the ridgling with his budding head. 5
Ah, beauteous nymph ! can you forget your love,
The conscious grotto, and the shady grove ;
Where stretch'd at ease your tender limbs were
laid,

Your nameless beauties nakedly display'd ?
Then I was call'd your darling, your desire, 10
With kisses such as set my soul on fire :
But you are changed, yet I am still the same ;
My heart maintains for both a double flame ;
Grieved, but unmoved, and patient of your scorn :
So faithful I, and you so much forsworn ! 15
I die, and death will finish all my pain ;
Yet, ere I die, behold me once again :
Am I so much deform'd, so changed of late ?
What partial judges are our love and hate !
Ten wildings have I gather'd for my dear ; 20
How ruddy like your lips their streaks appear !
Far-off you view'd them with a longing eye
Upon the topmost branch (the tree was high) :
Yet nimbly up, from bough to bough I swerved,
And for to-morrow have ten more reserved. 25
Look on me kindly, and some pity show,
Or give me leave at least to look on you.
Some god transform me by his heavenly power
E'en to a bee to buzz within your bower,
The winding ivy-chaplet to invade, 30
And folded fern, that your fair forehead shade.
Now to my cost the force of love I find ;
The heavy hand it bears on human kind.
The milk of tigers was his infant food,
Taught from his tender years the taste of blood ; 35
His brother whelps and he ran wild about the
wood.

Ah nymph, train'd up in his tyrannic court,
To make the sufferings of your slaves your sport !
Unheeded ruin ! treacherous delight !
Oh polish'd hardness, soften'd to the sight ! 40
Whose radiant eyes your ebon brows adorn,
Like midnight those, and these like break of
morn !
Smile once again, revive me with your charms ;
And let me die contented in your arms.
I would not ask to live another day, 45
Might I but sweetly kiss my soul away.

Ver. 42. — and these like break of morn"] "And
those eyes the break of day."—Shakespeare. JOHN WARTON.

Ah, why am I from empty joys debarr'd ?
For kisses are but empty when compared.
I rave, and in my raging fit shall tear
The garland, which I wove for you to wear, 50
Of parsley, with a wreath of ivy bound,
And border'd with a rosy edging round.
What pangs I feel, unpitied and unheard !
Since I must die, why is my fate deferr'd !
I strip my body of my shepherd's frock : 55
Behold that dreadful downfall of a rock,
Where yon old fisher views the waves from high !
'Tis that convenient leap I mean to try.
You would be pleased to see me plunge to shore,
But better pleased if I should rise no more. 60
I might have read my fortune long ago,
When, seeking my success in love to know,
I tried the infallible prophetic way,
A poppy-leaf upon my palm to lay :
I struck, and yet no lucky crack did follow ; 65
Yet I struck hard, and yet the leaf lay hollow :
And, which was worse, if any worse could prove,
The withering leaf foreshow'd your withering love.
Yet farther (ah, how far a lover dares !)
My last recourse I had to sieve and shears ; 70
And told the witch Agreo my disease :
(Agreo, that in harvest used to lease :
But harvest done, to chare-work did aspire ;
Meat, drink, and two-pence was her daily hire.)
To work she went, her charms she mutter'd o'er, 75
And yet the resty sieve wagg'd ne'er the more ;
I wept for woe, the testy beldame swore,
And, foaming with her god, foretold my fate ;
That I was doom'd to love, and you to hate.
A milk-white goat for you I did provide ; 80
Two milk-white kids run frisking by her side,
For which the nut-brown lass, Erithacia,
Full often offer'd many a savoury kiss.
Hers they shall be, since you refuse the price :
What madman would o'erstand his market 85
twice !

My right eye itches, some good luck is near,
Perhaps my Amaryllis may appear ;
I'll set up such a note as she shall hear.
What nymph but my melodious voice would
move !
She must be flint, if she refuse my love.
Hippomenes, who ran with noble strife
To win his lady, or to lose his life,
(What shift some men will make to get a wife !)
Threw down a golden apple in her way ;
For all her haste she could not choose but stay :
Renown said, Run ; the glittering bribe cried, 90
Hold ;
The man might have been hang'd, but for his gold.
Yet some suppose 'twas love (some few indeed)
That stopp'd the fatal fury of her speed :
She saw, she sigh'd ; her nimble feet refuse 95
Their wonted speed, and she took pains to lose.

A Prophet some, and some a Poet cry,
 (No matter which, so neither of them lie)
 From steepy Othrys' top to Pylus drove
 His herd; and for his pains enjoy'd his love: 105
 If such another wager should be laid,
 I'll find the man, if you can find the maid.
 Why name I men, when Love extended finds
 His power on high, and in celestial mounds?
 Venus the shepherd's homely habit took, 110
 And managed something else besides the crook;
 Nay, when Adonis died, was heard to roar,
 And never from her heart forgave the boar.
 How blest was fair Endymion with his moon,
 Who sleeps on Latinos' top from night to noon!
 What Jason from Medea's love possess'd, 115
 You shall not hear, but know 'tis like the rest.
 My aching head can scarce support the pain;
 This cursed love will surely turn my brain:
 Feel how it shoots, and yet you take no pity; 120
 Nay then 'tis time to end my doleful ditty.
 A clammy sweat does o'er my temples creep;
 My heavy eyes are urged with iron sleep:
 I lay me down to gasp my latest breath,
 The wolves will get a breakfast by my death; 125
 Yet scarce enough their hunger to supply,
 For love has made me carrion ere I die.

THE EPITHALAMIUM OF HELEN AND MENELAUS.

FROM THE EIGHTEENTH IDYLLIUM OF THEOCRITUS.

TWELVE Spartan virgins, noble, young, and fair,
 With violet wreaths adorn'd their flowing hair;
 And to the pompous palace did resort,
 Where Menelaus kept his royal court.
 There hand in hand a comely choir they led; 5
 To find a blessing to his nuptial bed,
 With curious needles wrought, and painted flowers
 bespread.
 Jove's beauteous daughter now his bride must be,
 And Jove himself was less a god than he:
 For this their artful hands instruct the lute to
 sound, 10
 Their feet assist their hands, and justly beat the
 ground.
 This was their song: Why, happy bridegroom,
 why,
 Ere yet the stars are kindled in the sky,
 Ere twilight shades, or evening dews are shed, 15
 Why dost thou steal so soon away to bed?
 Has Somnus brush'd thy eye-lids with his rod,
 Or do thy legs refuse to bear their load,
 With flowing bowls of a more generous god?
 If gentle slumber on thy temples creep,
 (But, naughty man, thou dost not mean to sleep) 20
 Betake thee to thy bed, thou drowsy drone,
 Sleep by thyself, and leave thy bride alone:
 Go, leave her with her maiden mates to play
 At sports more harmless till the break of day:
 Give us this evening; thou hast morn and night, 25
 And all the year before thee, for delight.
 Oh, happy youth! to thee, among the crowd
 Of rival princes, Cupid sneezed aloud;
 And every lucky omen sent before,
 To meet thee landing on the Spartan shore. 30

Of all our heroes thou canst boast alone.
 That Jove, when'er he thunders, calls thee son:
 Betwixt two sheets thou shalt enjoy her bare,
 With whom no Grecian virgin can compare; 35
 So soft, so sweet, so balmy and so fair.
 A boy, like thee, would make a kingly line:
 But oh, a girl like her must be divine.
 Her equals, we, in years, but not in face,
 Twelve score viragos of the Spartan race, 40
 While naked to Eurotas' banks we bend,
 And there in manly exercise contend,
 When she appears, are all eclipsed and lost,
 And hide the beauties that we made our boast.
 So, when the night and winter disappear,
 The purple morning, rising with the year, 45
 Salutes the spring, as her celestial eyes
 Adorn the world, and brighten all the skies:
 So beauteous Helen shines among the rest,
 Tall, slender, straight, with all the Graces blest.
 As pines the mountains, or as fields the corn, 50
 Or as Thessalian steeds the race adorn;
 So rosy-colour'd Helen is the pride
 Of Lacedæmon, and of Greece beside.
 Like her no nymph can willing osiers bend
 In basket-works, which painted streaks commend:
 With Pallas in the loom she may contend. 55
 But none, ah! none can animate the lyre,
 And the mute strings with vocal souls inspire:
 Whether the learn'd Minerva be her theme,
 Or chaste Diana bathing in the stream; 60
 None can record their heavenly praise so well
 As Helen, in whose eyes ten thousand Cupids
 dwell.
 Oh, fair, oh, graceful! yet with maids inroll'd,
 But whom to-morrow's sun a matron shall behold!
 Yet ere to-morrow's sun shall show his head, 65
 The dewy paths of meadows we will tread,
 For crowns and chaplets to adorn thy head.
 Where all shall weep, and wish for thy return,
 As bleating lambs their absent mother mourn.
 Our noblest maids shall to thy name bequeath 70
 The boughs of Lotos, form'd into a wreath.
 Thus monument, thy maiden beauties' due,
 High on a plane-tree shall be hung to view:
 On the smooth rind the passenger shall see
 Thy name engraved, and worship Helen's tree: 75
 Balm, from a silver box distill'd around,
 Shall all bedew the roots, and scent the sacred
 ground.
 The balm, 'tis true, can aged plants prolong,
 But Helen's name will keep it ever young.
 Hail bride, hail bridegroom, son-in-law to Jove! 80
 With fruitful joys Latona bless your love!
 Let Venus furnish you with full desires,
 Add vigour to your wills, and fuel to your fires!
 Almighty Jove augment your wealthy store,
 Give much to you, and to his grandsons more! 85
 From generous loins a generous race will spring,
 Each girl, like her, a queen; each boy, like you,
 a king.
 Now sleep, if sleep you can; but while you rest,
 Sleep close, with folded arms, and breast to breast:
 Rise in the morn; but oh! before you rise, 90
 Forget not to perform your morning sacrifice.
 We will be with you ere the crowing cock
 Salutes the light, and struts before his feather'd
 flock.
 Hymen, O Hymen, to thy triumphs run,
 And view the mighty spoils thou hast in battle 95
 won.

THE DESPAIRING LOVER.

FROM THE TWENTY-THIRD IDYLLIUM OF THEOCRITUS.

WITH inauspicious love, a wretched swain
 Pursued the fairest nymph of all the plain;
 Fairest indeed, but prouder far than fair,
 She plunged him hopeless in a deep despair:
 Her heavenly form too haughtily she prized,
 His person hated, and his gifts despised;
 Nor knew the force of Cupid's cruel darts,
 Nor fear'd his awful power on human hearts;
 But either from her hopeless lover fled,
 Or with disdainful glances shot him dead.
 No kiss, no look, to cheer the drooping boy;
 No word she spoke, she scorn'd ev'n to deny.
 But, as a hunted panther casts about
 Her glaring eyes, and pricks her listening ears to
 scout,
 So she, to shun his toils, her cares employ'd,
 And fiercely in her savage freedom joy'd.
 Her mouth she writhed, her forehead taught to
 frown,
 Her eyes to sparkle fires to love unknown:
 Her sallow cheeks her envious mind did show,
 And every feature spoke aloud the curstness of a
 shrew.
 Yet could not he his obvious fate escape;
 His love still dress'd her in a pleasing shape;
 And every sullen frown, and bitter scorn,
 But fann'd the fuel that too fast did burn.
 Long time, unequal to his mighty pain,
 He strove to curb it, but he strove in vain:
 At last his woes broke out, and begg'd relief
 With tears, the dumb petitioners of grief:
 With tears so tender, as adorn'd his love,
 And any heart, but only her's, would move.
 Trembling before her bolted doors he stood,
 And there pour'd out the unprofitable flood:
 Staring his eyes, and haggard was his look;
 Then, kissing first the threshold, thus he spoke.
 Ah nymph, more cruel than of human race!
 Thy tigress heart belies thy angel face:
 Too well thou show'st thy pedigree from stone:
 Thy grandame's was the first by Pyrrha thrown:
 Unworthy thou to be so long desired;
 But so my love, and so my fate required.
 I beg not now (for 'tis in vain) to live;
 But take this gift, the last that I can give.
 This friendly cord shall soon decide the strife
 Betwixt my lingering love and loathsome life:
 This moment puts an end to all my pain;
 I shall no more despair, nor thou disdain.
 Farewell, ungrateful and unkind! I go
 Condemn'd by thee to those sad shades below.
 I go the extremest remedy to prove,
 To drink oblivion, and to drench my love:
 There happily to lose my long desires:
 But ah! what draughts so deep to quench my fires!
 Farewell, ye never-opening gates, ye stones,
 And threshold guilty of my midnight moans!

What I have suffer'd here ye know too well;
 What I shall do the gods and I can tell.
 The rose is fragrant, but it fades in time;
 The violet sweet, but quickly past the prime;
 White lilies hang their heads, and soon decay,
 And whiter snow in minutes melts away:
 Such is your blooming youth, and withering so:
 The time will come, it will, when you shall know
 The rage of love; your haughty heart shall burn
 In flames like mine, and meet a like return.
 Obdurate as you are, oh! hear at least
 My dying prayers, and grant my last request.
 When first you ope your doors, and, passing by,
 The sad ill-omen'd object meets your eye,
 Think it not lost, a moment if you stay;
 The breathless wretch, so made by you, survey:
 Some cruel pleasure will from thence arise,
 To view the mighty ravage of your eyes.
 I wish (but oh! my wish is vain, I fear)
 The kind oblation of a falling tear:
 Then loose the knot, and take me from the
 place,
 And spread your mantle o'er my grisly face;
 Upon my livid lips bestow a kiss.
 Oh, envy not the dead, they feel not bliss!
 Nor fear your kisses can restore my breath;
 E'en you are not more pitiless than death.
 Then for my corpse a homely grave provide,
 Which love and me from public scorn may hide.
 Thrice call upon my name, thrice beat your
 breast,
 And hail me thrice to everlasting rest:
 Last let my tomb this sad inscription bear:
 A wretch whom love has kill'd lies buried here;
 O passengers, Aminta's eyes beware.
 Thus having said, and furious with his love,
 He heaved with more than human force to move
 A weighty stone (the labour of a team)
 And raised from thence he reach'd the neigh-
 bouring beam:
 Around its bulk a sliding knot he throws,
 And fitted to his neck the fatal noose:
 Then spurning backward, took a swing, till death
 Crept up, and stopp'd the passage of his breath.
 The bounce burst ope the door; the scornful fair
 Relentless look'd, and saw him beat his quivering
 feet in air;
 Nor wept his fate, nor cast a pitying eye,
 Nor took him down, but brush'd regardless by:
 And, as she pass'd, her chance of fate was such,
 Her garments touch'd the dead, polluted by the
 touch:
 Next to the dance, thence to the bath did move;
 The bath was sacred to the god of Love;
 Whose injured image, with a wrathful eye,
 Stood threatening from a pedestal on high:
 Nodding awhile, and watchful of his blow,
 He fell; and falling crush'd the ungrateful nymph
 below;
 Her gushing blood the pavement all besmear'd;
 And this her last expiring voice was heard;
 Lovers, farewell, revenge has reach'd my scorn;
 Thus warn'd, be wise, and love for love return.

TRANSLATIONS FROM LUCRETII.

THE BEGINNING OF

THE FIRST BOOK OF LUCRETII.

DELIGHT of human kind, and gods above,
Parent of Rome, propitious Queen of Love,
Whose vital power, air, earth, and sea supplies,
And breeds whatever is born beneath the rolling
skies;

For every kind, by thy prolific might,
Springs, and beholds the regions of the light.
Thee, goddess, thee the clouds and tempests fear,
And at thy pleasing presence disappear:

For thee the land in fragrant flowers is dress'd;
For thee the ocean smiles, and smooths her wavy
breast;

And heaven itself with more serene and purer
light is bless'd.

For when the rising spring adorns the mead,
And a new scene of nature stands display'd,
When teeming buds, and cheerful greens appear,
And western gales unlock the lazy year:

The joyous birds thy welcome first express,
Whose native songs thy genial fire confess;
Then savage beasts bound o'er their slighted food,
Struck with thy darts, and tempt the raging flood.
All nature is thy gift: earth, air, and sea:

Of all that breathes, the various progeny,
Stung with delight, is goaded on by thee.
O'er barren mountains, o'er the flowery plain,
The leafy forest, and the liquid main,
Extends thy uncontrol'd and boundless reign.
Through all the living regions dost thou move,
And scatter'st, where thou go'st, the kindly seeds
of love.

Since then the race of every living thing
Obeys thy power; since nothing new can spring
Without thy warmth, without thy influence bear,
Or beautiful, or lovesome can appear;
Be thou my aid, my tuneful song inspire,
And kindle with thy own productive fire;
While all thy province, Nature, I survey,
And sing to Memmius an immortal lay
Of heaven and earth, and every where thy
wondrous power display:

To Memmius, under thy sweet influence born,
Whom thou with all thy gifts and graces dost
adorn.

The rather then assist my Muse and me,
Infusing verses worthy him and thee.
Meantime on land and sea let barbarous discord
cease,

And lull the listening world in universal peace.
To thee mankind their soft repose must owe;
For thou alone that blessing canst bestow;
Because the brutal business of the war
Is managed by thy dreadful servant's care;
Who oft retires from fighting fields, to prove
The pleasing pains of thy eternal love;

And, panting on thy breast, supinely lies,
While with thy heavenly form he feeds his fa-
mish'd eyes;

Sucks in with open lips thy balmy breath,
By turns restored to life, and plunged in pleasing
death.

There while thy curling limbs about him move,
Involved and fetter'd in the links of love,
When, wishing all, he nothing can deny,
Thy charms in that auspicious moment try;
With winning eloquence our peace improve,
And quiet to the weary world restore.

THE BEGINNING OF THE

SECOND BOOK OF LUCRETII.

'Tis pleasant, safely to behold from shore
The rolling ship, and hear the tempest roar:
Not that another's pain is our delight;
But pains unfelt produce the pleasing sight.
'Tis pleasant also to behold from far
The moving legions mingled in the war.
But much more sweet thy labouring steps to
guide

To virtue's heights, with wisdom well supplied,
And all the magazines of learning fortified:
From thence to look below on human kind,
Bewilder'd in the maze of life, and blind:
To see vain fools ambitiously contend
For wit and power; their last endeavours bend
To outshine each other, waste their time and
health

In search of honour, and pursuit of wealth.
Oh, wretched man! in what a mist of life,
Inclosed with dangers and with noisy strife,
He spends his little span; and overfeeds
His cram'd desires, with more than nature
needs!

For nature wisely stints our appetite,
And craves no more than undisturb'd delight:
Which minds, unmix'd with cares and fears,
obtain;

A soul serene, a body void of pain.
So little this corporeal frame requires;
So bounded are our natural desires,
That wanting all, and setting pain aside,
With bare privation sense is satisfied.
If golden sconces hang not on the walls,
To light the costly suppers and the balls;
If the proud palace shines not with the state
Of burnish'd bowls, and of reflected plate;
If well-tuned harps, nor the more pleasing sound
Of voices, from the vaulted roofs rebound;

Yet on the grass, beneath a poplar shade,
By the cool stream our careless limbs are laid ; 35
With cheaper pleasures innocently bless'd,
When the warm spring with gaudy flowers is
dress'd.

Nor will the raging fever's fire abate,
With golden canopies and beds of state :
But the poor patient will as soon be sound 40
On the hard mattress, or the mother ground.
Then since our bodies are not eased the more
By birth, or power, or fortune's wealthy store,
'Tis plain, these useless toys of every kind
As little can relieve the labouring mind : 45
Unless we could suppose the dreadful sight
Of marshall'd legions moving to the fight,
Could, with their sound and terrible array,
Expel our fears, and drive the thoughts of death
away.

But, since the supposition vain appears, 50
Since clinging cares, and trains of imbred fears,
Are not with sounds to be affrighted thence,
But in the midst of pomp pursue the prince,
Not awed by arms, but in the presence bold, 55
Without respect to purple, or to gold ;
Why should not we these pageantries despise ;
Whose worth but in our want of reason lies ?
For life is all in wandering errors led ;
And just as children are surprised with dread, 60
And tremble in the dark, so ripier years
E'en in broad daylight are possess'd with fears ;
And shake at shadows fanciful and vain,
As those which in the breasts of children reign.
These bugbears of the mind, this inward hell, 65
No rays of outward sunshine can dispel ;
But nature and right reason must display
Their beams abroad, and bring the darksome soul
to day.

THE LATTER PART OF THE

THIRD BOOK OF LUCRETIIUS ;

AGAINST THE FEAR OF DEATH.

WHAT has this bugbear death to frighten man,
If souls can die, as well as bodies can ?
For, as before our birth we felt no pain,
When Punic arms infested land and main,
When heaven and earth were in confusion hurl'd,
For the debated empire of the world,
Which awed with dreadful expectation lay,
Sure to be slaves, uncertain who should sway :
So, when our mortal flame shall be disjoin'd, 10
The lifeless lump uncoupled from the mind,
From sense of grief and pain we shall be free ;
We shall not *feel*, because we shall not *be*.
Though earth in seas, and seas in heaven were
lost,

We should not move, we only should be toss'd.
Nay, e'en suppose, when we have suffer'd fate, 15
The soul could feel in her divided state,
What's that to us ? for we are only *we*
While souls and bodies in one frame agree.
Nay, though our atoms should revolve by chance,
And matter leap into the former dance ; 20

Though time our life and motion could restore,
And make our bodies what they were before,
What gain to us would all this bustle bring ?
The new-made man would be another thing.
When once an interrupting pause is made, 25
That individual being is decay'd.

We, who are dead and gone, shall bear no part
In all the pleasures, nor shall feel the smart,
Which to that other mortal shall accrue,
Whom of our matter time shall mould anew. 30
For backward if you look on that long space
Of ages past, and view the changing face
Of matter, toss'd and variously combined
In sundry shapes, 'tis easy for the mind
From thence to infer, that seeds of things have
been 35

In the same order as they now are seen :
Which yet our dark remembrance cannot trace,
Because a pause of life, a gaping space,
Has come betwixt, where memory lies dead,
And all the wandering motions from the sense
are fled. 40

For whose'er shall in misfortunes live,
Must *be*, when those misfortunes shall arrive ;
And since the man who *is* not, feels not woe,
(For death exempts him, and wards off the blow,
Which we, the living, only feel and bear) 45
What is there left for us in death to fear !

When once that pause of life has come between,
'Tis just the same as we had never been.
And therefore if a man bemoan his lot,
That after death his mouldering limbs shall rot, 50
Or flames, or jaws of beasts devour his mass,
Know, he's an unsincere, unthinking ass.
A secret sting remains within his mind ;
The fool is to his own cast offs kind.

He boasts no sense can after death remain ; 55
Yet makes himself a part of life again ;
As if some other *He* could feel the pain.

If, while we live, this thought molest his head,
What wolf or vulture shall devour me dead ! 60
He wastes his days in idle grief, nor can
Distinguish 'twixt the body and the man ;
But thinks himself can still himself survive ;
And, what when dead he feels not, feels alive.
Then he repines that he was born to die,
Nor knows in death there is no other *He*, 65
No living *He* remains his grief to vent,
And o'er his senseless carcase to lament.

If after death 'tis painful to be torn
By birds, and beasts, then why not so to burn,
Or drench'd in floods of honey to be soak'd, 70
Imbalm'd to be at once preserved and choked ;
Or on an airy mountain's top to lie,
Exposed to cold and heaven's inclemency ;
Or crowded in a tomb to be oppress'd ?
With monumental marble on thy breast ? 75

But to be snatch'd from all the household joys,
From thy chaste wife, and thy dear prattling boys,
Whose little arms about thy legs are cast,
And climbing for a kiss prevent their mother's
haste,

Inspiring secret pleasure through thy breast ; 80
Ah ! these shall be no more : thy friends oppress'd
Thy care and courage now no more shall free ;
Ah ! wretch, thou criest, ah ! miserable me !
One woful day sweeps children, friends, and wife, 85
And all the brittle blessings of my life !
Add one thing more, and all thou say'st is true ;
Thy want and wish of them is vanish'd too :

Which, well consider'd, were a quick relief
To all thy vain imaginary grief.
For thou shalt sleep, and never wake again, 90
And, quitting life, shall quit thy living pain.
But we, thy friends, shall all those sorrows find,
Which in forgetful death thou leav'st behind;
No time shall dry our tears, nor drive thee from
our mind.

The worst that can befall thee, measured right, 95
Is a sound slumber, and a long good night.
Yet thus the fools, that would be thought the
wits,

Disturb their mirth with melancholy fits:
When healths go round, and kindly brimmers flow,
Till the fresh garlands on their foreheads glow, 100
They whine, and cry, Let us make haste to live,
Short are the joys that human life can give.
Eternal preachers, that corrupt the draught,
And pall the god, that never thinks, with thought;
Idiot with all that thought, to whom the worst
Of death, is want of drink, and endless thirst, 105
Or any fond desire as vain as these.

For, even in sleep, the body, wrapt in ease,
Supinely lies, as in the peaceful grave;
And, wanting nothing, nothing can it crave. 110
Were that sound sleep eternal, it were death;
Yet the first atoms then, the seeds of breath,
Are moving near to sense; we do but shake
And rouse that sense, and straight we are awake.
Then death to us, and death's anxiety, 115
Is less than nothing, if a less could be.
For then our atoms, which in order lay,
Are scatter'd from their heap, and puff'd away,
And never can return into their place,
When once the pause of life has left an empty
space. 120

And last, suppose great Nature's voice should call
To thee, or me, or any of us all,
"What dost thou mean, ungrateful wretch, thou
vain.

Thou mortal thing, thus idly to complain,
And sigh and sob, that thou shalt be no more? 125
For if thy life were pleasant heretofore,
If all the bounteous blessings, I could give,
Thou hast enjoy'd, if thou hast known to live,
And pleasure not leak'd through thee like a sieve;
Why dost thou not give thanks, as at a plenteous
feast, 130

Cramm'd to the throat with life, and rise and take
thy rest?

But if my blessings thou hast thrown away,
If indigested joys pass'd through, and would not
stay,

Why dost thou wish for more to squander still?
If life be grown a load, a real ill, 135
And I would all thy cares and labours end,
Lay down thy burden, fool, and know thy friend.
To please thee, I have emptied all my store,
I can invent, and can supply no more;
But run the round again, the round I ran before. 140
Suppose thou art not broken yet with years,
Yet still the self-same scene of things appears,
And would be ever, could'st thou ever live;
For life is still but life, there's nothing new to give." 145
What can we plead against so just a bill?

We stand convicted, and our cause goes ill.
But if a wretch, a man oppress'd by fate,
Should beg of Nature to prolong his date,
She speaks aloud to him with more disdain,
"Be still, thou martyr fool, thou covetous of pain."

But if an old decrepit sot lament;
"What thou (she cries) who hast out-lived content! 151
Dost thou complain, who hast enjoy'd my store?
But this is still the effect of wishing more.
Unsatisfied with all that Nature brings; 155
Loathing the present, liking absent things;
From hence it comes, thy vain desires, at strife
Within themselves, have tantalised thy life,
And ghastly death appear'd before thy sight,
Ere thou hast gorged thy soul and senses with
delight. 160

Now leave those joys, unsuited to thy age,
To a fresh comer, and resign the stage."
Is Nature to be blamed if thus she chide?
No sure; for 'tis her business to provide
Against this ever-changing frame's decay, 165
New things to come, and old to pass away.
One being, worn, another being makes;
Changed, but not lost; for Nature gives and takes:
New matter must be found for things to come,
And these must waste like those, and follow
Nature's doom. 170

All things, like thee, have time to rise and rot;
And from each other's ruin are begot;
For life is not confined to him or thee:
'Tis given to all for use, to none for property.
Consider former ages past and gone, 175
Whose circles ended long ere thine begun,
Then tell me, fool, what part in them thou hast?
Thus may'st thou judge the future by the past.
What horror seest thou in that quiet state,
What bugbear dreams to fright thee after fate? 180
No ghost, no goblins, that still passage keep;
But all is there serene, in that eternal sleep.
For all the dismal tales, that Poets tell,
Are verified on earth, and not in hell.
No Tantalus looks up with fearful eye, 185
Or dreads the impending rock to crush him from
on high:

But fear of chance on earth disturbs our easy hours,
Or vain imagined wrath of vain imagined powers.
No Tityus torn by vultures lies in hell;
Nor could the lobes of his rank liver swell 190
To that prodigious mass, for their eternal meal:
Not though his monstrous bulk had cover'd o'er
Nine spreading acres, or nine thousand more;
Not though the globe of earth had been the
giant's floor.

Nor in eternal torments could he lie; 195
Nor could his corpse sufficient food supply.
But he's the Tityus, who by love oppress'd,
Or tyrant passion preying on his breast,
And ever anxious thoughts, is robb'd of rest.
The Sisyphus is he, whom noise and strife 200
Seduce from all the soft retreats of life,
To vex the government, disturb the laws:
Drunk with the fumes of popular applause,
He courts the giddy crowd to make him great,
And sweats and toils in vain, to mount the sove-
reign seat. 205

For still to aim at power, and still to fail,
Ever to strive, and never to prevail,
What is it, but, in reason's true account,
To heave the stone against the rising mount?
Which urged, and labour'd, and forced up with
pain, 210
Recoils, and rolls impetuous down, and smokes
along the plain.
Then still to treat thy ever-craving mind
With every blessing, and of every kind,

Yet never fill thy ravening appetite ;
 Though years and seasons vary thy delight , 215
 Yet nothing to be seen of all the store,
 But still the wolf within thee barks for more ,
 This is the fable's moral, which they tell
 Of fifty foolish virgins damn'd in hell
 To leaky vessels, which the liquor spill : 220
 To vessels of their sex, which none could ever fill.
 As for the dog, the furies, and their snakes,
 The gloomy caverns, and the burning lakes,
 And all the vain infernal trumpery,
 They neither are, nor were, nor e'er can be. 225
 But here on earth the guilty have in view
 The mighty pains to mighty mischiefs due ;
 Racks, prisons, poisons, the Tarpean rock,
 Stripes, hangmen, pitch, and suffocating smoke ;
 And last, and most, if these were cast behind, 230
 The avenging horror of a conscious mind,
 Whose deadly fear anticipates the blow,
 And sees no end of punishment and woe ;
 But looks for more, at the last gasp of breath :
 This makes a hell on earth, and life a death. 235
 Meantime when thoughts of death disturb thy head ;
 Consider, Ancus, great and good, is dead ;
 Ancus, thy better far, was born to die ;
 And thou, dost thou beval mortality ?
 So many monarchs, with their mighty state, 240
 Who ruled the world, were over-ruled by fate.
 That haughty king, who lorded o'er the main,
 And whose stupendous bridge did the wild waves
 restrain,
 (In vain they foam'd, in vain they threaten'd
 wreck,
 While his proud legions march'd upon their back.)
 Him death, a greater monarch, overcame ; 245
 Nor spared his guards the more, for their im-
 mortal name.
 The Roman chief, the Carthaginian dread,
 Scipio, the thunderbolt of war, is dead,
 And like a common slave, by fate in triumph led.
 The founders of invented arts are lost ; 251
 And wits, who made eternity their boast.
 Where now is Homer, who possess'd the throne ?
 The immortal work remains, the immortal au-
 thor's gone.
 Democritus, perceiving age invade 255
 His body weaken'd, and his mind decay'd,
 Obey'd the summons with a cheerful face :
 Made haste to welcome death, and met him half
 the race.
 That stroke even Epicurus could not bar,
 Though he in wit surpass'd mankind, as far 260
 As does the mid-day sun the mid-night star.
 And thou, dost thou disdain to yield thy breath,
 Whose very life is little more than death ?
 More than one half by lazy sleep possess'd ;
 And when awake, thy soul but nods at best, 265
 Day-dreams and sickly thoughts revolving in thy
 breast.
 Eternal troubles haunt thy anxious mind,
 Whose cause and cure thou never hop'st to find ;
 But still uncertain, with thyself at strife,
 Thou wanderest in the labyrinth of life. 270
 Oh, if the foolish race of man, who find
 A weight of cares still pressing on their mind,
 Could find as well the cause of this unrest,
 And all this burden lodged within the breast ;
 Sure they would change their course, nor live as
 now, 275
 Uncertain what to wish, or what to vow.

Uneasy both in country and in town,
 They search a place to lay their burden down.
 One restless in his palace, walks abroad,
 And vainly thinks to leave behind the load : 280
 But straight returns ; for he's as restless there ;
 And finds there's no relief in open air.
 Another to his villa would retire,
 And spurs as hard as if it were on fire ;
 No sooner enter'd at his country door, 285
 But he begins to stretch, and yawn, and snore ;
 Or seeks the city which he left before.
 Thus every man o'erworks his weary will,
 To shun himself, and to shake off his ill ;
 The shaking fit returns, and hangs upon him 290
 still.
 No prospect of repose, nor hope of ease ;
 The wretch is ignorant of his disease ;
 Which known would all his fruitless trouble
 spare ;
 For he would know the world not worth his care ;
 Then would he search more deeply for the 295
 cause,
 And study Nature well, and Nature's laws ;
 For in this moment lies not the debate,
 But on our future fix'd eternal state ;
 That never-changing state, which all must keep,
 Whom death has doom'd to everlasting sleep. 300
 Why are we then so fond of mortal life,
 Beset with dangers, and maintain'd with strife ?
 A life, which all our care can never save ;
 One fate attends us, and one common grave.
 Besides, we tread but a perpetual round ; 305
 We ne'er strike out, but beat the former ground,
 And the same mawkish joys in the same track are
 found.
 For still we think an absent blessing best,
 Which cloy, and is no blessing when possess'd ;
 A new arising wish expels it from the breast. 310
 The feverish thirst of life increases still ;
 We call for more and more, and never have our
 fill ;
 Yet know not what to-morrow we shall try,
 What dregs of life in the last draught may lie :
 Nor, by the longest life we can attain, 315
 One moment from the length of death we gain ;
 For all behind belongs to his eternal reign.
 When once the fates have cut the mortal thread,
 The man as much to all intents is dead,
 Who dies to-day, and will as long be so, 320
 As he who died a thousand years ago.

FROM THE FIFTH BOOK OF LUCRETII.

TCM FORBES PIER, & CO.

Thus, like a sailor by a tempest hurl'd
 Ashore, the babe is shipwreck'd on the world :
 Naked he lies, and ready to expire ;
 Helpless of all that human wants require ;
 Exposed upon unhospitable earth,
 From the first moment of his hapless birth.
 Straight with foreboding cries he fills the room :
 Too true presages of his future doom.

But flocks and herds, and every savage beast,
By more indulgent Nature are increased.
They want no rattles for their froward mood,
Nor nurse to reconcile them to their food,
With broken words; nor winter blasts they fear,
Nor change their habits with the changing year :

Nor, for their safety, citadels prepare,
Nor forge the wicked instruments of war :
Unlabour'd Earth her bounteous treasure grants,
And Nature's lavish hand supplies their common wants.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HORACE.

THE THIRD ODE

OF THE

FIRST BOOK OF HORACE ;

INSCRIBED TO THE EARL OF ROSCOMMON, ON HIS INTENDED VOYAGE TO IRELAND.

So may the auspicious Queen of Love,
And the Twin Stars, the seed of Jove,
And he who rules the raging wind,
To thee, O sacred ship, be kind ;
And gentle breezes fill thy sails,
Supplying soft Etesian gales :
As thou to whom the Muse commends
The best of poets and of friends,
Dost thy committed pledge restore,
And land him safely on the shore ;
And save the better part of me,
From perishing with him at sea.
Sure he, who first the passage tried,
In harden'd oak his heart did hide,
And ribs of iron arm'd his side ;
Or his at least, in hollow wood
Who tempted first the briny flood :
Nor fear'd the winds' contending roar,
Nor billows beating on the shore ;
Nor Hyades portending rain ;
Nor all the tyrants of the main.
What form of death could him affright,
Who unconcern'd, with steadfast sight,
Could view the surges mounting steep,
And monsters rolling in the deep !
Could through the ranks of ruin go,
With storms above, and rocks below !
In vain did Nature's wise command
Divide the waters from the land,
If daring ships and men profane
Invade the inviolable main ;
The eternal fences overleap,
And pass at will the boundless deep.
No toil, no hardship can restrain
Ambitious man, inured to pain ;
The more confined, the more he tries,
And at forbidden quarry flies.
Thus bold Prometheus did aspire,
And stole from heaven the seeds of fire :
A train of ills, a ghastly crew,
The robber's blazing track pursue ;
Fierce Famine with her meagre face,
And Fevers of the fiery race,
In swarms the offending wretch surround,

All brooding on the blasted ground :
And limping Death, lash'd on by fate,
Comes up to shorten half our date.
This made not Dædalus beware,
With borrow'd wings to sail in air :
To hell Alcides forced his way,
Plunged through the lake, and snatch'd the prey.

Nay, scarce the gods, or heavenly climes,
Are safe from our audacious crimes ;
We reach at Jove's imperial crown,
And pull the unwilling thunder down.

THE NINTH ODE

OF THE

FIRST BOOK OF HORACE.

I.

BEHOLD yon mountain's hoary height,
Made higher with new mounts of snow ;
Again behold the winter's weight
Oppress the labouring woods below :
And streams, with icy fetters bound,
Benumb'd and cramp'd to solid ground.

II.

With well-heap'd logs dissolve the cold,
And feed the genial hearth with fires ;
Produce the wine, that makes us bold,
And sprightly wit and love inspires :
For what hereafter shall betide,
God, if 'tis worth his care, provide.

III.

Let him alone, with what he made,
To toss and turn the world below ;
At his command the storms invade ;
The winds by his commission blow ;
Till with a nod he bids 'em cease,
And then the calm returns, and all is peace.

IV.

To-morrow and her works defy,
Lay hold upon the present hour,
And snatch the pleasures passing by,
To put them out of fortune's power :

Nor love, nor love's delights disdain;
Whate'er thou gett'st to-day, is gain.

v.

Secure those golden early joys,
That youth unsour'd with sorrow bears,
Ere withering time the taste destroys,
With sickness and unwieldy years.
For active sports, for pleasing rest,
This is the time to be possess'd;
The best is but in season best.

vi.

The appointed hour of promised bliss,
The pleasing whisper in the dark,
The half-unwilling willing kiss,
The laugh that guides thee to the mark,
When the kind nymph would coyly feign,
And hides but to be found again;
These, these are joys, the gods for youth ordain.

THE TWENTY-NINTH ODE

OF THE

FIRST BOOK OF HORACE;

PARAPHRASED IN PINDARIC VERSE, AND INSCRIBED TO THE
RIGHT HON. LAURENCE EARL OF ROCHESTER.

i.

DESCENDED of an ancient line,
That long the Tuscan sceptre sway'd,
Make haste to meet the generous wine,
Whose piercing is for thee delay'd:
The rosy wreath is ready made;
And artful hands prepare
The fragrant Syrian oil, that shall perfume thy hair.

ii.

When the wine sparkles from afar,
And the well-natured friend cries, Come
away;
Make haste, and leave thy business and thy
care:
No mortal interest can be worth thy stay.

iii.

Leave for a while thy costly country seat;
And, to be great indeed, forget
The nauseous pleasures of the great:
Make haste and come:
Come, and forsake thy cloying store;
Thy turret that surveys, from high,
The smoke, and wealth, and noise of Rome;
And all the busy pageantry
That wise men scorn, and fools adore:
Come, give thy soul a loose, and taste the pleasures
of the poor.

iv.

Sometimes 'tis grateful to the rich to try
A short vicissitude, and fit of poverty:
A savoury dish, a homely treat,
Where all is plain, where all is neat,
Without the stately spacious room,
The Persian carpet, or the Tyrian loom,
Clear up the cloudy foreheads of the great.

v.

The sun is in the Lion mounted high;
The Syrian star
Barks from afar,
And with his sultry breath infects the sky:
The ground below is parch'd, the heavens above
us fry.
The shepherd drives his fainting flock
Beneath the covert of a rock,
And seeks refreshing rivulets nigh;
The Sylvens to their shades retire,
Those very shades and streams new shades and
streams require,
And want a cooling breeze of wind to fan the
raging fire.

vi.

Thou, what befits the new Lord Mayor,
And what the city factions dare,
And what the Gallic arms will do,
And what the quiver-bearing foe,
Art anxiously inquisitive to know:
But God has, wisely, hid from human sight
The dark decrees of future fate,
And sown their seeds in depth of night;
He laughs at all the giddy turns of state;
When mortals search too soon, and fear too late.

vii.

Enjoy the present smiling hour;
And put it out of fortune's power.
The tide of business, like the running stream,
Is sometimes high, and sometimes low,
A quiet ebb, or a tempestuous flow,
And always in extreme.
Now with a noiseless gentle course
It keeps within the middle bed;
Anon it lifts aloft the head,
And bears down all before it with impetuous force.
And trunks of trees come rolling down,
Sheep and their folds together drown:
Both house and homestead into seas are borne:
And rocks are from their old foundations torn,
And woods, made thin with winds, their scatter'd
honours mourn.

viii.

Happy the man, and happy he alone,
He, who can call to-day his own:
He who, secure within, can say,
To-morrow do thy worst, for I have lived to-day.
Be fair, or foul, or rain, or shine,
The joys I have possess'd, in spite of fate, are
mine.
Not Heaven itself upon the past has power;
But what has been, has been, and I have had my
hour.

ix.

Fortune, that, with malicious joy,
Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
Is seldom pleas'd to bless:
Still various, and unconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind;

But when she dances in the wind,
And shakes the wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away :
The little or the much she gave, is quietly resign'd :
Content with poverty, my soul I arm ;
And virtue, though in rags, will keep me warm.

x.

What is 't to me.
Who never sail in her unfaithful sea,
If storms arise, and clouds grow black ;
If the mast split, and threaten wreck ?
Then let the greedy merchant fear
For his ill-gotten gain ;
And pray to gods that will not hear,
While the debating winds and billows bear
His wealth into the main.
For me, secure from Fortune's blows,
Secure of what I cannot lose,
In my small pinnace I can sail,
Containing all the blustering roar ;
And running with a merry gale,
With friendly stars my safety seek
Within some little winding creek ;
And see the storm, ashore.

THE SECOND EPODE OF HORACE.

How happy in his low degree,
How rich in humble poverty, is he,
Who leads a quiet country life ;
Discharged of business, void of strife,
And from the griping scrivener free !
Thus, ere the seeds of vice were sown,
Lived men in better ages born,
Who plough'd, with oxen of their own,
Their small paternal field of corn.
Nor trumpets summon him to war,
Nor drums disturb his morning sleep,
Nor knows he merchants' gainful care,
Nor fears the dangers of the deep.
The clamours of contentious law,
And court and state, he wisely shuns,
Nor bribed with hopes, nor dared with awe,
To servile salutations runs ;
But either to the clasping vine
Does the supporting poplar wed,
Or with his pruning-hook disjoin
Unbearing branches from their head,
And grafts more happy in their stead :
Or, climbing to a hilly steep,
He views his herds in vales afar,
Or shears his overburden'd sheep,
Or mead for cooling drink prepares,
Of virgin honey in the jars.
Or, in the now declining year,
When bounteous Autumn rears his head,
He joys to pull the ripen'd pear,
And clustering grapes with purple spread.
The fairest of his fruit he serves,
Præputus, thy rewards :
Sylvanus too his part deserves,
Whose care the fences guards.

Sometimes beneath an ancient oak,
Or on the matted grass he lies :
No god of Sleep he need invoke ;
The stream, that o'er the pebbles flies,
With gentle slumber crowns his eyes.
The wind, that whistles through the sprays,
Maintains the consort of the song ;
And hidden birds, with native lays,
The golden sleep prolong.
But when the blast of winter blows,
And hoary frost inverts the year,
Into the naked woods he goes,
And seeks the tusky boar to rear,
With well-mouth'd hounds and pointed
spear !
Or spreads his subtle nets from sight,
With twinkling glasses, to betray
The larks that in the meshes light ;
Or makes the fearful hare his prey.
Amidst his harmless easy joys
No anxious care invades his health,
Nor love his peace of mind destroys,
Nor wicked avarice of wealth.
But if a chaste and pleasing wife,
To ease the business of his life,
Divides with him his household care,
Such as the Sabine matrons were,
Such as the swift Apulian's bride,
Sun-burnt and swarthy though she be,
Will fire for winter nights provide,
And without noise will oversee
His children and his family ;
And order all things till he come,
Sweaty and overlabour'd, home ;
If she in pens his flocks will fold,
And then produce her dairy store,
With wine to drive away the cold,
And unbought dainties of the poor ;
Not oysters of the Lucrine lake
My sober appetite would wish,
Nor turbot, or the foreign fish
That rolling tempests overtake,
And hither waft the costly dish.
Not heathpout, or the rarer bird,
Which Phæsis or Ionia yields,
More pleasing morsels would afford
Than the fat olives of my fields ;
Than shards or mallows for the pot,
That keep the loosen'd body sound,
Or than the lamb, that falls by lot
To the just guardian of my ground.
Amidst these feasts of happy swains,
The jolly shepherd smiles to see
His flock returning from the plains ;
The farmer is as pleased as he,
To view his oxen sweating smoke,
Bear on their necks the loosen'd yoke :
To look upon his menial crew,
That sit around his cheerful hearth,
And bodies spent in toil renew
With wholesome food and country mirth.
This Morecraft said within himself,
Resolved to leave the wicked town,
And live retired upon his own :
He call'd his money in ;
But the prevailing love of pelf,
Soon split him on the former shelf,
He put it out again.

FABLES.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ORMOND.

MY LORD,

Anno 1699.

Some estates are held in England by paying a fine at the change of every lord. I have enjoyed the patronage of your family, from the time of your excellent grandfather to this present day. I have dedicated the translation of the Lives of Plutarch to the first Duke; and have celebrated the memory of your heroic father. Though I am very short of the age of Nestor, yet I have lived to a third generation of your house; and by your Grace's favour am admitted still to hold from you by the same tenure.

I am not vain enough to boast that I have deserved the value of so illustrious a line; but my fortune is the greater, that for three descents they have been pleased to distinguish my poems from those of other men; and have accordingly made me their peculiar care. May it be permitted me to say, that as your grandfather and father were cherished and adorned with honours by two successive monarchs, so I have been esteemed and patronised by the grandfather, the father, and the son descended from one of the most ancient, most conspicuous, and most deserving families in Europe.

It is true, that by delaying the payment of my last fine, when it was due by your Grace's accession to the titles and patrimonies of your house, I may seem, in rigour of law, to have made a forfeiture of my claim; yet my heart has always been devoted to your service; and since you have been graciously pleased, by your permission of this address, to accept the tender of my duty, it is not yet too late to lay these poems at your feet.

The world is sensible that you worthily succeed not only to the honours of your ancestors, but also to their virtues. The long chain of magnanimity, courage, easiness of access, and desire of doing good, even to the prejudice of your fortune, is so far from being broken in your Grace, that the precious metal yet runs pure to the newest link of it; which I will not call the last, because I hope and pray it may descend to late posterity; and your flourishing youth, and that of your excellent Duchess, are happy omens of my wish.

It is observed by Livy and by others, that some of the noblest Roman families retained a resemblance of their ancestry, not only in their shapes and features, but also in their manners, their qualities, and the distinguishing characters of their minds. Some lines were noted for a stern, rigid virtue, savage, haughty, parsimonious, and unpopular: others were more sweet and affable, made of a more pliant paste, humble, courteous, and obliging; studious of doing charitable offices, and diffusive of the goods which they enjoyed. The last of these is the proper and indelible character of your Grace's family. God Almighty has endued you with a softness, a beneficence, an attractive behaviour winning on the hearts of others; and so sensible of their misery, that the wounds of fortune seem not inflicted on them, but on yourself. You are so ready to redress, that you almost prevent their wishes, and always exceed their expectations; as if what was yours was not your own, and not given you to possess, but to bestow on wanting merit. But this is a topic which I must cast in shades, lest I offend your modesty, which is so far from being ostentatious of the good you do, that it blushes even to have it known; and therefore I must leave you to the satisfaction and testimony of your own conscience, which, though it be a silent panegyric, is yet the best.

You are so easy of access, that Poplicola was not more, whose doors were opened on the outside to save the people even the common civility of asking entrance; where all were equally admitted;

where nothing that was reasonable was denied; where misfortune was a powerful recommendation, and where I can scarce forbear saying that want itself was a powerful mediator, and was next to merit.

The history of Peru assures us, that their Incas, above all their titles, esteemed that the highest, which called them Lovers of the Poor; a name more glorious than the Felix, Pius, and Augustus of the Roman Emperors; which were epithets of flattery, deserved by few of them, and not running in a blood like the perpetual gentleness and inherent goodness of the ORMOND Family.

Gold, as it is the purest, so it is the softest and most ductile of all metals. Iron, which is the hardest, gathers rust, corrodes itself, and is therefore subject to corruption: it was never intended for coins and medals, or to bear the faces and inscriptions of the great. Indeed it is fit for armour, to bear off insults, and preserve the wearer in the day of battle; but the danger once repelled, it is laid aside by the brave, as a garment too rough for civil conversation: a necessary guard in war, but too harsh and cumbersome in peace, and which keeps off the embraces of a more humane life.

For this reason, my lord, though you have courage in an heroic degree, yet I ascribe it to you but as your second attribute: mercy, beneficence, and compassion, claim precedence, as they are first in the Divine Nature. An intrepid courage, which is inherent in your Grace, is at best but a holiday kind of virtue, to be seldom exercised, and never but in cases of necessity: affability, mildness, tenderness, and a word, which I would fain bring back to its original signification of virtue, I mean good-nature, are of daily use: they are the bread of mankind, and staff of life: neither sighs, nor tears, nor groans, nor curses of the vanquished, follow acts of compassion and of charity; but a sincere pleasure and serenity of mind, in him who performs an action of mercy, which cannot suffer the misfortunes of another without redress, lest they should bring a kind of contagion along with them, and pollute the happiness which he enjoys.

Yet since the perverse tempers of mankind, since oppression on one side, and ambition on the other, are sometimes the unavoidable occasions of war; that courage, that magnanimity, and resolution, which is born with you, cannot be too much commended. And here it grieves me that I am scanted in the pleasure of dwelling on many of your actions; but *αἰδέομαι Τρώας* is an expression which Tully often uses, when he would do what he dares not, and fears the censure of the Romans.

I have sometimes been forced to amplify on others; but here, where the subject is so fruitful, that the harvest overcomes the reaper, I am shortened by my chain, and can only see what is forbidden me to reach: since it is not permitted me to commend you, according to the extent of my wishes, and much less is it in my power to make my commendations equal to your merits.

Yet in this frugality of your praises, there are some things which I cannot omit, without detracting from your character. You have so formed your own education, as enables you to pay the debt you owe your country, or, more properly speaking, both your countries; because you were born, I may almost say, in purple, at the Castle of Dublin, when your grandfather was Lord-lieutenant, and have since been bred in the Court of England.

If this address had been in verse, I might have called you, as Claudian calls Mercury, *Numen commune, gemino faciens commercia mundo*. The better to satisfy this double obligation, you have early cultivated the genius you have to arms, that when the service of Britain or Ireland shall require your courage and your conduct, you may exert them both to the benefit of either country. You began in the cabinet what you afterwards practised in the camp; and thus both Lucullus and Cæsar (to omit a crowd of shining Romans) formed themselves to war by the study of history, and by the examples of the greatest captains, both of Greece and Italy, before their time. I name those two commanders in particular, because they were better read in chronicle than any of the Roman leaders; and that Lucullus in particular, having only the theory of war from books, was thought fit, without practice, to be sent into the field against the most formidable enemy of Rome. Tully indeed was called the learned Consul in derision; but then he was not born a soldier: his head was turned another way: when he read the Tactics, he was thinking on the bar, which was his field of battle. The knowledge of warfare is thrown away on a general, who dares not make use of what he knows. I commend it only in a man of courage and resolution: in him it will direct his martial spirit, and teach him the way to the best victories, which are those that are least bloody, and which, though achieved by the hand, are managed by the head. Science distinguishes a man of honour from one of those athletic brutes whom undeservedly we call heroes. Cursed be the poet, who first honoured with that name a mere Ajax, a man-killing idiot. The Ulysses of Ovid upbraids his ignorance, that he

understood not the shield for which he pleaded : there was engraven on it plans of cities, and maps of countres, which Ajax could not comprehend, but looked on them as stupidly as his fellow-beast, the lion. But on the other side, your Grace has given yourself the education of his rival : you have studied every spot of ground in Flanders, which for these ten years past has been the scene of battles and of sieges. No wonder if you performed your part with such applause on a theatre which you understood so well.

If I designed this for a poetical encomium, it were easy to enlarge on so copious a subject ; but confining myself to the severity of truth, and to what is becoming me to say, I must not only pass over many instances of your military skill, but also those of your assiduous diligence in the war ; and of your personal bravery, attended with an ardent thirst of honour ; a long train of generosity ; profuseness of doing good ; a soul unsatisfied with all it has done ; and an unextinguished desire of doing more. But all this is matter for your own historians ; I am, as Virgil says,

"Spatis exclusus iniquis."

Yet not to be wholly silent of all your charities, I must stay a little on one action, which preferred the relief of others to the consideration of yourself. When, in the battle of Landen, your heat of courage (a fault only pardonable to your youth) had transported you so far before your friends, that they were unable to follow, much less to succour you ; when you were not only dangerously, but, in all appearance, mortally wounded ; when in that desperate condition you were made prisoner, and carried to Namur, at that time in possession of the French ; then it was, my lord, that you took a considerable part of what was remitted to you of your own revenues, and, as a memorable instance of your heroic charity, put it into the hands of Count Guiscard, who was Governor of the place, to be distributed among your fellow-prisoners. The French commander, charmed with the greatness of your soul, accordingly consigned it to the use for which it was intended by the donor ; by which means the lives of so many miserable men were saved, and a comfortable provision made for their subsistence, who had otherwise perished, had not you been the companion of their misfortune ; or rather sent by Providence, like another Joseph, to keep out famine from invading those, whom in humility you called your brethren. How happy was it for those poor creatures, that your Grace was made their fellow-sufferer ! And how glorious for you, that you chose to want, rather than not relieve the wants of others ! The heathen poet, in commending the charity of Dido to the Trojans, spoke like a Christian :—

"Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."

All men, even those of a different interest, and contrary principles, must praise this action, as the most eminent for piety, not only in this degenerate age, but almost in any of the former ; when men were made *de meliore luto* ; when examples of charity were frequent, and when there were in being

"Teucri pulcherrima proles,
Magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis."

No envy can detract from this : it will shine in history ; and, like swans, grow whiter the longer it endures ; and the name of ORMOND will be more celebrated in his captivity, than in his greatest triumphs.

But all actions of your Grace are of a piece ; as waters keep the tenor of their fountains : your compassion is general, and has the same effect as well on enemies as friends. It is so much in your nature to do good, that your life is but one continued act of placing benefits on many, as the sun is always carrying his light to some part or other of the world. And were it not that your reason guides you where to give, I might almost say that you could not help bestowing more than is consisting with the fortune of a private man, or with the will of any but an Alexander.

What wonder is it then, that being born for a blessing to mankind, your supposed death in that engagement was so generally lamented through the nation ? The concernment for it was as universal as the loss ; and though the gratitude might be counterfeit in some, yet the tears of all were real : where every man deplored his private part in that calamity, and even those who had not tasted of your favours, yet built so much on the fame of your beneficence, that they bemoaned the loss of their expectations.

This brought the untimely death of your great father into fresh remembrance; as if the same decree had passed on two short successive generations of the virtuous; and I repeated to myself the same verses, which I had formerly applied to him:—

“Ostendunt teris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Esse sinunt.”

But to the joy not only of all good men, but of mankind in general, the unhappy omen took not place. You are still living to enjoy the blessings and applause of all the good you have performed, the prayers of multitudes whom you have obliged, for your long prosperity; and that your power of doing generous and charitable actions may be as extended as your will; which is by none more zealously desired than by

Your Grace's most humble, most obliged, and most obedient servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

PREFACE.

It is with a poet, as with a man who designs to build, and is very exact, as he supposes, in casting up the cost beforehand; but, generally speaking, he is mistaken in his account, and reckons short in the expense he first intended. He alters his mind as the work proceeds, and will have this or that convenience more, of which he had not thought when he began. So has it happened to me: I have built a house, where I intended but a lodge; yet with better success than a certain nobleman, who, beginning with a dog-kennel, never lived to finish the palace he had contrived.

From translating the first of Homer's *Iliads* (which I intended as an essay to the whole work), I proceeded to the translation of the twelfth book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, because it contains, among other things, the causes, the beginning, and ending, of the Trojan war. Here I ought in reason to have stopped; but the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses lying next in my way, I could not baulk them. When I had compassed them, I was so taken with the former part of the fifteenth book (which is the master-piece of the whole *Metamorphoses*), that I enjoined myself the pleasing task of rendering it into English. And now I found, by the number of my verses, that they began to swell into a little volume; which gave me an occasion of looking backward on some beauties of my author, in his former books: there occurred to me the Hunting of the Boar, Cinyras and Myrrha, the good-natured story of Baucis and Philemon, with the rest, which I hope I have translated closely enough, and given them the same turn of verse which they had in the original; and this, I may say without vanity, is not the talent of every poet. He who has arrived the nearest to it, is the ingenious and learned Sandys; the best versifier of the former age; if I may properly call it by that name which was the former part of this concluding century. For Spenser and Fairfax both flourished in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; great masters in our language, and who saw much farther into the beauties of our numbers than those who immediately followed them. Milton was the poetical son of Spenser, and Mr. Waller of Fairfax, for we have our lineal descents and clans, as well as other families. Spenser more than once insinuates, that the soul of Chaucer was transfused into his body, and that he was begotten by him two hundred years after his decease. Milton has acknowledged to me, that Spenser was his original, and many besides myself have heard our famous Waller own, that he derived the harmony of his numbers from the Godfrey of Bulloigne, which was turned into English by Mr. Fairfax.

But to return. Having done with Ovid for this time, it came into my mind, that our old English poet, Chaucer, in many things resembled him, and that with no disadvantage on the side of the modern author, as I shall endeavour to prove when I compare them; and as I am, and always have been, studious to promote the honour of my native country, so I soon resolved to put their merits to

the trial, by turning some of the Canterbury Tales into our language, as it is now refined; for by this means, both the poets being set in the same light, and dressed in the same English habit, story to be compared with story, a certain judgment may be made betwixt them by the reader, without obtruding my opinion on him. Or if I seem partial to my countryman, and predecessor in the laurel, the friends of antiquity are not few; and besides many of the learned, Ovid has almost all the beaux, and the whole fair sex, his declared patrons. Perhaps I have assumed somewhat more to myself than they allow me, because I have adventured to sum up the evidence; but the readers are the jury, and their privilege remains entire, to decide according to the merits of the cause, or, if they please, to bring it to another hearing before some other court. In the meantime, to follow the thread of my discourse (as thoughts, according to Mr. Hobbes, have always some connexion), so from Chaucer I was led to think on Boccace, who was not only his contemporary, but also pursued the same studies; wrote novels in prose, and many works in verse: particularly is said to have invented the octave rhyme, or stanza of eight lines, which ever since has been maintained by the practice of all Italian writers, who are, or at least assume the title of, Heroic Poets: he and Chaucer, among other things, had this in common, that they refined their mother tongues; but with this difference, that Dante * had begun to file their language, at least in verse, before the time of Boccace, who likewise received no little help from his master Petrarch. But the reformation of their prose was wholly owing to Boccace himself, who is yet the standard of purity in the Italian tongue; though many of his phrases are become obsolete, as in process of time it must needs happen. Chaucer (as you have formerly been told by our learned Mr. Rymer), first adorned and amplified our barren tongue from the Provençal, which was then the most polished of all the modern languages; but this subject has been copiously treated by that great critic, who deserves no little commendation from us his countrymen. For these reasons of time, and resemblance of genius in Chaucer and Boccace, I resolved to join them in my present work; to which I have added some original papers of my own; which, whether they are equal or inferior to my other poems, an author is the most improper judge, and therefore I leave them wholly to the mercy of the reader. I will hope the best, that they will not be condemned; but if they should, I have the excuse of an old gentleman, who mounting on horseback before some ladies, when I was present, got up somewhat heavily, but desired of the fair spectators, that they would count fourscore and eight before they judged him. By the mercy of God, I am already come within twenty years of his number, a cripple in my limbs; but what decays are in my mind, the reader must determine. I think myself as vigorous as ever in the faculties of my soul, excepting only my memory, which is not impaired to any great degree; and if I lose not more of it, I have no great reason to complain. What judgment I had, increases rather than diminishes; and thoughts, such as they are, come crowding in so fast upon me, that my only difficulty is to choose or to reject; to run them into verse, or to give them the other harmony of prose. I have so long studied and practised both, that they are grown into a habit, and become familiar to me. In short, though I may lawfully plead some part of the old gentleman's excuse, yet I will reserve it till I think I have greater need, and ask no grains of allowance for the faults of this my present work, but those which are given of course to human frailty. I will not trouble my reader with the shortness of time in which I write it, or the several intervals of sickness: they who think too well of their own performances, are apt to boast in their prefaces how little time their works have cost them, and what other business of more importance interfered; but the reader will be as apt to ask the question, why they allowed not a longer time to make their works more perfect? and why they had so despicable an opinion of their judges, as to thrust their indigested stuff upon them, as if they deserved no better?

With this account of my present undertaking, I conclude the first part of this discourse: in the second part, as at a second sitting, though I alter not the draught, I must touch the same features over again, and change the dead colouring of the whole. In general I will only say, that I have written nothing which savours of immorality or profaneness; at least, I am not conscious to myself of any such intention. If there happen to be found an irreverent expression, or a thought too wanton, they are crept into my verses through my inadvertency; if the searchers find any in the cargo, let them be saved or forfeited, like contrabanded goods; at least, let their authors be answerable for

* Dante, in one of his prose works, has treated of different sorts of style, which he has divided into three species, the *Sublime*, the *Middle*, and *Low*; the first, he says, is proper for tragedy, the second for comedy, the third for elegy; and he meant by giving his *Inferno* the title of *Comedia*, to insinuate, that in this work he wrote in the middle style. This seems to have been the reason why he gave it this title, which it has been thought difficult to account for. Dr. J. WARTON

them, as being but imported merchandise, and not of my own manufacture. On the other side, I have endeavoured to choose such fables, both ancient and modern, as contain in each of them some instructive moral, which I could prove by induction, but the way is tedious; and they leap foremost into sight, without the reader's trouble of looking after them. I wish I could affirm, with a safe conscience, that I had taken the same care in all my former writings; for it must be owned, that supposing verses are never so beautiful or pleasing, yet if they contain anything which shocks religion, or good manners, they are at best what Horace says of good numbers without good sense,

"Versus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ."

Thus far, I hope, I am right in court, without renouncing my other right of self-defence, where I have been wrongfully accused, and my sense wire-drawn into blasphemy or bawdry, as it has often been by a religious lawyer, in a late pleading against the stage; in which he mixes truth with falsehood, and has not forgotten the old rule of calumniating strongly, that something may remain.

I resume the thread of my discourse with the first of my translation, which was the first *Iliad* of Homer. If it shall please God to give me longer life, and moderate health, my intentions are to translate the whole *Iliad*; provided still that I meet with those encouragements from the public, which may enable me to proceed in my undertaking with some cheerfulness. And this I dare assure the world before-hand, that I have found, by trial, Homer a more pleasing task than Virgil (though I say not the translation will be less laborious). For the Grecian is more according to my genius, than the Latin poet. In the works of the two authors we may read their manners, and natural inclinations, which are wholly different. Virgil was of a quiet, sedate temper; Homer was violent, impetuous, and full of fire. The chief talent of Virgil was propriety of thoughts, and ornament of words; Homer was rapid in his thoughts, and took all the liberties both of numbers, and of expressions, which his language, and the age in which he lived, allowed him: Homer's invention was more copious. Virgil's more confined; so that if Homer had not led the way, it was not in Virgil to have begun heroic poetry; for nothing can be more evident, than that the Roman poem is but the second part of the *Iliad*; a continuation of the same story, and the persons already formed; the manners of *Æneas* are those of Hector superadded to those which Homer gave him. The Adventures of Ulysses in the *Odysseis* are imitated in the first Six Books of Virgil's *Æneis*; and though the accidents are not the same, (which would have argued him of a servile copying, and total barrenness of invention,) yet the seas were the same, in which both the heroes wandered; and Dido cannot be denied to be the poetical daughter of Calypso. The six latter books of Virgil's poem are the four-and-twenty *Iliads* contracted: a quarrel occasioned by a lady, a single combat, battles fought, and a town besieged. I say not this in derogation to Virgil, neither do I contradict anything which I have formerly said in his just praise: for his Episodes are almost wholly of his own invention; and the form, which he has given to the telling, makes the tale his own, even though the original story had been the same. But this proves, however, that Homer taught Virgil to design; and if invention be the first virtue of an Epic poet, then the Latin poem can only be allowed the second place. Mr. Hobbes, in the preface to his own bald translation of the *Iliad* (studying poetry as he did mathematics, when it was too late), Mr. Hobbes, I say, begins the praise of Homer where he should have ended it. He tells us, that the first beauty of an Epic poem consists in diction, that is, in the choice of words, and harmony of numbers: now the words are the colouring of the work, which in the order of nature is last to be considered. The design, the disposition, the manners, and the thoughts, are all before it: where any of those are wanting or imperfect, so much wants or is imperfect in the imitation of human life; which is in the very definition of a poem. Words indeed, like glaring colours, are the first beauties that arise, and strike the sight: but if the draught be false or lame, the figures ill-disposed, the manners obscure or inconsistent, or the thoughts unnatural, then the finest colours are but daubing, and the piece is a beautiful monster at the best. Neither Virgil nor Homer were deficient in any of the former beauties; but in this last, which is expression, the Roman poet is at least equal to the Grecian, as I have said elsewhere; supplying the poverty of his language by his musical ear, and by his diligence. But to return: our two great poets, being so different in their tempers, one choleric and sanguine, the other phlegmatic and melancholic; that which makes them excel in their several ways, is, that each of them has followed his own natural inclination, as well in forming the design, as in the execution of it. The very heroes show their authors; Achilles is hot, impatient, revengeful, *Impiger, iracundus*,

inexorabilis, acer, &c. Æneas patient, considerate, careful of his people, and merciful to his enemies; ever submissive to the will of heaven, *quod fata trahunt, retrahuntque sequamur*. I could please myself with enlarging on this subject, but am forced to defer it to a fitter time. From all I have said I will only draw this inference, that the action of Homer being more full of vigour than that of Virgil, according to the temper of the writer, is of consequence more pleasing to the reader. One warms you by degrees; the other sets you on fire all at once, and never intermits his heat. 'Tis the same difference which Longinus makes betwixt the effects of eloquence in Demosthenes and Tully. One persuades; the other commands. You never cool while you read Homer, even not in the second book, (a graceful flattery to his countrymen;) but he hastens from the ships, and concludes not that book till he has made you an amends by the violent playing of a new machine. From thence he hurries on his action with variety of events, and ends it in less compass than two months. This vehemence of his, I confess, is more suitable to my temper; and therefore I have translated his first book with greater pleasure than any part of Virgil; but it was not a pleasure without pains: the continual agitations of the spirits must needs be a weakening of any constitution, especially in age; and many pauses are required for refreshment betwixt the heats; the Iliad of itself being a third part longer than all Virgil's works together.

This is what I thought needful in this place to say of Homer. I proceed to Ovid and Chaucer, considering the former only in relation to the latter. With Ovid ended the golden age of the Roman tongue; from Chaucer the purity of the English tongue began. The manners of the poets were not unlike: both of them were well-bred, well-natured, amorous, and libertine, at least in their writings, it may be also in their lives. Their studies were the same, philosophy and philology. Both of them were known in astronomy, of which Ovid's books of the Roman feasts, and Chaucer's treatise of the Astrolabe, are sufficient witnesses. But Chaucer was likewise an astrologer, as were Virgil, Horace, Persius, and Manilius. Both writ with wonderful facility and clearness: neither were great inventors: for Ovid only copied the Grecian fables; and most of Chaucer's stories were taken from his Italian contemporaries, or their predecessors. Boccace's Decameron was first published; and from thence our Englishman has borrowed many of his Canterbury tales; yet that of Palamon and Arcite was written in all probability by some Italian wit in a former age, as I shall prove hereafter: the tale of Grizild was the invention of Petrarch; by him sent to Boccace; from whom it came to Chaucer: Troilus and Cressida was also written by a Lombard author; but much amplified by our English translator, as well as beautified; the genius of our countrymen in general being rather to improve an invention, than to invent themselves; as is evident not only in our poetry, but in many of our manufactures. I find I have anticipated already, and taken up from Boccace before I come to him; but there is so much less behind; and I am of the temper of most kings, who love to be in debt, are all for present money, no matter how they pay it afterwards: besides, the nature of a preface is rambling; never wholly out of the way, nor in it. This I have learned from the practice of honest Montaigne, and return at my pleasure to Ovid and Chaucer, of whom I have little more to say. Both of them built on the inventions of other men; yet since Chaucer had something of his own, as the Wife of Bath's Tale, the Cock and the Fox, which I have translated, and some others, I may justly give our countryman the precedence in that part; since I can remember nothing of Ovid which was wholly his. Both of them understood the manners, under which name I comprehend the passions, and, in a larger sense, the descriptions of persons, and their very habits; for an example, I see Baucis and Philemon as perfectly before me, as if some ancient painter had drawn them; and all the pilgrims in the Canterbury tales, their humours, their features, and the very dress, as distinctly as if I had supped with them at the Tabard in Southwark; yet even there too the figures in Chaucer are much more lively, and set in a better light: which though I have not time to prove, yet I appeal to the reader, and am sure he will clear me from partiality. The thoughts and words remain to be considered in the comparison of the two poets; and I have saved myself one half of that labour, by owning that Ovid lived when the Roman tongue was in its meridian, Chaucer in the dawning of our language; therefore that part of the comparison stands not on an equal foot, any more than the diction of Ennius and Ovid, or of Chaucer and our present English. The words are given up as a post not to be defended in our poet, because he wanted the modern art of fortifying. The thoughts remain to be considered, and they are to be measured only by their propriety; that is, as they flow more or less naturally from the persons described, on such and such occasions. The vulgar judges, which are nine parts in ten of all nations, who call conceits and

jingles wit, who see Ovid full of them, and Chaucer altogether without them, will think me little less than mad, for preferring the Englishman to the Roman: yet, with their leave, I must presume to say, that the things they admire are only glittering trifles, and so far from being witty, that in a serious poem they are nauseous, because they are unnatural. Would any man, who is ready to die for love, describe his passion like Narcissus? Would he think of *inopem me copia fecit*, and a dozen more of such expressions, poured on the neck of one another, and signifying all the same thing? If this were wit, was this a time to be witty, when the poor wretch was in the agony of death? This is just John Littlewit in Bartholomew Fair, who had a conceit (as he tells you) left him in his misery; a miserable conceit. On these occasions the poet should endeavour to raise pity; but, instead of this, Ovid is tickling you to laugh. Virgil never made use of such machines, when he was moving you to commiserate the death of Dido: he would not destroy what he was building. Chaucer makes Arcite violent in his love, and unjust in the pursuit of it: yet when he came to die, he made him think more reasonably: he repents not of his love, for that had altered his character; but acknowledges the injustice of his proceedings, and resigns Emilia to Palamon. What would Ovid have done on this occasion? He would certainly have made Arcite witty on his death-bed. He had complained he was farther off from possession by being so near, and a thousand such boyisms, which Chaucer rejected as below the dignity of the subject. They who think otherwise would, by the same reason, prefer Lucan and Ovid to Homer and Virgil, and Martial to all four of them. As for the turn of words, in which Ovid particularly excels all poets; they are sometimes a fault, and sometimes a beauty, as they are used properly or improperly; but in strong passions always to be shunned, because passions are serious, and will admit no playing. The French have a high value for them; and I confess, they are often what they call delicate, when they are introduced with judgment; but Chaucer writ with more simplicity, and followed nature more closely, than to use them. I have thus far, to the best of my knowledge, been an upright judge betwixt the parties in competition, not meddling with the design nor the disposition of it; because the design was not their own, and in the disposing of it they were equal. It remains that I say somewhat of Chaucer in particular.

In the first place, as he is the father of English poetry, so I hold him in the same degree of veneration as the Grecians held Homer, or the Romans Virgil: he is a perpetual fountain of good sense; learned in all sciences; and therefore speaks properly on all subjects; as he knew what to say, so he knows also when to leave off, a continence which is practised by few writers, and scarcely by any of the ancients, excepting Virgil and Horace. One of our late great poets is sunk in his reputation, because he could never forgive any conceit which came in his way, but swept like a drag-net, great and small. There was plenty enough, but the dishes were ill-sorted; whole pyramids of sweetmeats for boys and women, but little of solid meat for men: all this proceeded not from any want of knowledge, but of judgment; neither did he want that in discerning the beauties and faults of other poets; but only indulged himself in the luxury of writing; and perhaps knew it was a fault, but hoped the reader would not find it. For this reason, though he must always be thought a great poet, he is no longer esteemed a good writer: and for ten impressions, which his works have had in so many successive years, yet at present a hundred books are scarcely purchased once a twelvemonth: for, as my last Lord Rochester said, though somewhat profanely, Not being of God he could not stand.

Chaucer followed nature every where; but was never so bold to go beyond her: and there is a great difference of being *Poeta* and *nimis Poeta*, if we believe Catullus, as much as betwixt a modest behaviour and affectation. The verse of Chaucer, I confess, is not harmonious to us; but it is like the eloquence of one whom Tacitus commends, it was *auribus istius temporis accommodata*: they who lived with him, and sometime after him, thought it musical; and it continues so even in our judgment, if compared with the numbers of Lydgate and Gower, his contemporaries: there is the rude sweetness of a Scotch tune in it, which is natural and pleasing, though not perfect. It is true, I cannot go so far as he who published the last edition of him; for he would make us believe the fault is in our ears, and that there were really ten syllables in a verse where we find but nine: but this opinion is not worth confuting; it is so gross and obvious an error, that common sense (which is a rule in everything but matters of faith and revelation) must convince the reader, that equality of numbers in every verse which we call Heroic, was either not known, or not always practised in Chaucer's age. It were an easy matter to produce some thousands of his verses, which are lame for want of half a foot, and sometimes a whole one, and which no pronunciation can make otherwise. We can only say, that he lived in

the infancy of our poetry, and that nothing is brought to perfection at the first. We must be children before we grow men. There was an Ennius, and in process of time a Lucilius, and a Lucretius, before Virgil and Horace; even after Chaucer there was a Spenser, a Harrington, a Fairfax, before Waller and Denham were in being: and our numbers were in their nonage till these last appeared. I need say little of his parentage, life, and fortunes: they are to be found at large in all the editions of his works. He was employed abroad and favoured by Edward the Third, Richard the Second, and Henry the Fourth, and was poet, as I suppose, to all three of them. In Richard's time, I doubt, he was a little dipt in the rebellion of the commons; and being brother-in-law to John of Gaunt, it was no wonder if he followed the fortunes of that family; and was well with Henry the Fourth when he had deposed his predecessor. Neither is it to be admired, that Henry, who was as wise as well as a valiant prince, who claimed by succession, and was sensible that his title was not sound, but was rightfully in Mortimer, who had married the heir of York; it was not to be admired, I say, if that great politician should be pleased to have the greatest wit of those times in his interests, and to be the trumpet of his praises. Augustus had given him the example, by the advice of Mæcenas, who recommended Virgil and Horace to him; whose praises helped to make him popular while he was alive, and after his death have made him precious to posterity. As for the religion of our poet, he seems to have some little bias towards the opinions of Wickliff, after John of Gaunt his patron; somewhat of which appears in the tale of Piers Plowman: yet I cannot blame him for inveighing so sharply against the vices of the clergy in his age: their pride, their ambition, their pomp, their avarice, their worldly interest, deserved the lashes which he gave them, both in that, and in most of his Canterbury tales: neither has his contemporary Boccace spared them. Yet both those poets lived in much esteem with good and holy men in orders: for the scandal which is given by particular priests, reflects not on the sacred function. Chaucer's Monk, his Canon, and his Friar, took not from the character of his Good Parson. A satirical poet is the check of the laymen on bad priests. We are only to take care, that we involve not the innocent with the guilty in the same condemnation. The good cannot be too much honoured, nor the bad too coarsely used: for the corruption of the best becomes the worst. When a clergyman is whipped, his gown is first taken off, by which the dignity of his order is secured: if he be wrongfully accused he has his action of slander; and it is at the poet's peril, if he transgress the law. But they will tell us, that all kind of satire, though never so well deserved by particular priests, yet brings the whole order into contempt. Is then the peerage of England any thing dishonoured, when a peer suffers for his treason? If he be libelled, or any way defamed, he has his *Scandalum Magnatum* to punish the offender. They, who use this kind of argument, seem to be conscious to themselves of somewhat which has deserved the poet's lash; and are less concerned for their public capacity, than for their private; at least there is pride at the bottom of their reasoning. If the faults of men in orders are only to be judged among themselves, they are all in some sort parties: for, since they say the honour of their order is concerned in every member of it, how can we be sure, that they will be impartial judges? How far I may be allowed to speak my opinion in this case, I know not: but I am sure a dispute of this nature caused mischief in abundance betwixt a king of England and an archbishop of Canterbury; one standing up for the laws of his land, and the other for the honour (as he called it) of God's Church; which ended in the murder of the prelate, and in the whipping of his majesty from post to pillar for his penance. The learned and ingenious Dr. Drake has saved me the labour of inquiring into the esteem and reverence which the priests have had of old; and I would rather extend than diminish any part of it: yet I must needs say, that when a priest provokes me without any occasion given him, I have no reason, unless it be the charity of a Christian, to forgive him. *Prior lævit* is justification sufficient in the Civil Law. If I answer him in his own language, self-defence, I am sure, must be allowed me; and if I carry it farther, even to a sharp recrimination, somewhat may be indulged to human frailty. Yet my resentment has not wrought so far, but that I have followed Chaucer in his character of a holy man, and have enlarged on that subject with some pleasure, reserving to myself the right, if I shall think fit hereafter, to describe another sort of priests, such as are more easily to be found than the good parson; such as have given the last blow to Christianity in this age, by a practice so contrary to their doctrine. But this will keep cold till another time. In the meanwhile, I take up Chaucer where I left him. He must have been a man of a most wonderful comprehensive nature, because, as it has been truly observed of him, he has taken into the compass of his Canterbury tales the various manners and humours (as we now call them) of the whole English nation, in his age. Not a single character has escaped him. All his

pilgrims are severally distinguished from each other; and not only in their inclinations, but in their very physiognomies and persons. Baptista Porta could not have described their natures better, than by the marks which the poet gives them. The matter and manner of their tales, and of their telling, are so suited to their different educations, humours, and callings, that each of them would be improper in any other mouth. Even the grave and serious characters are distinguished by their several sorts of gravity: their discourses are such as belong to their age, their calling, and their breeding; such as are becoming of them, and of them only. Some of his persons are vicious, and some virtuous; some are unlearned, or (as Chaucer calls them) lewd, and some are learned. Even the ribaldry of the low characters is different: the Reeve, the Miller, and the Cook, are several men, and distinguished from each other, as much as the mincing lady prioress, and the broad-speaking gap-toothed wife of Bath. But enough of this: there is such a variety of game springing up before me, that I am distracted in my choice, and know not which to follow. 'Tis sufficient to say, according to the proverb, that here is God's plenty. We have our forefathers and great grand-dames all before us, as they were in Chaucer's days; their general characters are still remaining in mankind, and even in England, though they are called by other names than those of Monks and Friars, and Canons, and lady Abbesses, and Nuns: for mankind is ever the same, and nothing lost out of nature, though every thing is altered. May I have leave to do myself the justice, (since my enemies will do me none, and are so far from granting me to be a good poet, that they will not allow me so much as to be a Christian, or a moral man) may I have leave, I say, to inform my reader, that I have confined my choice to such tales of Chaucer as savour nothing of immodesty. If I had desired more to please than to instruct, the Reeve, the Miller, the Shipman, the Merchant, the Sumner, and, above all, the Wife of Bath, in the prologue to her tale, would have procured me as many friends and readers as there are beaux and ladies of pleasure in the town. But I will no more offend against good manners: I am sensible, as I ought to be, of the scandal I have given by my loose writings; and make what reparation I am able, by this public acknowledgment. If any thing of this nature, or of profaneness, be crept into these poems, I am so far from defending it, that I disown it. *Totum hoc indictum volo.* Chaucer makes another manner of apology for his broad speaking, and Boccace makes the like; but I will follow neither of them. Our countryman, in the end of his characters, before the Canterbury tales, thus excuses the ribaldry, which is very gross in many of his novels.—

"But first, I pray you of your courtesy,
That ye ne arrette it nought my villany,
Though that I plainly speak in this matere
To tellen you her words, and eke her cheis.
Ne though I speak her words properly,
For this ye knowen as well as I,
Who shall tellen a tale after a man,
He mote rehearse as nye, as ever he can:
Everich word of it been in his chaille,
All speke he, never so rudely, ne large.
Or else he mote tellen his tale untrue,
Or feine things, or find words new:
He may not spare, although he were his brother.
He mote as well say o word as another.
Christ spake himself full broad in holy writ,
And well I wote no villany is it,
Eke Plato saith, who so can him rede,
The words mote been cousin to the dede."

Yet if a man should have inquired of Boccace or of Chaucer, what need they had of introducing such characters, where obscene words were proper in their mouths, but very indecent to be heard; I know not what answer they could have made: for that reason, such tale shall be left untold by me. You have here a specimen of Chaucer's language, which is so obsolete, that his sense is scarce to be understood; and you have likewise more than one example of his unequal numbers, which were mentioned before.—Yet many of his verses consist of ten syllables, and the words not much behind our present English; as for example, these two lines, in the description of the carpenter's young wife:

"Winning she was, as is a jolly colt,
Long as a mast, and upright as a bolt."

I have almost done with Chaucer, when I have answered some objections relating to my present

work. I find some people are offended that I have turned these tales into modern English; because they think them unworthy of my pains, and look on Chaucer as a dry, old-fashioned wit, not worth reviving. I have often heard the late Earl of Leicester say, that Mr. Cowley himself was of that opinion; who having read him over at my lord's request, declared he had no taste of him. I dare not advance my opinion against the judgment of so great an author; but I think it fair, however, to leave the decision to the public: Mr. Cowley was too modest to set up for a dictator; and being shocked perhaps with his old style, never examined into the depth of his good sense. Chaucer, I confess, is a rough diamond, and must first be polished, ere he shines. I deny not, likewise, that, living in our early days of poetry, he writes not always of a piece; but sometimes mingles trivial things with those of greater moment. Sometimes also, though not often, he runs riot, like Ovid, and knows not when he has said enough. But there are more great wits besides Chaucer, whose fault is their excess of conceits, and those ill sorted. An author is not to write all he can, but only all he ought. Having observed this redundancy in Chaucer (as it is an easy matter for a man of ordinary parts to find a fault in one of greater), I have not tied myself to a literal translation; but have often omitted what I judged unnecessary, or not of dignity enough to appear in the company of better thoughts. I have presumed farther, in some places, and added somewhat of my own where I thought my author was deficient, and had not given his thoughts their true lustre, for want of words in the beginning of our language. And to this I was the more emboldened, because (if I may be permitted to say it of myself) I found I had a soul congenial to his, and that I had been conversant in the same studies. Another poet, in another age, may take the same liberty with my writings; if at least they live long enough to deserve correction. It was also necessary sometimes to restore the sense of Chaucer, which was lost or mangled in the errors of the press: let this example suffice at present; in the story of Palamon and Arcite, where the temple of Diana is described, you find these verses, in all the editions of our author:—

"There saw I Danè turned into a tree,
I mean not the goddess Diane.
But Venus daughter, which that hight Danè."

which, after a little consideration, I knew was to be reformed into this sense, that Daphne, the daughter of Peneus, was turned into a tree. I durst not make thus bold with Ovid, lest some future Milbourn should arise, and say, I varied from my author, because I understood him not.

But there are other judges who think I ought not to have translated Chaucer into English, out of a quite contrary notion: they suppose there is a certain veneration due to his old language; and that it is a little less than profanation and sacrilege to alter it. They are farther of opinion, that somewhat of his good sense will suffer in this transfusion, and much of the beauty of his thoughts will infallibly be lost, which appear with more grace in their old habit. Of this opinion was that excellent person, whom I mentioned, the late Earl of Leicester, who valued Chaucer as much as Mr. Cowley despised him. My lord dissuaded me from this attempt, (for I was thinking of it some years before his death,) and his authority prevailed so far with me, as to defer my undertaking while he lived, in deference to him: yet my reason was not convinced with what he urged against it. If the first end of a writer be to be understood, then as his language grows obsolete, his thoughts must grow obscure: *muta senascentur quæ nunc cecidere; cadentque, quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus, quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.* When an ancient word for its sound and significance deserves to be revived, I have that reasonable veneration for antiquity, to restore it. All beyond this is superstition. Words are not like landmarks, so sacred as never to be removed; customs are changed, and even statutes are silently repealed, when the reason ceases for which they were enacted. As for the other part of the argument, that his thoughts will lose of their original beauty, by the innovation of words; in the first place, not only their beauty, but their being is lost, where they are no longer understood, which is the present case. I grant that something must be lost in all transfusion, that is, in all translations; but the sense will remain, which would otherwise be lost, or at least be maimed, when it is scarce intelligible; and that but to a few. How few are there who can read Chaucer, so as to understand him perfectly? And if imperfectly, then with less profit and no pleasure. 'Tis not for the use of some old Saxon friends, that I have taken these pains with him: let them neglect my version, because they have no need of it. I made it for their sakes who understand sense and poetry as well as they, when that poetry and sense is put into words which they understand. I will go farther, and dare to add, that what beauties I lose in some places, I give to others which had them not originally;

but in this I may be partial to myself; let the reader judge, and I submit to his decision. Yet I think I have just occasion to complain of them, who, because they understand Chaucer, would deprive the greater part of their countrymen of the same advantage, and hoard him up, as misers do their grandam gold, only to look on it themselves, and hinder others from making use of it. In sum, I seriously protest, that no man ever had, or can have, a greater veneration for Chaucer, than myself. I have translated some part of his works, only that I might perpetuate his memory, or at least refresh it, amongst my countrymen. If I have altered him anywhere for the better, I must at the same time acknowledge, that I could have done nothing without him: *Facile est inventis addere*, is no great commendation; and I am not so vain to think I have deserved a greater. I will conclude what I have to say of him singly, with this one remark: a lady of my acquaintance, who keeps a kind of correspondence with some authors of the fair sex in France, has been informed by them, that Mademoiselle de Scudery, who is as old as Sibyl, and inspired like her by the same god of poetry, is at this time translating Chaucer into modern French. From which I gather, that he has been formerly translated into the old Provençal (for how she should come to understand old English I know not). But the matter of fact being true, it makes me think that there is something in it like fatality; that, after certain periods of time, the fame and memory of great wits should be renewed, as Chaucer is both in France and England. If this be wholly chance, 'tis extraordinary, and I dare not call it more, for fear of being taxed with superstition.

Boccace comes last to be considered, who, living in the same age with Chaucer, had the same genius, and followed the same studies: both writ novels, and each of them cultivated his mother tongue. But the greatest resemblance of our two modern authors being in their familiar style, and pleasing way of relating comical adventures, I may pass it over, because I have translated nothing from Boccace of that nature. In the serious part of poetry, the advantage is wholly on Chaucer's side; for though the Englishman has borrowed many tales from the Italian, yet it appears that those of Boccace were not generally of his own making, but taken from authors of former ages, and by him only modelled: so that what there was of invention in either of them, may be judged equal.—But Chaucer has refined on Boccace, and has mended the stories which he has borrowed, in his way of telling; though prose allows more liberty of thought, and the expression is more easy, when unconfined by numbers. Our countryman carries weight, and yet wins the race at disadvantage. I desire not the reader should take my word: and therefore I will set two of their discourses on the same subject, in the same light, for every man to judge betwixt them. I translated Chaucer first, and, amongst the rest, pitched on the Wife of Bath's Tale; not daring, as I have said, to adventure on her prologue, because it is too licentious: there Chaucer introduces an old woman of mean parentage, whom a youthful knight of noble blood was forced to marry, and consequently loathed her: the crone being in bed with him on the wedding-night, and finding his aversion, endeavours to win his affection by reason, and speaks a good word for herself (as who could blame her?) in hope to mollify the sullen bridegroom. She takes her topics from the benefits of poverty, the advantages of old age and ugliness, the vanity of youth, and the silly pride of ancestry and titles without inherent virtue, which is the true nobility. When I had closed Chaucer, I returned to Ovid, and translated some more of his fables; and by this time had so far forgotten the Wife of Bath's Tale, that, when I took up Boccace, unawares I fell on the same argument of preferring virtue to nobility of blood, and titles, in the story of Sigismunda; which I had certainly avoided for the resemblance of the two discourses, if my memory had not failed me. Let the reader weigh them both; and if he thinks me partial to Chaucer, it is in him to right Boccace.

I prefer in our countryman, far above all his other stories, the noble poem of Palamon and Arcite which is of the Epic kind, and perhaps not much inferior to the Iliad or the Æneis: the story is more pleasing than either of them, the manners as perfect, the diction as poetical, the learning as deep and various; and the disposition full as artful; only it includes a greater length of time, as taking up seven years at least; but Aristotle has left undecided the duration of the action; which yet is easily reduced into the compass of a year, by a narration of what preceded the return of Palamon to Athens. I had thought for the honour of our nation, and more particularly for his, whose laurel, though unworthy, I have worn after him, that this story was of English growth, and Chaucer's own: but I was undeceived by Boccace; for casually looking on the end of his seventh Giornata, I found Dioneo (under which name he shadows himself), and Fiametta (who represents his mistress the natural daughter of Robert, king of Naples) of whom these words are spoken, *Dioneo e la Fiametta granpezza contarono insieme d'Arcita, e di Palamone*: by which it appears that this story was written before the

time of Boccace; but the name of its author being wholly lost,* Chaucer is now become an original; and I question not but the poem has received many beauties by passing through his noble hands. Besides this tale, there is another of his own invention, after the manner of the Provencals, called *The Flower and the Leaf*; with which I was so particularly pleased, both for the invention and the moral, that I cannot hinder myself from recommending it to the reader.

As a corollary to this preface, in which I have done justice to others, I owe somewhat to myself: not that I think it worth my time to enter the lists with one Milbourn, and one Blackmore, but barely to take notice that such men there are who have written scurrilously against me, without any provocation. Milbourn, who is in Orders, pretends amongst the rest this quarrel to me, that I have fallen foul on priesthood: if I have, I am only to ask pardon of good priests, and am afraid his part of the reparation will come to little. Let him be satisfied that he shall not be able to force himself upon me for an adversary. I condemn him too much to enter into competition with him. His own translations of Virgil have answered his criticisms on mine. If (as they say, he has declared in print) he prefers the version of Ogilby to mine, the world has made him the same compliment: for it is agreed on all hands, that he writes even below Ogilby: that, you will say, is not easily to be done; but what cannot Milbourn bring about? I am satisfied, however, that while he and I live together, I shall not be thought the worst poet of the age. It looks as if I had desired him underhand to write so ill against me: but upon my honest word I have not bribed him to do me this service, and am wholly guiltless of his pamphlet. 'Tis true, I should be glad, if I could persuade him to continue his good offices, and write such another critique on any thing of mine: for I find by experience he has a great stroke with the reader, when he condemns any of my poems, to make the world have a better opinion of them. He has taken some pains with my poetry; but no body will be persuaded to take the same with his. If I had taken to the church (as he affirms, but which was never in my thoughts) I should have had more sense, if not more grace, than to have turned myself out of my benefice by writing libels on my parishioners.—But his account of my manners and my principles are of a piece with his cavils and his poetry: and so I have done with him for ever.

As for the City Bard, or Knight Physician, I hear his quarrel to me is, that I was the author of *Absalom and Achitophel*, which he thinks is a little hard on his fanatic patrons in London.

But I will deal the more civilly with his two poems, because nothing ill is to be spoken of the dead: and therefore peace be to the Manes of his Arthurs. I will only say, that it was not for this noble knight that I drew the plan of an Epic poem on king Arthur, in my preface to the translation of Juvenal.—The guardian angels of kingdoms were machines too ponderous for him to manage; and therefore he rejected them, as Dares did the whirlbats of Eryx, when they were thrown before him by Entellus. Yet from that preface he plainly took his hint: for he began immediately upon the story; though he had the baseness not to acknowledge his benefactor; but instead of it, to traduce me in a libel.

I shall say the less of Mr. Collier, because in many things he has taxed me justly; and I have pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions of mine, which can be truly argued of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality; and retract them. If he be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one. Yet it were not difficult to prove that in many places he has perverted my meaning by his glosses; and interpreted my words into blasphemy and bawdry, of which they were not guilty; besides that he is too much given to horse-play in his railery; and comes to battle like a dictator from the plough. I will not say, The zeal of God's house has eaten him up; but I am sure it has devoured some part of his good manners and civility. It might also be doubted whether it were altogether zeal, which prompted him to this rough manner of proceeding; perhaps it became not one of his function to rake into the rubbish of ancient and modern plays; a divine might have employed his pains to better purpose, than in the nastiness of Plautus and Aristophanes; whose examples, as they excuse not me, so it might be possibly supposed, that he read them not without some pleasure. They who have written commentaries on those poets, or on Horace, Juvenal and Martial, have explained some vices, which without their interpretation had been unknown to modern times. Neither has he judged impartially betwixt the former age and us.

* Not so: for, as Mr. Malone has observed, Boccace alluded to the *Thesekla* which was written by himself. See Malone's Life, &c. of Dryden, vol. iii. p. 641.

There is more bawdry in one Play of Fletcher's, called *The Custom of the Country*, than in all ours together. Yet this has been often acted on the stage in my remembrance. Are the times so much more reformed now, than they were five and twenty years ago? If they are, I congratulate the amendment of our morals. But I am not to prejudice the cause of my fellow-poets, though I abandon my own defence: they have some of them answered for themselves, and neither they nor I can think Mr. Collier so formidable an enemy, that we should shun him. He has lost ground at the latter end of the day, by pursuing his point too far, like the Prince of Conde at the battle of Senneffe: from immoral plays, to no plays; *ab abusu ad usum, non valet consequentia*. But being a party, I am not to erect myself into a judge. As for the rest of those who have written against me, they are such scoundrels, that they deserve not the least notice to be taken of them. Blackmore and Milbourn are only distinguished from the crowd, by being remembered to their infancy.

"—— Demetri, teque Tigelli
Discipulorum inter jubeo plorare cathedras."

TALES FROM CHAUCER.

*TO HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF ORMOND,

WITH THE FOLLOWING POEM OF

PALAMON AND ARCITE.

MADAM,

THE bard who first adorn'd our native tongue,
Tuned to his British lyre this ancient song :
Which Homer might without a blush rehearse,
And leaves a doubtful palm in Virgil's verse :
He match'd their beauties, where they most excel;
Of love sung better, and of arms as well.

Vouchsafe, illustrious Ormond, to behold
What power the charms of beauty had of old;
Nor wonder if such deeds of arms were done,
Inspired by two fair eyes, that sparkled like your
OWN.

If Chaucer by the best idea wrought,
And poets can divine each other's thought,
The fairest nymph before his eyes he set;
And then the fairest was Plantagenet;
Who three contending princes made her prize, 15
And ruled the rival nations with her eyes:
Who left immortal trophies of her fame,
And to the noblest order gave the name.

Like her, of equal kindred to the throne,
You keep her conquests, and extend your own: 20
As when the stars, in their ethereal race,
At length have roll'd around the liquid space,
At certain periods they resume their place,

* Dr. Johnson justly censures this Dedication as a "piece where his original fondness of remote conceits seems to have revived." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 4. *And leaves a doubtful palm in Virgil's verse.*

"Dubiam facientia carmina palam."—Juv.

JOHN WARTON.

From the same point of heaven their course
advance,

And move in measures of their former dance; 25
Thus, after length of ages, she returns,
Restored in you, and the same place adorns;
Or you perform her office in the sphere,
Born of her blood, and make a new Platonic
year.

O true Plantagenet, O race divine, 30
(For beauty still is fatal to the line)

Had Chaucer lived that angel-face to view,
Sure he had drawn his Emily from you;
Or had you lived to judge the doubtful right,
Your noble Palamon had been the knight; 35
And conquering Theseus from his side had sent
Your generous lord, to guide the Theban
government.

Time shall accomplish that; and I shall see
A Palamon in him, in you an Emily.

Already have the fates your path prepared, 40
And sure presage your future sway declared:
When westward, like the sun, you took your
way,

And from benighted Britain bore the day,
Blue Triton gave the signal from the shore,
The ready Nereids heard, and swam before 45
To smooth the seas; a soft Etesian gale.
But just inspired, and gently swell'd the sail;

Ver. 31. ——— *fatal to the line.*] Destined or given by the Fates.—A peculiar sense. JOHN WARTON.

Portunus took his turn, whose ample hand
 Heaved up his lighten'd keel, and sunk the sand,
 And steer'd the sacred vessel safe to land.
 The land, if not restrain'd, had met your way,
 Projected out a neck, and jutted to the sea.
 Hibernia, prostrate at your feet, adore,
 In you, the pledge of her expected lord;
 Due to her isle, a venerable name;
 His father and his grandsire known to fame;
 Awed by that house, accusom'd to command,
 The sturdy kerns in due subjection stand;
 Nor bear the reins in any foreign hand.
 At your approach, they crowded to the port;
 And scarcely landed, you create a court:
 As Ormond's harbinger, to you they run;
 For Venus is the promise of the sun.
 The waste of civil wars, their towns destroy'd,
 Pales unhonour'd, Ceres unemploy'd,
 Were all forgot; and one triumphant day
 Wiped all the tears of three campaigns away.
 Blood, rapines, massacres, were cheaply bought,
 So mighty recompense your beauty brought.
 As when the dove returning bore the mark
 Of earth restored to the long-labouring ark,
 The relics of mankind, secure of rest,
 Oped every window to receive the guest,
 And the fair bearer of the message bless'd;
 So, when you came, with loud repeated cries,
 The nation took an omen from your eyes,
 And God advanced his rainbow in the skies,
 To sign inviolable peace restored;
 The saints, with solemn shouts, proclaim'd the
 new accord.

When at your second coming you appear,
 (For I foretel that millenary year)
 The sharpen'd share shall vex the soil no more,
 But earth unbidden shall produce her store;
 The land shall laugh, the circling ocean smile,
 And Heaven's indulgence bless the holy isle.
 Heaven from all ages has reserved for you
 That happy clime, which venom never knew;
 Or if it had been there, your eyes alone
 Have power to chase all poison but their own.

Now in this interval, which fate has cast
 Betwixt your future glories, and your past,
 This pause of power, 'tis Ireland's hour to mourn;
 While England celebrates your safe return,
 By which you seem the seasons to command,
 And bring our summers back to their forsaken land.

The vanquish'd isle our leisure must attend,
 Till the fair blessing we vouchsafe to send;
 Nor can we spare you long, tho' often we may lend.
 The dove was twice employ'd abroad, before
 The world was dried, and she return'd no more.

Nor dare we trust so soft a messenger,
 New from her sickness, to that northern air;
 Rest here a while your lustre to restore,
 That they may see you, as you shone before;
 For yet, the eclipse not wholly past, you wade
 Through some remains, and dimness of a shade.

A subject in his prince may claim a right,
 Nor suffer him with strength impair'd to fight;

Ver. 48. *Portunus took his turn, whose ample hand*]

"Et pater ipse manu magna Portunus euntem
 Impulit."—Æneid. v. l. 241. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 70. *As when the dove!* He had before used this
 simile, in *Threnodia Augustalis*, I believe. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 82. *The sharpen'd share, &c.* He could not avoid
 an imitation of Virgil's *Pollio*. JOHN WARTON.

Till force returns, his ardour we restrain,
 And curb his warlike wish to cross the main.

Now past the danger, let the learn'd begin
 The inquiry, where disease could enter in;
 How those malignant atoms forced their way.
 What in the faultless frame they found to make
 their prey?

Where every element was weigh'd so well,
 That Heaven alone, who mix'd the mass, could tell
 Which of the four ingredients could rebel;
 And where, imprison'd in so sweet a cage,
 A soul might well be pleased to pass an age.

And yet the fine materials made it weak;
 Porcelain, by being pure, is apt to break:
 Ev'n to your breast the sickness durst aspire;
 And, forced from that fair temple to retire,
 Profanely set the holy place on fire.

In vain your lord, like young Vespasian, mourn'd,
 When the fierce flames the sanctuary burn'd:
 And I prepared to pay in verses rude
 A most detested act of gratitude:
 Ev'n this had been your elegy, which now
 Is offer'd for your health, the table of my vow.

Your angel sure our Morley's mind inspired,
 To find the remedy your ill required;
 As once the Macedon, by Jove's decree,
 Was taught to dream an herb for Protemy;
 Or Heaven, which had such over-cost bestow'd,
 As scarce it could afford to flesh and blood,
 So liked the frame, he would not work anew,
 To save the charges of another you.

Or by his middle science did he steer,
 And saw some great contingent good appear
 Well worth a miracle to keep you here:
 And for that end, preserved the precious mould,
 Which all the future Ormonds was to hold;
 And meditated in his better mind
 An heir from you, which may redeem the failing
 kind.

Blest be the power which has at once restored
 The hopes of lost succession to your lord;
 Joy to the first and last of each degree,
 Virtue to courts, and, what I long'd to see,
 To you the Graces, and the Muse to me.
 O daughter of the rose, whose cheeks unite
 The differing titles of the red and white:
 Who heaven's alternate beauty well display,
 The blush of morning, and the milky way;
 Whose face is paradise, but fenced from sin:
 For God in either eye has placed a cherubin.

All is your lord's alone; ev'n absent, he
 Employs the care of chaste Penelope.
 For him you waste in tears your widow'd hours,
 For him your curious needle paints the flowers;
 Such works of old imperial dames were taught;
 Such, for Ascanius, fair Elisa wrought.
 The soft recesses of your hours improve
 The three fair pledges of your happy love:
 All other parts of pious duty done,
 You owe your Ormond nothing but a son;
 To fill in future times his father's place,
 And wear the garter of his mother's race.

Ver. 118. *And where, imprison'd in so sweet a cage,
 A soul might well be pleased to pass an age.]*
 Pope has a similar expression, and the same rhyme.

"Most souls, 'tis true, but peep out once an age,
 Dull sullen prisoners in the body's cage."

Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady, l. 17.

JOHN WARTON.
 Q

PALAMON AND ARCITE;

OR, THE KNIGHT'S TALE.

BOOK I.

In days of old, there lived, of mighty fame,
 A valiant prince, and Theseus was his name:
 A chief, who more in feats of arms excell'd,
 The rising nor the setting sun beheld.
 Of Athens he was lord; much land he won,
 And added foreign countries to his crown.
 In Scythia with the warrior queen he strove,
 Whom first by force he conquer'd, then by love;
 He brought in triumph back the beauteous dame,
 With whom her sister, fair Emilia, came.
 With honour to his home let Theseus ride,
 With love to friend, and fortune for his guide,
 And his victorious army at his side.
 I pass their warlike pomp, their proud array,
 Their shouts, their songs, their welcome on the
 way:

But, were it not too long, I would recite
 The feats of Amazons, the fatal fight
 Betwixt the hardy queen and hero knight;
 The town besieged, and how much blood it cost
 The female army, and the Athenian host;
 The spouses of Hippolita the queen;
 What tilts and tournaments at the feast were seen;
 The storm at their return, the ladies' fear:
 But these, and other things, I must forbear.
 The field is spacious I design to sow,
 With oxen far unfit to draw the plough:
 The remnant of my tale is of a length
 To tire your patience, and to waste my strength;
 And trivial accidents shall be forborne,
 That others may have time to take their turn;
 As was at first enjoin'd us by mine host:
 That he whose tale is best, and pleases most,
 Should win his supper at our common cost.

And therefore where I left, I will pursue
 This ancient story, whether false or true,
 In hope it may be mended with a new.
 The prince I mention'd, full of high renown,
 In this array drew near the Athenian town;
 When in his pomp and utmost of his pride,
 Marching, he chanced to cast his eye aside,
 And saw a choir of mourning dames, who lay
 By two and two across the common way:
 At his approach they raised a rueful cry,
 And beat their breasts, and held their hands on
 high,

* Chaucer was more than 60 years old, and Dryden 70, when they wrote *Palamon*. Sade says in 1359, Boccaccio sent a copy of Dante, written by his own hand, to Petrarch, who, it seems, was jealous of Dante, and in his answer speaks kindly of him — Sade, p. 507. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 26. *With oxen*] From Ovid:—

"Non profecturis littora bobus arat."

JOHN WARTON.

Creeping and crying, till they seized at last
 His courser's bridle, and his feet embraced.

Tell me, said Theseus, what and whence you
 are,

And why this funeral pageant you prepare?
 Is this the welcome of my worthy deeds,
 To meet my triumph in ill-omen'd weeds?
 Or envy you my praise, and would destroy
 With grief my pleasures, and pollute my joy?
 Or are you injured, and demand relief?
 Name your request, and I will ease your grief.

The most in years of all the mourning train
 Began; (but swooned first away for pain)
 Then scarce recover'd spoke: Nor envy we
 Thy great renown, nor grudge thy victory;
 'Tis thine, O king, the afflicted to redress,
 And fame has fill'd the world with thy success

We wretched women sue for that alone,
 Which of thy goodness is refused to none;
 Let fall some drops of pity on our grief,
 If what we beg be just, and we deserve relief:
 For none of us, who now thy grace implore,
 But held the rank of sovereign queen before;
 Till thanks to giddy Chance, which never bears,
 That mortal bliss should last for length of years,
 She cast us headlong from our high estate,
 And here in hope of thy return we wait:
 And long have waited in the temple nigh,
 Built to the gracious goddess Clemency.
 But reverence thou the power whose name it
 bears,

Relieve the oppress'd, and wipe the widow's tears.
 I, wretched I, have other fortune seen,
 The wife of Capaneus, and once a queen:
 At Thebes he fell; cursed be the fatal day!
 And all the rest thou seest in this array,
 To make their moan, their lords in battle lost
 Before that town besieged by our confederate
 host:

But Creon, old and impious, who commands
 The Theban city, and usurps the lands,
 Denies the rites of funeral fires to those
 Whose breathless bodies yet he calls his foes.
 Unburn'd, unburied, on a heap they lie;
 Such is their fate, and such is tyranny;
 No friend has leave to bear away the dead,
 But with their lifeless limbs his hounds are fed
 At this she shriek'd aloud; the mournful train
 Echo'd her grief, and, grovelling on the plain,

Ver. 49. *Is this the welcome, &c.*]

"Hi nostri reditus expectatique triumphi."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 88. *But with their lifeless limbs his hounds are fed.*]

— *αὐτοὶ δὲ βίβρια τῶν νεκρῶν ἐσθίουσι*. — Homer.

JOHN WARTON.

With groans, and hands uphold, to move his
mum,

Besought his pity to their helpless kind !

The prince was touch'd, his tears began to flow,
And, as his tender heart would break in two,
He sigh'd ; and could not but their fate deplore,
So wretched now, so fortunate before. ⁹⁶

Then lightly from his lofty steed he flew,
And raising one by one the suppliant crew,
To comfort each, full solemnly he swore,
That by the faith which knights to knighthood
bore, ¹⁰⁰

And whate'er else to chivalry belongs,
He would not cease, till he revenged their wrongs :
That Greece should see perform'd what he de-
clared ;

And cruel Creon find his just reward.
He said no more, but, shunning all delay, ¹¹⁵

Rode on, nor enter'd Athens on his way :
But left his sister and his queen behind,
And waved his royal banner in the wind :

Where in an argent field the god of war
Was drawn triumphant on his iron car ; ¹¹⁰
Red was his sword, and shield, and whole attire,
And all the godhead seem'd to glow with fire ;

Ev'n the ground glitter'd where the standard flew,
And the green grass was dyed to sanguine hue.
High on his pointed lance his pennon bore ¹¹⁵
His Cretan fight, the conquer'd Minotaur :

The soldiers shout around with generous rage,
And in that victory their own presage.
He praised their ardour ; only pleased to see
His host the flower of Grecian chivalry. ¹²⁰

All day he march'd, and all the ensuing night,
And saw the city with returning light.

The process of the war I need not tell,
How Theseus conquer'd, and how Creon fell : ¹²⁵
Or after, how by storm the walls were won,
Or how the victor sack'd and burn'd the town :

How to the ladies he restored again
The bodies of their lords in battle slain :

And with what ancient rites they were interr'd ;
All these to fitter times shall be defer'd : ¹³⁰

Ver. 106. — *the god of war*
Was drawn triumphant in his iron car ;]

This passage was in Gray's mind, when he wrote the
Progress of Poesy ; and I am surprised that the epithet ap-
plied to car escaped him :

"On Thracia's hills the lord of war,
Has curbed the fury of his car." TOND.

Ver. 113. *Ev'n the ground glitter'd where the standard flew,]*
" — totaque circum

Ære renidescit tellus. — Lucrēt lib. ii.

And again :

"Stare videtur et in campis consistere fulgur."

So Euripides, *Phœnissæ*, verse 110.

— κατέχων ἄτον
Πέδιον ἀσπράττον. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 115. *High on his pointed lance his pennon bore*
His Cretan fight, the conquer'd Minotaur .]

Chaucer's original says,

"And by his banner borne is his penon
Of gold full riche, in which there was ybete (i.e. stamped)
The Minotaure which that he slew in Crete."

This adventure of Theseus and the Minotaur is repre-
sented by Virgil as being the subject of the sculpture on
the front of the temple of Apollo at Cumæ ; which, I con-
jecture, he borrowed, as he uses some of the very expres-
sions of Catullus, from his description of the embroidered
hangings or tapestry. JOHN WARTON.

I spare the widows' tears, their woeful cries,
And howling at their husbands' obsequies ;
How Theseus at these funerals did assist,
And with what gifts the mourning dames dis-
miss'd

Thus when the victor chief had Creon slain, ¹³⁵
And conquer'd Thebes, he pitch'd upon the plain
His mighty camp, and, when the day return'd,
The country wasted, and the hamlets burn'd,
And left the pillagers, to rapine bred,
Without control to strip and spoil the dead. ¹⁴⁰

There, in a heap of slain, among the rest
Two youthful knights they found beneath a load
oppress'd

Of slaughter'd foes, whom first to death they
sent,

The trophies of their strength, a bloody monu-
ment.

Both fair, and both of royal blood they seem'd, ¹⁴⁵
Whom kinsmen to the crown the heralds deem'd ;
That day in equal arms they fought for fame ;
Their swords, their shields, their surcoats were
the same.

Close by each other laid, they press'd the ground,
Their manly bosoms pierced with many a grisly
wound, ¹⁵⁰

Nor well alive, nor wholly dead they were,
But some faint signs of feeble life appear :

The wandering breath was on the wing to part.
Weak was the pulse and hardly heaved the heart.

These two were sisters' sons ; and Arcite one, ¹⁵⁵
Much famed in fields, with valiant Palamon.

From these their costly arms the spoil was rent,
And softly both convey'd to Theseus' tent :

Whom known of Creon's line, and cured with
care, ¹⁶⁰

He to his city sent as prisoners of the war,
Hopeless of ransom, and condemn'd to lie

In durance, doom'd a lingering death to die.
This done, he march'd away with warlike sound,

And to his Athens turn'd with laurels crown'd,
Where happy long he lived, much loved, and
more renown'd. ¹⁶⁵

But in a tower, and never to be loosed,
The woeful captive kinsmen are enclosed :

Thus year by year they pass, and day by day,
Till once, 'twas on the morn of cheerful May, ¹⁷⁰

The young Emilia, furer to be seen
Than the fair lily on the flowery green,

More fresh than May herself in blossoms new,
For with the rosy colour strove her hue,

Waked, as her custom was, before the day,
To do the observance due to sprightly May : ¹⁷⁵

For sprightly May commands our youth to keep
The vigils of her night, and breaks their sluggard
sleep ;

Each gentle breast with kindly warmth she
moves ;

Inspires new flames, revives extinguish'd loves.
In this remembrance Emily ere day ¹⁸⁰

Arose, and dress'd herself in rich array ;
Fresh as the month, and as the morning fair :

Adown her shoulders fell her length of hair :
A ribband did the braided tresses bind,

The rest was loose, and wanton'd in the wind : ¹⁸⁵
Aurora had but newly chased the night,

And purpled o'er the sky with blushing light,
When to the garden walk she took her way.

To sport and trip along in cool of day,
And offer maiden vows in honour of the May. ¹⁹⁰

At every turn, she made a little stand,
And thrust among the thorns her lily hand
To draw the rose, and every rose she drew
She shook the stalk, and brush'd away the dew :
Then party-colour'd flowers of white and red 195
She wove, to make a garland for her head :
This done, she sung and caroll'd out so clear,
That men and angels might rejoice to hear :
Ev'n wondering Philomel forgot to sing :
And learn'd from her to welcome in the spring. 200
The tower, of which before was mention made,
Within whose keep the captive knights were laid,
Built of a large extent, and strong withal,
Was one partition of the palace wall ;
The garden was enclosed within the square, 205
Where young Emilia took the morning air.

It happen'd Palamon, the prisoner knight,
Restless of woe, arose before the light,
And with his jailor's leave desired to breathe
An air more wholesome than the damps be-
neath. 210

This granted, to the tower he took his way,
Cheer'd with the promise of a glorious day :
Then cast a languishing regard around,
And saw, with hateful eyes, the temples crown'd
With golden spires, and all the hostile ground. 215
He sigh'd, and turn'd his eyes, because he knew
'Twas but a larger jail he had in view :
Then look'd below, and from the castle's height
Beheld a nearer and more pleasing sight :
The garden, which before he had not seen, 220
In spring's new livery clad of white and green,
Fresh flowers in wide parterres, and shady walks
between.

This view'd, but not enjoy'd, with arms across
He stood, reflecting on his country's loss ;
Himself an object of the public scorn, 225
And often wish'd he never had been born.
At last, for so his destiny required,
With walking giddy, and with thinking tired,
He through a little window cast his sight,
Though thick of bars, that gave a scanty light : 230
But ev'n that glimmering served him to descry
The inevitable charms of Emily.

Scarce had he seen, but seized with sudden
smart,
Stung to the quick, he felt it at his heart ;
Struck blind with overpowering light he stood, 235
Then started back amazed, and cried aloud.

Young Arcite heard ; and up he ran with
haste,
To help his friend, and in his arms embraced ;
And ask'd him why he look'd so deadly wan,
And whence and how his change of cheer be-
gan ? 240

Or who had done the offence ? But if, said he,
Your grief alone is hard captivity ;
For love of heaven with patience undergo
A cureless ill, since fate will have it so : 245
So stood our horoscope in chains to lie,
And Saturn in the dungeon of the sky,
Or other baleful aspect, ruled our birth.
When all the friendly stars were under earth :
Whate'er betides, by destiny 'tis done ;
And better bear like men, than vainly seek to
shun. 250

Nor of my bonds, said Palamon again,
Nor of unhappy planets I complain ;
But when my mortal anguish caused my cry,
That moment I was hurt through either eye ;

Pierced with a random shaft, I faint away, 255
And perish with insensible decay :
A glance of some new goddess gave the wound,
Whom, like Actæon, unaware I found.
Look how she walks along yon shady space,
Not Juno moves with more majestic grace ; 260
And all the Cyprian queen is in her face.
If thou art Venus, (for thy charms confess
That face was form'd in heaven, nor art thou less ;
Disguised in habit, undisguised in shape)
Oh, help us captives from our chains to 'scape ; 265
But if our doom be pass'd in bonds to lie
For life, and in a loathsome dungeon die,
Then be thy wrath appeased with our disgrace,
And show compassion to the Theban race,
Oppress'd by tyrant power ! While yet he spoke,
Arcite on Emily had fix'd his look ; 271
The fatal dart a ready passage found,
And deep within his heart infix'd the wound :
So that if Palamon were wounded sore,
Arcite was hurt as much as he, or more : 275
Then from his inmost soul he sigh'd, and said,
The beauty I behold has struck me dead :
Unknowingly she strikes ; and kills by chance ;
Poison is in her eyes, and death in every glance.
Oh, I must ask ; nor ask alone, but move 280
Her mind to mercy, or must die for love.

Thus Arcite : and thus Palamon replies,
(Eager his tone, and ardent were his eyes).
Speak'st thou in earnest, or in jesting vein ?
Jesting, said Arcite, suits but ill with pain. 285
It suits far worse, (said Palamon again,
And bent his brows) with men who honour weigh,
Their faith to break, their friendship to betray ;
But worst with thee, of noble lineage born,
My kinsman, and in arms my brother sworn. 290
Have we not plighted each our holy oath,
That one should be the common good of both ;
One soul should both inspire, and neither prove
His fellow's hindrance in pursuit of love ?
To this before the gods we gave our hands, 295
And nothing but our death can break the bands.
This binds thee, then, to further my design,
As I am bound by vow to further thine :
Nor canst, nor dar'st thou, traitor, on the plain
Approach my honour, or thine own maintain, 300
Since thou art of my council, and the friend
Whose faith I trust, and on whose care depend :
And would'st thou court my lady's love, which I
Much rather than release would choose to die ?
But thou, false Arcite, never shalt obtain 305
Thy bad pretence ; I told thee first my pain :
For first my love began ere thine was born ;
Thou as my council, and my brother sworn,
Art bound to assist my eldership of right,
Or justly to be deem'd a perjured knight. 310

Ver. 258. *Whom, like Actæon, unaware I found.* An Ovidian allusion. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 261. *And all the Cyprian queen, &c.*

"And Venus is it, sothly as I gesse,
And therewithall on knees adoun he fell,
And sayde :—"

This circumstance of his falling on his knees, which is striking and dramatic, Dryden has hastily omitted, without judgment, as appears by the tenor of Arcite's argument. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 285. *Jesting, said Arcite, suits but ill with pain.*

"Difficile est tristi fingere mente jocum."

Tibullus, lib. iii. E. 6, 2.

JOHN WARTON

Thus Palamon : but Arcite with disdain
In haughty language thus replied again :
Forsworn thyself. the traitor's odious name
I first return, and then disprove thy claim.
If love be passion, and that passion nursed
With strong desires, I loved the lady first.
Canst thou pretend desire, whom zeal inflamed
To worship, and a power celestial named?
Thine was devotion to the blest above,
I saw the woman, and desired her love :
First own'd my passion, and to thee commend
The important secret, as my chosen friend.
Suppose (which yet I grant not) thy desire
A moment elder than my rival fire ;
Can chance of seeing first thy title prove ?
And know'st thou not, no law is made for love ?
Law is to things which to free choice relate ;
Love is not in our choice, but in our fate ;
Laws are but positive ; love's power, we see,
Is Nature's sanction, and her first decree.
Each day we break the bond of human laws
For love, and vindicate the common cause.
Laws for defence of civil rights are placed,
Love throws the fences down and makes a
general waste :
Maids, widows, wives, without distinction fall ;
The sweeping deluge, love, comes on and covers
all.

If then the laws of friendship I transgress,
I keep the greater, while I break the less ;
And both are mad alike, since neither can possess.
Both hopeless to be ransom'd, never more
To see the sun, but as he passes o'er.

Like Æsop's hounds contending for the bone,
Each pleaded right, and would be lord alone :
The fruitless fight continued all the day,
A cur came by, and snatch'd the prize away.
As courtiers therefore justle for a grant,
And when they break their friendship, plead their
want,

So thou, if fortune will thy suit advance,
Love on, nor envy me my equal chance :
For I must love, and am resolved to try
My fate, or failing in the adventure die.

Great was their strife, which hourly was re-
new'd,
Till each with mortal hate his rival view'd :
Now friends no more, nor walking hand in hand ;
But when they met, they made a surly stand ;
And glared like angry lions as they pass'd,
And wish'd that every look might be their last.

It chanced at length, Pirithous came to attend
This worthy Theseus, his familiar friend ;
Their love in early infancy began,
And rose as childhood ripen'd into man,
Companions of the war ; and loved so well,
That when one died, as ancient stories tell,
His fellow to redeem him went to hell.

Ver. 326. — *no law is made for love ;*
"Quis legem dat amantibus ?
Major lex amor est sibi."—Boeth. iii. 12
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 342. *Like Æsop's hounds contending for the bone,*
Dryden seems here to speak in his own person, which
breaks the thread of the contest rather artificially, where-
as the original continues in the first person.

"We strive as did the houndes for the bone."
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 352. *Great was their strife, &c.* These six spirited
lines are entirely our author's own, and an improvement on
the simple original. JOHN WARTON.

But to pursue my tale ; to welcome home
His warlike brother is Pirithous come :
Arcite of Thebes was known in arms long since,
And honour'd by this young Thessalian prince
Theseus to gratify his friend and guest,
Who made our Arcite's freedom his request,
Restored to liberty the captive knight,
But on these hard conditions I recite.
That if hereafter Arcite should be found
Within the compass of Athenian ground,
By day or night, or on whate'er pretence,
His head should pay the forfeit of the offence.
To this Pirithous for his friend agreed,
And on his promise was the prisoner freed.

Unpleased and pensive hence he takes his way.
At his own peril ; for his life must pay.
Who now but Arcite mourns his bitter fate,
Finds his dear purchase, and repents too late ?
What have I gain'd, he said, in prison pent,
If I but change my bonds for banishment ?
And banish'd from her sight, I suffer more
In freedom, than I felt in bonds before ;
Forced from her presence, and condemn'd to live ;
Unwelcome freedom, and unthank'd reprieve :
Heaven is not, but where Family abides,
And where she's absent, all is hell besides.
Next to my day of birth, was that accursed,
Which bound my friendship to Pirithous first :
Had I not known that prince, I still had been
In bondage, and had still Emilia seen :
For though I never can her grace deserve,
'Tis recompence enough to see and serve.
O Palamon, my kinsman and my friend,
How much more happy fates thy love attend !
Thine is the adventure ; thine the victory :
Well has thy fortune turn'd the dice for thee :
Thou on that angel's face may'st feed thine eyes,
In prison, no ; but blissful paradise !
Thou daily seest that sun of beauty shine,
And lov'st at least in love's extremest line.
I mourn in absence, love's eternal night ;
And who can tell but since thou hast her sight,
And art a comely, young, and valiant knight,
Fortune (a various power) may cease to frown,
And by some ways unknown thy wishes crown ?
But I, the most forlorn of human kind,
Nor help can hope, nor remedy can find ;
But doom'd to drag my loathsome life in care,
For my reward, must end it in despair.
Fire, water, air, and earth, and force of fates,
That governs all, and Heaven that all creates,
Nor art, nor nature's hand can ease my grief ;
Nothing but death, the wretch's last relief :
Then farewell youth, and all the joys that dwell,
With youth and life, and life itself farewell.
But why, alas ! do mortal men in vain
Of fortune, fate, or Providence complain ?

Ver. 379. *Unpleased and pensive hence he takes his way.*
The original exceeds the imitation here in the picture of
Arcite's distress :

"How great a sorwe suffereth now Arcite ?
The deth he feleth thurgh his herte smite ;
He weepeth, walleth, crieth pitously ;
To sleen himself he waiteth hourly."

An admirable picture of despair ! JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 383.] So Ferdinand in the Tempest, Act the first

"Might I but through my prison once a day
Behold this maid : all corners else of the earth
Let liberty make use of, shall enough
Have I in such a prison!" JOHN WARTON

God gives us what he knows our wants require,
And better things than those which we desire:
Some pray for riches; riches they obtain;
But, watch'd by robbers, for their wealth are
slain:

Some pray from prison to be freed; and come,
When guilty of their vows, to fall at home;
Murder'd by those they trusted with their life,
A favour'd servant, or a bosom wife.
Such dear-bought blessings happen every day,
Because we know not for what things to pray.
Like drunken sots about the street we roam:
Well knows the sot he has a certain home:
Yet knows not how to find the uncertain place,
And blunders on, and staggers every pace.
Thus all seek happiness; but few can find,
For far the greater part of men are blind.
This is my case, who thought our utmost good
Was in one word of freedom understood:
The fatal blessing came: from prison free,
I starve abroad, and lose the sight of Emily.

Thus Arcite; but if Arcite thus deplore
His sufferings, Palamon yet suffers more.
For when he knew his rival freed and gone,
He swells with wrath; he makes outrageous
moan:

He frets, he fumes, he stares, he stamps the
ground;

The hollow tower with clamours rings around:
With briny tears he bathed his fetter'd feet,
And droop'd all o'er with agony of sweat.
Alas! he cried! I, wretch, in prison pine,
Too happy rival, while the fruit is thine:
Thou liv'st at large, thou draw'st thy native air,
Pleased with thy freedom, proud of my despair:
Thou may'st, since thou hast youth and courage
join'd,

A sweet behaviour and a solid mind,
Assemble ours, and all the Theban race,
To vindicate on Athens thy disgrace;
And after, by some treaty made, possess
Fair Emily, the pledge of lasting peace.
So thine shall be the beautiful prize, while I
Must languish in despair, in prison die.
Thus all the advantage of the strife is thine,
Thy portion double joys, and double sorrows
mine.

The rage of jealousy then fired his soul,
And his face kindled like a burning coal:
Now cold despair, succeeding in her stead,
To livid paleness turns the glowing red.
His blood, scarce liquid, creeps within his veins,
Like water which the freezing wind constrains.
Then thus he said: Eternal Deities,
Who rule the world with absolute decrees,

Ver. 427. — *guilty of their vows*] A Latinism used by Virgil:—"Constitutum ante aras, voti reus —"
[En. v. 337. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 432. *Like drunken sots about, &c.*] Sed ad hominum studia revertor, quorum animus, etsi caligante memoria, tamen summum bonum repetit; sed veluti ebrius, domum quo tramite revertatur, ignorat.—Boethius de Cons. l. 3. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 446. *He frets, he fumes,*] Why should I tell the reader to admire these seven lines? DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 447. *The hollow tower*] An improvement: in Chaucer, "the grette tower." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 448. — *h's fetter'd feet.*] I take occasion here to observe, once for all, the beauty and simplicity of Dryden's epithets. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 470. — *Eternal Deities,*] We think we are

And waste whatever time shall bring to pass,
With pens of adamant, on plates of brass;
What, is the race of human kind your care
Beyond what all his fellow creatures are?

He with the rest is liable to pain,
And like the sheep, his brother-beast, is slain.
Cold, hunger, prisons, ills without a cure,
All these he must, and guiltless oft endure;
Or does your justice, power, or prescience fail,
When the good suffer, and the bad prevail?

What worse to wretched virtue could befall,
If fate or giddy fortune govern'd all?
Nay, worse than other beasts is our estate;
Them, to pursue their pleasures, you create;
We, bound by harder laws, must curb our will,
And your commands, not our desires, fulfil;

Then, when the creature is unjustly slain,
Yet after death at least he feels no pain;
But man in life surcharged with woe before,
Not freed when dead, is doom'd to suffer more.
A serpent shoots his sting at unaware;
An ambush'd thief forelays a traveller;
The man lies murder'd, while the thief and snake,
One gains the thickets, and one thrids the brake.
Thus let divines decide, but well I know,
Just, or unjust, I have my share of woe,
Through Saturn, seated in a luckless place,
And Juno's wrath, that persecutes my race;

Or Mars and Venus, in a quartile, move
My pangs of jealousy for Arcite's love.

Let Palamon oppress'd in bondage mourn,
While to his exiled rival we return.
By thus, the sun, declining from his height,
The day had shorten'd to prolong the night:

The lengthen'd night gave length of misery
Both to the captive lover and the free.
For Palamon in endless prison mourns,
And Arcite forfeits life if he returns:
The banish'd never hopes his love to see,
Nor hopes the captive lord his liberty:
'Tis hard to say who suffers greater pains:
One sees his love, but cannot break his chains:
One free, and all his motions uncontroll'd,
Beholds whate'er he would, but what he would
behold.

Judge as you please, for I will haste to tell
What fortune to the banish'd knight befel.

When Arcite was to Thebes return'd again,
The loss of her he loved renew'd his pain;
What could be worse, than never more to see
His life, his soul, his charming Emily?

reading a chapter in Bayle, in defence of the Manichean doctrines, instead of a passage in a romantic poem, concerning the lives of two unfortunate cavaliers. It is strange our author should introduce a metaphysical discourse in the midst of such a story. But Johnson says his delight was in ratiocination. The same may be said of a passage below, at verse 830. DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 473. *With pens of adamant, on plates of brass;*] Χαλκῆς πᾶσι βύσσινος ἐκ δίλκου γράφει. From Chaucer, Milton has adopted this expression:

— Incises leges adamante perenni."

See Todd's Milton, vol. vii. p. 833.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 512. *'Tis hard to say*] In the original is an apostrophe, which in my humble opinion greatly heightens the pathos:

"You lovers axe I now this question,
Who hath the worse, Arcite or Palamon?"

JOHN WARTON

He raved with all the madness of despair,
 He roar'd, he beat his breast, he tore his hair.
 Dry sorrow in his stupid eyes appears,
 For, wanting nourishment, he wanted tears :
 His eye-balls in their hollow sockets sunk,
 Bereft of sleep he loathes his meat and drink.
 He withers at his heart, and looks as wan
 As the pale spectre of a murder'd man .
 That pale turns yellow, and his face receives
 The faded hue of sapless boxen leaves :
 In solitary groves he makes his moan,
 Walks early out, and ever is alone :
 Nor, mix'd in mirth, in youthful pleasures shares,
 But sighs when songs and instruments he hears.
 His spirits are so low, his voice is drown'd,
 He hears as from afar, or in a swoon,
 Like the deaf murmurs of a distant sound :
 Uncomb'd his locks, and squalid his attire,
 Unlike the trim of love and gay desire ;
 But full of museful moppings, which presage
 The loss of reason, and conclude in rage.
 This when he had endured a year and more,
 Nor wholly changed from what he was before,
 It happen'd once, that, slumbering as he lay,
 He dream'd, (his dream began at break of day)
 That Hermes o'er his head in air appear'd,
 And with soft words his drooping spirits cheer'd ;
 His hat, adorn'd with wings, disclosed the god,
 And in his hand he bore the sleep-compelling
 rod :

Such as he seem'd when, at his sire's command,
 On Argus' head he laid the snaky wand.
 Arise, he said, to conquering Athens go,
 There fate appoints an end to all thy woe.
 The fright awaken'd Arcite with a start,
 Against his bosom bounced his heaving heart ;
 But soon he said, with scarce recover'd breath,
 And blather will I go, to meet my death,
 Sure to be slain ; but death is my desire,
 Since in Emilia's sight I shall expire.
 By chance he spied a mirror while he spoke,
 And gazing there beheld his alter'd look ;
 Wondering, he saw his features and his hue
 So much were changed, that scarce himself he
 knew.

A sudden thought then starting in his mind,
 Since I in Arcite cannot Arcite find,
 The world may search in vain with all their eyes,
 But never penetrate through this disguise.
 Thanks to the change which grief and sickness
 give,
 In low estate I may securely live,

Ver. 524. *Dry sorrow in his stupid eyes appears,*

Δάκρυα δὲ βλαῖνα ἰδὲ βλάβαισι τερπύνα
 "Ιστανται, ἀγένητον σῆμα δουρατίης."

Jullani *Ægyptii* in imaginem Philoctetis.

Antholog. II. Steph. p. 313.
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 535. *But sighs when songs and instruments he hears.*

"Qui tristis audis musicum citharæ sonum,
 Quem tibi arum macerat jucunditas."—Phædrus.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 561. *By chance he spied a mirror while he spoke.*
 This is not according to the original, which, I think, contains a very natural incident: "And with that word he caught a gret mirror." In the sudden thought of revisiting Athens, he wished to see what appearance he made.

JOHN WARTON.
 Ver. 566. *Since I in Arcite, &c.* Chaucer continues his narrative, which is more judicious. JOHN WARTON.

And see unknown my mistress day by day.
 He said ; and clothed himself in coarse array :
 A labouring hind in show ; then forth he went,
 And to the Athenian towers his journey bent .
 One squire attended in the same disguise,
 Made conscious of his master's enterprise.
 Arrived at Athens, soon he came to court,
 Unknown, unquestion'd in that thick resort :
 Proffering for hire his service at the gate,
 To drudge, draw water, and to run or wait.
 So fair befel him, that for little gain
 He served at first Emilia's chamberlain ;
 And, watchful all advantages to spy,
 Was still at hand, and in his master's eye ;
 And as his bones were big, and sinews strong,
 Refused no toil that could to slaves belong ;
 But from deep wells with engines water drew,
 And used his noble hands the wood to hew.
 He pass'd a year at least attending thus
 On Emily, and call'd Philostratus.

But never was there man of his degree
 So much esteem'd, so well beloved as he.
 So gentle of condition was he known,
 That through the court his courtesy was blown :
 All think him worthy of a greater place,
 And recommend him to the royal grace ;
 That exercised within a higher sphere,
 His virtues more conspicuous might appear.
 Thus by the general voice was Arcite praised,
 And by great Theseus to high favour raised ;
 Among his menial servants first enroll'd,
 And largely entertain'd with sums of gold .
 Besides what secretly from Thebes was sent,
 Of his own income, and his annual rent :
 This well employ'd, he purchased friends and
 fame,

But cautiously conceal'd from whence it came.
 Thus for three years he lived with large increase,
 In arms of honour, and esteem in peace ;
 To Theseus' person he was ever near ;
 And Theseus for his virtues held him dear.

BOOK II.

WHILE Arcite lives in bliss, the story turns
 Where hopeless Palamon in prison mourns.
 For six long years immured, the captive knight
 Had dragg'd his chains, and scarcely seen the
 light :

Lost liberty and love at once he bore :
 His prison pain'd him much, his passion more :
 Nor dares he hope his fetters to remove,
 Nor ever wishes to be free from love.

But when the sixth revolving year was run,
 And May within the Twins received the sun,
 Were it by chance, or forceful destiny,
 Which forms in causes first what'er shall be,
 Assisted by a friend, one moonless night,
 This Palamon from prison took his flight :

Ver. 610. *And Theseus, &c.* "Palamon and Arcyte," a comedy, was acted before queen Elizabeth in Christ Church Hall at Oxford, 1566, with which the queen appeared to be much delighted, and promised to reward the author, Richard Edwards, for his pains. His poems are printed in the Paradise of Dainty Devises. London, quarto, 1578. Dr. J. WARTON

A pleasant beverage he prepared before,
Of wine and honey mix'd with added store
Of opium ; to his keeper this he brought,
Who swallow'd unaware the sleepy draught,
And snored secure till morn, his senses bound
In slumber, and in long oblivion drown'd.
Short was the night, and careful Palamon
Sought the next covert ere the rising sun.
A thick-spread forest near the city lay,
To this with lengthen'd strides he took his way,
(For far he could not fly, and fear'd the day.)
Safe from pursuit, he meant to shun the light,
Till the brown shadows of the friendly night
To Thebes might favour his intended flight.
When to his country come, his next design
Was all the Theban race in arms to join,
And war on Theseus, till he lost his life,
Or won the beautiful Emily to wife.
Thus while his thoughts the lingering day beguile,
To gentle Arcite let us turn our style ;
Who little dreamt how nigh he was to care,
Till treacherous fortune caught him in the snare.
The morning lark, the messenger of day,
Saluted in her song the morning gray ;
And soon the sun arose with beams so bright,
That all the horizon laugh'd to see the joyous sight ;

He with his tepid rays the rose renews,
And licks the drooping leaves, and dries the dews ;
When Arcite left his bed, resolved to pay
Observance to the month of merry May :
Forth on his fiery steed betimes he rode,
That scarcely prints the turf on which he trod :
At ease he seem'd, and, prancing o'er the plains,
Turn'd only to the grove his horse's reins,
The grove I named before ; and, lighted there,
A woodbine garland sought to crown his hair ;
Then turn'd his face against the rising day,
And raised his voice to welcome in the May.

For thee, sweet month, the groves green
liveries wear,

If not the first, the fairest of the year :
For thee the Graces lead the dancing hours,
And Nature's ready pencil paints the flowers :
When thy short reign is past, the feverish sun
The sultry tropic fears, and moves more slowly on.
So may thy tender blossoms fear no blight,
Nor goats with venom'd teeth thy tendrils bite,
As thou shalt guide my wandering feet to find
The fragrant greens I seek, my brows to bind.

His vows address'd, within the grove he stray'd,
Till fate or fortune near the place convey'd
His steps where secret Palamon was laid.
Full little thought him of the gentle knight,
Who, flying death, had there conceal'd his flight,
In brakes and brambles hid, and shunning mortal sight.

And less he knew him for his hated foe,
But fear'd him as a man he did not know.
But as it has been said of ancient years,
The fields are full of eyes, and woods have ears ;
For this the wise are ever on their guard,
For, unforeseen, they say, is unprepared.

Ver. 682. *That fields are full of eyes, and woods have ears*]
There is an old Monkish verse to this effect :

"Campus habet lumen, et habet nemus auris acumen."

Tyrwhitt.
There is an Hebrew proverb much to the same purpose :
'Do not speak of great matters in a field that is full of
little hills.'—Ray's Proverbs. JOHN WARTON.

Uncautious Arcite thought himself alone,
And less than all suspected Palamon ;
Who listening heard him, while he search'd the
grove,

And loudly sung his roundelay of love :
But on the sudden stopp'd, and silent stood,
As lovers often muse, and change their mood ;
Now high as heaven, and then as low as hell ;
Now up, now down, as buckets in a well ;
For Venus, like her day, will change her cheer
And seldom shall we see a Friday clear.

Thus Arcite having sung, with alter'd hue
Sunk on the ground, and from his bosom drew
A desperate sigh, accusing heaven and fate,
And angry Juno's unrelenting hate.

Curs'd be the day when first I did appear ;
Let it be blotted from the calendar,
Lest it pollute the month, and poison all the year.
Still will the jealous Queen pursue our race !
Cadmus is dead, the Theban city was :

Yet ceases not her hate : for all who come
From Cadmus are involved in Cadmus' doom.
I suffer for my blood : unjust decree !
That punishes another's crime on me.

In mean estate I serve my mortal foe,
The man who caused my country's overthrow.
This is not all ; for Juno, to my shame,
Has forced me to forsake my former name ;
Arcite I was, Philostrate I am.

That side of heaven is all my enemy ;
Mars ruin'd Thebes : his mother ruin'd me.

Of all the royal race remains but one
Besides myself, the unhappy Palamon,
Whom Theseus holds in bonds, and will not free ;
Without a crime, except his kin to me.

Yet these, and all the rest, I could endure ;
For love's a malady without a cure ;
Fierce Love has pierced me with his fiery dart,
He fires within, and hisses at my heart.

Your eyes, fair Emily, my fate pursue ;
I suffer for the rest, I die for you.
Of such a goddess no time leaves record,
Who burn'd the temple where she was adored :

And let it burn, I never will complain,
Pleased with my sufferings, if you know my pain.
At this a sickly quail his heart assail'd,
His ears ring inward, and his senses fail'd.

No word miss'd Palamon of all he spoke,
But soon to deadly pale he changed his look :
He trembled every limb, and felt a smart,
As if cold steel had glided through his heart ;

Nor longer stood, but starting from his place,
Discover'd stood, and show'd his hostile face :

Ver. 699. *Curs'd be the day when first I did appear ;*

Let it be blotted from the calendar,

Lest it pollute the month, and poison all the year.]

"Let the day perish wherein I was born, and let it not
be joined unto the days of the year. Let it not come into
the number of the months. Let them curse it that curse
the day."—Job iii. 8, et seq. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 703. ——— *the Theban city was :*

"fuit Ilum."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 722. ——— *hisses at my heart*] Inexcusably vulgar.

Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 725 *Of such a goddess no time leaves record,*
Who burn'd the temple where she was adored :]

This conceit is not in the original of Chaucer, but may
be found in Dryden's *Miscellanies*, being the concluding
complet of a copy of verses, called, "A Cruel Mistress," by
T. Carew, Esq. What could induce our poet to insert them
here, we cannot readily conceive. JOHN WARTON

False traitor Arcite, traitor to thy blood,
Bound by thy sacred oath to seek my good,
Now art thou found forsworn, for Emily;
And dar'st attempt her love, for whom I die. 740
So hast thou cheated Theseus with a wife,
Against thy vow, returning to beguile
Under a borrow'd name: as false to me,
So false thou art to him who set thee free:
But rest assured, that either thou shalt die, 745
Or else renounce thy claim in Emily;
For though unarm'd I am, and (freed by chance)
Am here without my sword, or pointed lance:
Hope not, base man, unquestion'd hence to go,
For I am Palamon, thy mortal foe. 750

Arcite, who heard his tale, and knew the man,
His sword unsheathed, and fiercely thus began:
Now, by the gods, who govern heaven above,
Wert thou not weak with hunger, mad with love,
That word had been thy last, or in this grove 755
This hand should force thee to renounce thy love.
The surety which I gave thee, I defy:
Fool, not to know that love endures no tie,
And Jove but laughs at lovers' perjury.
Know I will serve the fair in thy despite; 760
But since thou art my kinsman, and a knight,
Here, have my faith, to-morrow in this grove
Our arms shall plead the titles of our love:
And Heaven so help my right, as I alone
Will come, and keep the cause and quarrel both 765
unknown,

With arms of proof both for myself and thee;
Choose thou the best, and leave the worst to me.
And, that at better ease thou may'st abide,
Bedding and clothes I will this night provide,
And needful sustenance, that thou may'st be 770
A conquest better won, and worthy me.
His promise Palamon accepts; but pray'd,
To keep it better than the first he made.
Thus fair they parted till the morrow's dawn,
For each had laid his plighted faith to pawn. 775
Oh Love! thou sternly dost thy power maintain,
And wilt not bear a rival in thy reign,
Tyrants and thou all fellowship disdain.
This was in Arcite proved, and Palamon,
Both in despair, yet each would love alone. 780
Arcite return'd, and, as in honour tied,
His foe with bedding, and with food supplied;
Then, ere the day, two suits of armour sought,
Which borne before him on his steed he brought:
Both were of shining steel, and wrought so pure, 785
As might the strokes of two such arms endure.
Now, at the time, and in the appointed place,
The challenger and challenged, face to face,
Approach; each other from afar they knew,
And from afar their hatred changed their hue. 790
So stands the Thracian herdsman with his spear,
Full in the gap, and hopes the hunted bear,

Ver. 750. *For I am Palamon.* That profound philosopher, who of all others penetrated most deeply into the human heart, has observed, that a *discovery* is, of all events, most likely to interest a reader. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 777. *And wilt not bear a rival in thy reign,
Tyrants and thou all fellowship disdain.*

"Nec regna socium ferre nec tædæ soluit."

Sen. Agam. 259.

So also Spenser:

"For love and lordship bide no paragone."

Mother Hubb. Tale.

JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 791. *So stands the Thracian* Our language scales

And hears him rustling in the wood, and sees
His course at distance by the bending trees
And thinks, Here comes my mortal enemy, 795
And either he must fall in fight, or I:
This while he thinks, he lifts aloft his dart;
A generous chillsness seizes every part:
The veins pour back the blood, and fortify the
heart.

Thus pale they meet; their eyes with fury
burn;

None greets; for none the greeting will return:
But in dumb surliness, each arm'd with care
His foe profess'd, as brother of the war:
Then both, no moment lost, at once advance
Against each other, arm'd with sword and lance. 800
They lash, they foil, they pass, they strive to bore
Their corslets, and the thinnest parts explore.
Thus two long hours in equal arms they stood,
And, wounded, wound; till both were bathed in
blood;

And not a foot of ground had either got, 810
As if the world depended on the spot.
Fell Arcite like an angry tiger fared,
And like a lion Palamon appear'd:
Or, as two boars, whom love to battle draws,
With rising bristles, and with frothy jaws, 815
Their adverse breasts with tusks oblique they
wound;

With grunts and groans the forest rings around.
So fought the knights, and fighting must abide,
Till fate an umpire sends their difference to
decide.

The power that ministers to God's decrees, 820
And executes on earth what Heaven foresees,
Call'd Providence, or Chance, or Fatal Sway,
Comes with resistless force, and finds or makes
her way,

Nor kings, nor nations, nor united power,
One moment can retard the appointed hour, 825
And some one day, some wondrous chance ap-
pears,

Which happen'd not in centuries of years:
For sure, whate'er we mortals hate, or love,
Or hope, or fear, depends on powers above;
They move our appetites to good or ill, 830
And by foresight necessitate the will.
In Theseus this appears; whose youthful joy
Was beasts of chase in forests to destroy;
This gentle knight, inspired by jolly May,
Forsook his easy couch at early day, 835
And to the wood and wilds pursued his way.

can produce nine more beautifully-finished lines. Dr. J. WATSON.

I think the original fully equal to the imitation:

"Right as the hunter in the reigns of Trace
That stoneth at a gape with a spear,
When hunted is the lion or the bear,
And hereth him come rushing in the graves,
And breking bothe the boughes and the leves,
And thinketh, here cometh my mortal enemy,
Withouten faille, he must be ded or I;
For eyther I mote slen him at the gappe:
Or he mote slen me, if that me mishappe."

JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 826. *And some one day, some wondrous chance appears,
Which happen'd not in centuries of years:*

"The extreme parts of time extremely form
All causes to the purpose of his speed;
And often, at his very loose, decides
That which long process could not arbitrate"

Shakspeare's *Love's Lab. Lost*, Act. v.

JOHN WATSON

I'eside him rode Hippolita the queen,
 And Emily attired in lively green,
 With horns, and hounds, and all the tuneful cry,
 To hunt a royal hart within the covert nigh. ⁸⁴⁰
 And as he follow'd Mars before, so now
 He serves the goddess of the silver bow.
 The way that Theseus took was to the wood
 Where the two knights in cruel battle stood:
 The lawn on which they fought, the appointed ⁸⁴⁵
 place
 In which the uncoupled hounds began the chase.
 Thither forth-right he rode to rouse the prey,
 That shaded by the fern in harbour lay;
 And thence dislodged, was wont to leave the ⁸⁵⁰
 wood,
 For open fields, and cross the crystal flood.
 Approach'd, and looking underneath the sun,
 He saw proud Arcite, and fierce Palamon,
 In mortal battle doubling blow on blow;
 Like lightning flamed their fauchions to and fro,
 And shot a dreadful gleam; so strong they strook. ⁸⁵⁵
 There seem'd less force required to fell an oak:
 He gazed with wonder on their equal might,
 Look'd eager on, but knew not either knight:
 Resolved to learn, he spur'd his fiery steed ⁸⁶⁰
 With goring rowels to provoke his speed.
 The minute ended that began the race,
 So soon he was betwixt 'em on the place;
 And with his sword unsheathed, on pain of life
 Commands both combatants to cease their strife:
 Then with imperious tone pursues his threat; ⁸⁶⁵
 What are you? why in arms together met?
 How dares your pride presume against my laws,
 As in a listed field to fight your cause?
 Unask'd the royal grant; no marshal by,
 As knightly rites require; nor judge to try? ⁸⁷⁰
 Then Palamon, with scarce recover'd breath,
 Thus hasty spoke: We both deserve the death,
 And both would die; for look the world around,
 A pair so wretched I not to be found.
 Our life's a load, encumber'd with the charge, ⁸⁷⁵
 We long to set the imprison'd soul at large.
 Now, as thou art a sovereign judge, decree
 The rightful doom of death to him and me;
 Let neither find thy grace; for grace is cruelty.
 Me first, oh, kill me first; and cure my woe: ⁸⁸⁰
 Then sheathe the sword of justice on my foe:
 Or kill him first; for when his name is heard,
 He foremost will receive his due reward.
 Arcite of Thebes is he; thy mortal foe:
 On whom thy grace did liberty bestow, ⁸⁸⁵
 But first contracted, that if ever found
 By day or night upon the Athenian ground,
 His head should pay the forfeit; see return'd
 The perjured knight, his oath and honour scorn'd.
 For this is he, who, with a borrow'd name ⁸⁹⁰
 And proffer'd service, to thy palace came,
 Now call'd Philostratus: retain'd by thee,
 A traitor trusted, and in high degree,
 Aspiring to the bed of beauteous Emily.
 My part remains: from Thebes my birth I own,
 And call myself the unhappy Palamon. ⁸⁹⁵
 Think me not like that man; since no disgrace
 Can force me to renounce the honour of my race.

Ver. 880. *Me first, oh, kill me first;* For the passionate repetition of *Me* he is indebted to his old master, Virgil. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 897. *Think me not like that man;* It does not often happen that the additions made by our poet are really improvements. I rather think that these words are not in

Know me for what I am: I broke my chain,
 Nor promised I thy prisoner to remain: ⁹⁰⁰
 The love of liberty with life is given,
 And life itself the inferior gift of Heaven.
 Thus without crime I fled; but farther know,
 I, with this Arcite, am thy mortal foe:
 Then give me death, since I thy life pursue; ⁹⁰⁵
 For safeguard of thyself, death is my due.
 More would'st thou know? I love bright Emily,
 And, for her sake, and in her sight, will die:
 But kill my rival too; for he no less
 Deserves; and I thy righteous doom will bless, ⁹¹⁰
 Assured that what I lose, he never shall possess.
 To this replied the stern Athenian prince,
 And sourly smiled: In owning your offence
 You judge yourself; and I but keep record
 In place of law, while you pronounce the word. ⁹¹⁵
 Take your desert, the death you have decreed;
 I seal your doom, and ratify the deed:
 By Mars, the patron of my arms, you die.
 He said; dumb sorrow seized the standers-by.
 The queen above the rest, by nature good, ⁹²⁰
 (The pattern form'd of perfect womanhood)
 For tender pity wept: when she began,
 Through the bright quire the infectious virtue ran.
 All dropp'd their tears, even the contended maid.
 And thus among themselves they softly said: ⁹²⁵
 What eyes can suffer this unworthy sight!
 Two youths of royal blood, renown'd in fight,
 The mastership of heaven in face and mind,
 And lovers, far beyond their faithless kind:
 See their wide-streaming wounds: they neither ⁹³⁰
 came
 For pride of empire, nor desire of fame:
 Kings fight for kingdoms, madmen for applause:
 But love for love alone; that crowns the lover's
 cause.
 This thought, which ever bribes the beauteous ⁹³⁵
 kind,
 Such pity wrought in every lady's mind,
 They left their steeds, and prostrate on the place,
 From the fierce king implored the offenders' ⁹⁴⁰
 grace.
 He paused a while, stood silent in his mood,
 (For yet his rage was boiling in his blood.)
 But soon his tender mind the impression felt, ⁹⁴⁵
 (As softest metals are not slow to melt,
 And pity soonest runs in softest minds.)
 Then reasons with himself; and first he finds
 His passion cast a mist before his sense,
 And either made, or magnified the offence. ⁹⁵⁰
 Offence? of what? to whom? who judged the
 cause?
 The prisoner freed himself by nature's law:
 Born free, he sought his right: the man he freed
 Was perjured, but his love excused the deed:
 Thus pondering, he look'd under with his eyes, ⁹⁵⁵
 And saw the women's tears, and heard their
 cries;
 Which moved compassion more; he shook his
 head,
 And softly sighing to himself he said:
 Curse on the unpardoning prince, whom tears
 can draw
 To no remorse; who rules by lions' law; ⁹⁶⁰

character with the noble-minded ingenuous Palamon. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 913. *And sourly smiled;* The *aspramente sorriso* and *sonno amaramente* of Ariosto and Tasso. TODD

And deaf to prayers, by no submission bow'd,
Rends all alike; the penitent, and proud!
At this, with look serene, he raised his head;
Reason resumed her place, and passion fled:
Then thus aloud he spoke: The power of love,⁹⁶⁰
In earth, and seas, and air, and heaven above,
Rules, unresisted, with an awful nod;
By daily miracles declared a god:
He blinds the wise, gives eye-sight to the blind;
And moulds and stamps anew the lover's mind.⁹⁶⁵
Behold that Arcite, and this Palamon,
Freed from my fetters, and in safety gone,
What hinder'd either in their native soil
At ease to reap the harvest of their toil?
But Love, their lord, did otherwise ordain,⁹⁷⁰
And brought 'em in their own despite again,
To suffer death deserved; for well they know,
'Tis in my power, and I their deadly foe.
The proverb holds, that to be wise and love,⁹⁷⁵
Is hardly granted to the gods above.
See how the madmen bleed: behold the gains
With which their master, Love, rewards their
pains.

For seven long years, on duty every day,
Lo their obedience, and their monarch's pay:
Yet, as in duty bound, they serve him on;⁹⁸⁰
And, ask the fools, they think it wisely done;
Nor ease, nor wealth, nor life itself, regard,
For 'tis their maxim, Love is love's reward.
This is not all; the fair, for whom they strove,
Nor knew before, nor could suspect their love,⁹⁸⁵
Nor thought, when she beheld the fight from far,
Her beauty was the occasion of the war.
But sure a general doom on man is pass'd,
And all are fools and lovers, first or last:
Thus, both by others and myself, I know,⁹⁹⁰
For I have served their sovereign long ago;
Oft have been caught within the winding train
Of female snares, and felt the lover's pain,
And learn'd how far the god can human hearts
constrain.

To this remembrance, and the prayers of those,
Who for the offending warriors interpose,⁹⁹⁵
I give their forfeit lives; on this accord,
To do me homage as their sovereign lord;
And as my vassals, to their utmost might,
Assist my person, and assert my right.¹⁰⁰⁰
This freely sworn, the knights their grace obtain'd.
Then thus the king his secret thoughts explain'd:
If wealth, or honour, or a royal race,
Or each, or all may win a lady's grace,
Then either of you knights may well deserve¹⁰⁰⁵
A princess born; and such is she you serve:
For Emily is sister to the crown,
And but too well to both her beauty known:
But should you combat till you both were dead,
Two lovers cannot share a single bed:¹⁰¹⁰
As therefore both are equal in degree,
The lot of both be left to destiny.

Ver 974. *The proverb holds, &c.]*

"A. nare et sapere vix Deo conceditur."—Publ. Sy.

"To be wise and eke to love,
Is granted scarce to gods above."—Spenser.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver 997. ——— on this accord,
To do me homage as their sovereign lord,]

So the magnanimous Scipio to Allucius; "Ihanc mercedem unam pro eo munere pacis, amicus Populo Romano sis."—Liv. l. 26, c. 50. JOHN WARTON.

Now hear the award, and happy may it prove
To her, and him who best deserves her love.
Depart from hence in peace, and, free as air,¹⁰¹⁵
Search the wide world, and where you please
repair;

But on the day when this returning sun
To the same point through every sign has run,
Then each of you his hundred knights shall bring,
In royal lists, to fight before the king;¹⁰²⁰
And then the knight, whom fate or happy chance
Shall with his friends to victory advance,
And grace his arms so far in equal fight,
From out the bars to force his opposite,
Or kill, or make him recreant on the plain,¹⁰²⁵
The prize of valour and of love shall gain;
The vanquish'd party shall their claim release,
And the long jars conclude in lasting peace.
The charge be mine to adorn the chosen ground,
The theatre of war, for champions so renown'd;
And take the patron's place, of either knight,¹⁰³⁰
With eyes impartial to behold the fight;
And Heaven of me so judge as I shall judge aright.
If both are satisfied with this accord,
Swear by the laws of knighthood on my sword.

Who now but Palamon exults with joy?¹⁰³⁵
And ravish'd Arcite seems to touch the sky:
The whole assembled troop was pleas'd as well,
Extol the award, and on their knees they fell
To bless the gracious king. The knights with
leave¹⁰⁴⁰

Departing from the place, his last commands
receive;

On Emily with equal ardour look,
And from her eyes their inspiration took.
From thence to Thebes' old walls pursue their way,
Each to provide his champions for the day.¹⁰⁴⁵

It might be deem'd, on our historian's part,
Or too much negligence, or want of art,
If he forgot the vast magnificence
Of royal Theseus, and his large expence.¹⁰⁵⁰
He first inclosed for lists a level ground,
The whole circumference a mile around;
The form was circular; and all without
A trench was sunk, to moat the place about.
Within an amphitheatre appear'd,¹⁰⁵⁵
Raised in degrees, to sixty paces rear'd:
That when a man was placed in one degree,
Height was allow'd for him above to see.

Eastward was built a gate of marble white;
The like adorn'd the western opposite.¹⁰⁶⁰
A nobler object than this fabric was,
Rome never saw; nor of so vast a space.
For rich with spoils of many a conquer'd land,
All arts and artists Theseus could command;
Who sold for hire, or wrought for better fame,
The master-painters, and the carvers, came.¹⁰⁶⁵
So rose within the compass of the year
An age's work, a glorious theatre.
Then o'er its eastern gate was raised above
A temple, sacred to the Queen of Love;
An altar stood below: on either hand¹⁰⁷⁰
A priest with roses crown'd, who held a myrtle wand.

The dome of Mars was on the gate oppos'd.
And on the north a turret was inclosed,

Ver. 1070.

An altar stood below: on either hand
A priest with roses crown'd, who held a myrtle wand.]

Our author has adorned this passage with appropriate
imagery. JOHN WARTON.

Within the walls of alabaster white,
And crimson coral for the queen of night, 1075
Who takes in sylvan sports her chaste delight.

Within these oratories might you see
Rich carvings, portraiture, and imagery :
Where every figure to the life express'd
The godhead's power to whom it was address'd.
In Venus' temple on the sides were seen 1081
The broken slumbers of enamour'd men,
Prayers that ev'n spoke, and pity seem'd to call,
And issuing sighs that smoked along the wall.
Complaints, and hot desires, the lover's hell, 1085
And scalding tears that wore a channel where
they fell :

And all around were nuptial bonds, the ties,
Of love's assurance, and a train of lies,
That, made in lust, conclude in perjuries.
Beauty, and Youth, and Wealth, and Luxury, 1090
And sprightly Hope, and short-enduring Joy ;
And Sorceries to raise the infernal powers,
And Sigils framed in planetary hours :
Expense, and After-thought, and idle Care,
And Doubts of motley hue, and dark Despair ; 1095
Suspensions, and fantastical Surmise,
And Jealousy suffused, with jaundice in her eyes,
Discolouring all she view'd, in tawny dress'd ;
Down-look'd, and with a cuckoo on her fist.

Opposed to her, on t' other side advance 1100
The costly feast, the carol, and the dance,
Minstrels, and music, poetry, and play,
And balls by night, and tournaments by day.
All these were painted on the walls, and more ;

With acts and monuments of times before : 1105
And others added by prophetic doom,
And lovers yet unborn, and loves to come :
For there the Italian mount, and Citheron,
The court of Venus, was in colours drawn :
Before the palace-gate, in careless dress, 1110
And loose array, sat portress Idleness :
There, by the fount, Narcissus pined alone ;
There Samson was ; with wiser Solomon,
And all the mighty names by love undone.
Medea's charms were there, Circean feasts, 1115
With bowls that turn'd enamour'd youths to
beasts :

Here might be seen, that beauty, wealth, and wit,
And prowess, to the power of love submit :
The spreading snare for all mankind is laid ;
And lovers all betray, and are betray'd. 1120
The goddess' self some noble hand had wrought ;
Smiling she seem'd, and full of pleasing thought :

Ver. 1114. *And all the mighty names, &c.* Our poet omits, in his haste, several of the most apposite examples As for instance, Chaucer says :

"Ne yet the grete strength of Hercules,
Ne of Turnus the hardy fiers courage,
The riche Cressus, catiff in servage."

For Hercules he has substituted Samson. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1121. *The goddess' self* My reader perhaps may not be displeased with the following lines, which contain some of the leading features of this animated description :

Αντιπαρουσιάζουσιν.

Τὴν ἀναπαύμεναι ἀπὸ μαρτύρων, ἔστι Σαλάντας
Κίτριν, Ἀπὸ τοῦ μύχου δὲ χρυσοῦ,
"Ὡς καὶ, συμμαχίας διὰ βουλήν, ὁμοῦ καί τας,
Εὐδελίαν νοστήσαν ἄρ' ἐν ἀπὸ πλοκάμῳ.
Ἀδελφὸν οὖν ἱερέων Ἀθηναίων καὶ καὶ Ἡγῶ
Ὅσον ἐν τοῖς μοῖσιν εἰς τὴν ἑξομῆσιν."

Anthol. H. Steph. p. 328.

JOHN WARTON.

From ocean as she first began to rise,
And smooth'd the ruffled seas, and clear'd the
skies ;

She trod the brine all bare below the breast, 1125
And the green waves but ill conceal'd the rest.
A lute she held ; and on her head was seen
A wreath of roses red, and myrtles green ;
Her turtles fann'd the buxom air above ;
And, by his mother, stood an infant Love, 1130
With wings unfledged ; his eyes were banded o'er ;
His hands a bow, his back a quiver bore,
Supplied with arrows bright and keen, a deadly
store.

But in the dome of mighty Mars the red
With different figures all the sides were spread ;
This temple, less in form, with equal grace, 1135
Was imitative of the first in Thrace :
For that cold region was the loved abode,
And sovereign mansion of the warrior god.
The landscape was a forest wide and bare ; 1140
Where neither beast, nor human kind repair ;
The fowl, that scent afar, the borders fly,
And shun the bitter blast, and wheel about the
sky.

A cake of scurf lies baking on the ground,
And prickly stubs, instead of trees, are found ;
Or woods with knots and knares deform'd and
old ; 1145

Headless the most, and hideous to behold :
A rattling tempest through the branches went,
That stripp'd 'em bare, and one sole way they
bent.

Heaven froze above, severe, the clouds congeal,
And through the crystal vault appear'd the
standing hail. 1151

Such was the face without : a mountain stood
Threatening from high, and overlook'd the wood :
Beneath the lowering brow, and on a bent,
The temple stood of Mars armipotent : 1155
The frame of burnish'd steel, that cast a glare
From far, and seem'd to thaw the freezing air.
A strait long entry to the temple led,
Blind with high walls, and horror over head :

Ver. 1126. *And the green waves*] Dryden, as in this most elegant passage, scarce ever uses above one epithet to its substantive. Many of our late writers, with a nauseous affectation, accumulate three or four epithets on the same subject. Lucretius, the most nervous of all poets, has some lines of great energy, without one single epithet in them :

"Nubila, ros, imbres, nix, venti, fulmina, grando."

"Vulneribus, clamore, fuga, clangore, tumultu."

"Prata, lacus, rivos, segetes, vinetaque læta."

Horace has a few :

"Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re."

I remember no one line without epithet in Virgil. One of Milton has great force :

"Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, fens, and shades of death."
Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1140. *The landscape was a forest wide and bare ;*] Our author has here added circumstances that highly improve the original, and has set before us a picture full of the wild imagery of Salvator Rosa. That my reader may judge, I have here cited the original passage :

"First on the wall was painted a forest,
In which their womenneth neyther man ne best,
With knotty knarry barren trees old,
Of stubbes sharpe and hideous to behold ;
In which ther ran a romble and a swough,
As though a storme shuld bresten every bough."

JOHN WARTON.

Thence issued such a blast, and hollow roar, 1160
As threaten'd from the hinge to heave the door;
In through that door, a northern light there
shone,

'Twas all it had, for windows there were none.
The gate was adamant, eternal frame!
Which, hew'd by Mars himself, from Indian
quarries came, 1165

The labour of a god; and all along
Tough iron plates were clench'd to make it
strong.

A tun about was every pillar there;
A polish'd mirror shone not half so clear.
There saw I how the secret felon wrought, 1170
And treason labouring in the traitor's thought,
And midwife Time the ripen'd plot to murder
brought.

There the red Anger dared the pallid Fear;
Next stood Hypocrisy, with holy leer;
Soft smiling, and demurely looking down, 1175
But hid the dagger underneath the gown.
The assassinating wife, the household fiend,
And far the blackest there, the traitor-friend.
On t' other side there stood Destruction bare;
Unpunish'd Rapine, and a waste of war 1180
Contest, with sharpen'd knives in cloisters drawn,
And all with blood bespread the holy lawn.
Loud menaces were heard, and foul disgrace,
And bawling infamy, in language base,
Till sense was lost in sound, and silence fled the
place. 1185

The slayer of himself yet saw I there,
The gore congeal'd was clotted in his hair:
With eyes half closed, and gaping mouth he lay,
And grim, as when he breathed his sullen soul
away.

In midst of all the dome, Misfortune sat, 1190
And gloomy Discontent, and fell Debate,
And Madness laughing in his ireful mood;
And arm'd complaint on theft; and cries of blood.
There was the murder'd corpse, in covert laid,
And violent death in thousand shapes display'd:
The city to the soldier's rage resign'd: 1195
Successful wars, and poverty behind:
Ships burnt in fight, or forced on rocky shores,
And the rash hunter strangled by the boars:
The new-born babe by nurses overlaid; 1200
And the cook caught within the raging fire he
made.

All ills of Mars his nature, flame, and steel;
The gasping charioteer, beneath the wheel
Of his own car; the ruin'd house that falls
And intercepts her lord betwixt the walls: 1205
The whole division that to Mars pertains,
All trades of death that deal in steel for gains,
Were there: the butcher, armourer, and smith,
Who forges sharpen'd fauchions, or the scythe.
The scarlet Conquest on a tower was placed, 1210
With shouts, and soldiers' acclamations graced;
A pointed sword hung threatening o'er his head,
Sustain'd but by a slender twine of thread.
There saw I Mars his ides, the Capitol,
The seer in vain foretelling Cæsar's fall; 1215

Ver. 1161. *As threaten'd from the hinge to heave the door;*]
An happy instance of alliteration. JOHN WARTON

Ver. 1212. *A pointed sword hung threatening o'er his head,*]
"Districtus ensis cui super impia
Servicie pendet."—Hort. lib. iii. Od. 1.

JOHN WARTON.

The last triumphs, and the wars they move,
And Antony, who lost the world for love.
These, and a thousand more, the fane adorn;
Their fates were painted ere the men were born,
All copied from the heavens, and ruling force 12
Of the red star, in his revolving course.
The form of Mars high on a chariot stood.
All sheathed in arms, and gruffly look'd the god.
Two geomantic figures were display'd
Above his head, a warrior and a maid,* 125

One when direct, and one when retrograde.
Tired with deformities of death, I haste
To the third temple of Diana chaste.
A sylvan scene with various greens was drawn,
Shades on the sides, and in the midst a lawn: 120
The silver Cynthia, with her nymphs around
Pursued the flying deer, the woods with horns
resound:

Calisto there stood manifest of shame,
And, turn'd a bear, the northern star became:
Her son was next, and, by peculiar grace, 125
In the cold circle held the second place:
The stag Actæon in the stream had spied
The naked huntress, and, for seeing, died:
His hounds, unknowing of his change, pursue
The chace, and their mistaken master slew. 130
Peneian Daphne too was there to see,
Apollo's love before, and now his tree:
The adjoining fane the assembled Greeks ex-
press'd,

And hunting of the Caledonian beast.
Cenides' valour, and his envied prize: 135
The fatal power of Atalanta's eyes;
Diana's vengeance on the victor shown,
The murderess mother, and consuming son;
The Volscian queen extended on the plain; 130
The treason punish'd, and the traitor slain.
The rest were various huntings, well design'd,
And savage beasts destroy'd, of every kind.
The graceful goddess was array'd in green;
About her feet were little beagles seen,
That watch'd with upward eyes the motions of
their queen. 135

Her legs were buskin'd, and the left before
In act to shoot; a silver bow she bore,
And at her back a painted quiver wore.
She trod a waxing moon, that soon would wane,
And, drinking borrow'd light, be fill'd again: 1200
With downcast eyes, as seeming to survey
The dark dominions, her alternate sway.
Before her stood a woman in her throes,
And call'd Lucina's aid her burthen to disclose.

Ver. 1223. — *gruffly look'd the god*] Original:

"The statue of Mars upon a carie stood,
Armed and looked grim, as he were wood."

JOHN WARTON.

* Rubens and Puella Original edition.

Ver. 1228. *One when direct, and one when retrograde*] Our
author has here omitted one of the most lively images.

"A wolfe ther stode befoe him at his feet,
With eyen red, and of a man he etc."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1258. *The graceful goddess was array'd in green;*]
He has here also omitted a picturesque circumstance.

"The goddess on an hart ful heyte sete"

But our author chose to represent the goddess in a stand-
ing attitude, as about to shoot:

Her legs were buskin'd, and the left before
JOHN WARTON

All these the painter drew with such command,¹²⁶⁵
 That Nature snatch'd the pencil from his hand,
 Ashamed and angry that his art could feign
 And mend the tortures of a mother's pain.
 Theseus beheld the fanes of every god,¹²⁷⁰
 And thought his mighty cost was well bestow'd.
 So princes now their poets should regard;
 But few can write, and fewer can reward.

The theatre thus raised, the lists enclosed,¹²⁷⁴
 And all with vast magnificence disposed,
 We leave the monarch pleased, and haste to bring
 The knights to combat, and their arms to sung.

BOOK III.

THE day approach'd when fortune should decide
 The important enterprize, and give the bride;
 For now, the rivals round the world had sought,
 And each his number, well appointed, brought.
 The nations, far and near, contend in choice,¹²⁸¹
 And send the flower of war by public voice;
 That after, or before, were never known
 Such chiefs, as each an army seem'd alone:
 Beside the champions, all of high degree,¹²⁸⁵
 Who knighthood loved, and deeds of chivalry,
 Throng'd to the lists, and envied to behold
 The names of others, not their own, enroll'd.
 Nor seems it strange; for every noble knight
 Who loves the fair, and is endued with might,¹²⁹⁰
 In such a quarrel would be proud to fight.
 There breathes not scarce a man on British ground
 (An isle for love, and arms, of old renown'd)
 But would have sold his life to purchase fame,¹²⁹⁵
 To Palamon or Arcite sent his name:
 And had the land selected of the best,
 Half had come hence, and let the world provide
 the rest.

A hundred knights with Palamon there came,
 Approved in fight, and men of mighty name;
 Their arms were several, as their nations were.
 But furnish'd all alike with sword and spear,¹³⁰¹
 Some wore coat-armour, imitating scale;
 And next their skins were stubborn shirts of mail.
 Some wore a breast-plate and a light jupon,
 Their horses clothed with rich caparison:¹³⁰⁵
 Some for defence would leathern bucklers use,
 Of folded hides; and others shields of Pruce.
 One hung a pole-axe at his saddle-bow,
 And one a heavy mace to shun the foe;
 One for his legs and knees provided well,¹³¹⁰
 With jambeaux arm'd, and double plates of steel:

Ver. 1265. *All these the painter drew with such command,
 That nature snatch'd the pencil from his hand,*

This addition is not perfect in unison with the simplicity of the original. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1271. *So princes now* Poets of every age and nation are fond of making this complaint; not always well founded. Dr. J. WARTON.

[*Id.* *So princes now*] This reflection is his own; no trace of it in the original. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1296.

And had the land selected of the best,

Half had come hence, and let the world provide the rest

This is complete in the original spirit of a true-born Englishman. JOHN WARTON

This on his helmet wore a lady's glove,
 And that a sleeve embroider'd by his love.

With Palamon above the rest in place,¹³¹⁵
 Lycurgus came, the surly king of Thrace;
 Black was his beard and manly was his face;
 The balls of his broad eyes roll'd in his head,
 And glared betwixt a yellow and a red:
 He look'd a lion with a gloomy stare,
 And o'er his eye-brows hung his matted hair:¹³²⁰
 Dig-boned, and large of limbs, with smews strong,
 Broad-shoulder'd, and his arms were round and
 long.

Four milk-white bulls (the Thracian use of old)
 Were yoked to draw his car of burnish'd gold.
 Upright he stood, and bore aloft his shield,¹³²⁵
 Conspicuous from afar, and overlook'd the field.
 His surcoat was a bear-skin on his back;
 His hair hung long behind, and glossy raven
 black.

His ample forehead bore a coronet¹³³⁰
 With sparkling diamonds, and with rubies set:
 Ten brace, and more, of greyhounds, snowy fur,
 And tall as stags, ran loose, and coursed around
 his chair,
 A match for pards in flight, in grappling for the
 bear:

With golden muzzles all their mouths were
 bound,
 And collars of the same their necks surround.¹³³⁵
 Thus through the fields Lycurgus took his way;
 His hundred knights attend in pomp and proud
 array.

To match this monarch, with strong Arcite came
 Emetrius, king of Inde, a mighty name,
 On a bay courser, goodly to behold,¹³⁴⁰
 The trappings of his horse adorn'd with barbarous
 gold.

Not Mars bestrode a steed with greater grace;
 His surcoat o'er his arms was cloth of Thrace,
 Adorn'd with pearls, all orient, round, and great,
 His saddle was of gold, with emeralds set,¹³⁴⁵
 His shoulders large a mantle did attire,
 With rubies thick, and sparkling as the fire
 His amber-colour'd locks in ringlets run,
 With graceful negligence, and shone against the
 sun.

His nose was aquiline, his eyes were blue,¹³⁵⁰
 Ruddy his lips, and fresh and fair his hue:
 Some sprinkled freckles on his face were seen,
 Whose dusk set off the whiteness of the skin:
 His awful presence did the crowd surprise,
 Nor durst the rash spectator meet his eyes:¹³⁵⁵
 Eyes that confess'd him born for kingly sway,
 So fierce, they flash'd intolerable day.
 His age in nature's youthful prime appear'd,
 And just began to bloom his yellow beard.
 Whene'er he spoke, his voice was heard around,
 Loud as a trumpet, with a silver sound:¹³⁶⁰

Ver. 1320. *And o'er his eye-brows hung his matted hair.* A strange misconception of the original:

"With kemped heres on his browes stout."

JOHN WARTON

Ver. 1343. *His surcoat o'er his arms was cloth of Thace,*

"His cote-armour was of a cloth of Tars"

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1355. ——— *rash spectator meet his eyes:*

Eyes that confess'd him born for kingly sway,

"——— ardentia lumina frustra,
 Lumina."—Virgil.

JOHN WARTON.

A laurel wreath'd his temples, fresh, and green,
And myrtle sprigs, the marks of love, were mix'd
between.

Upon his fist he bore, for his delight,
An eagle well reclaim'd, and lily white.

His hundred knights attend him to the war,
All arm'd for battle; save their heads were bare.
Words and devices blaz'd on every shield,
And pleasing was the terror of the field.
For kings, and dukes, and barons, you might see,
Like sparkling stars, though different in degree,¹³⁷⁵
All for the increase of arms, and love of chivalry.
Before the king tame leopards led the way,
And troops of lions innocently play.
So Bacchus through the conquer'd Indies rode,¹³⁷⁵
And beasts in gambols frisk'd before their honest
god.

In this array the war of either side
Through Athens pass'd with military pride.
At prime, they enter'd on the Sunday morn;
Rich tapestry spread the streets, and flowers the
posts adorn.

The town was all a jubilee of feasts;
So Theseus will'd, in honour of his guests;
Himself with open arms the kings embraced,
Then all the rest in their degrees were graced.
No harbinger was needful for the night,¹³⁸⁵
For every house was proud to lodge a knight.

I pass the royal treat, nor must relate
The gifts bestow'd, nor how the champions sate:
Who first, who last, or how the knights address'd
Their vows, or who was fairest at the feast;¹³⁹⁰
Whose voice, whose graceful dance did most
surprise;

Soft amorous sighs, and silent love of eyes.
The rivals call my Muse another way,
To sing their vigils for the ensuing day.

'Twas ebbing darkness, past the noon of night:
And Phosphor, on the confines of the light,¹³⁹⁵
Promised the sun; ere day began to spring,
The tuneful lark already stretch'd her wing,
And flickering on her nest made short essays to
sing.

When wakeful Palamon, preventing day,¹⁴⁰⁰
Took to the royal lists his early way,
To Venus at her fane, in her own house, to pray.
There, falling on his knees before her shrine,
He thus implored with prayers her power divine:
Creator Venus, genial power of love,¹⁴⁰⁵
The bliss of men below, and gods above!
Beneath the sliding sun thou runn'st thy race,
Dost fairest shine, and best become thy place.

Ver. 1375.

*So Bacchus through the conquer'd Indies rode,
And beasts in gambols frisk'd before their honest god.]*

A simile not to be found in the original. By the epithet
honest, Dryden means to express the youthful grace of the
god agreeably to the expression of Virgil:

"Et quocunque Deus circum caput egit honestum."
Georg. lib. ii. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1391.

Whose voice, whose graceful dance did most surprise;]

"What hawkes sitten on the perche above,
What houndes ligen on the flore adown,
Of all this now I make no mention."—Original.

These images our poet has omitted as trifling, but I must
be excused for saying that they have their propriety, and
are founded in nature, and are strongly expressive of the
manners and customs of the age. JOHN WARTON.

For thee the winds their eastern blasts forbear.
Thy month reveals the spring, and opens all the
year.

Thee, goddess, thee the storms of winter fly,¹⁴¹⁰
Earth smiles with flowers renewing, laughs the
sky,
And birds to lays of love their tuneful notes
apply.

For thee the lion loathes the taste of blood,¹⁴¹⁵
And roaring hunts his female through the wood;
For thee the bulls rebellow through the groves,
And tempt the stream, and snuff their absent
loves.

'Tis thine, whate'er is pleasant, good, or fair:
All nature is thy province, life thy care:
Thou madest the world, and dost the world re-
pair.

Thou gladder of the mount of Cytheron,
Increase of Jove, companion of the sun;
If e'er Adonis touch'd thy tender heart,
Have pity, goddess, for thou know'st the smart.
Alas! I have not words to tell my grief;¹⁴²⁵

To vent my sorrow would be some relief;
Light sufferings give us leisure to complain;
We groan, but cannot speak, in greater pain.
O goddess, tell thyself what I would say,
Thou know'st it, and I feel too much to pray.

So grant my suit, as I enforce my might,
In love to be thy champion, and thy knight;
A servant to thy sex, a slave to thee,
A foe profess'd to barren chastity.

Nor ask I fame or honour of the field,¹⁴³⁵
Nor choose I more to vanquish than to yield:
In my divine Emilia make me blest,
Let Fate, or partial Chance, dispose the rest:
Find thou the manner, and the means prepare:¹⁴⁴⁰
Possession, more than conquest, is my care.

Ver. 1409. *For thee the winds their eastern blasts forbear,]*

"Te, dea, te fugunt venti, te nubila coeli,
Adventumque tuum; tibi suaves dædala tellus
Sumbmittit flores, tibi ridens æquora ponti,
Placatumque nitet diffuso lumine cœlum."

LUCR. lib. i. ver. 8. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1411. *Thee, goddess, thee the storms of winter fly, &c.]*
It has been well observed by Mr. Upton, that Dryden, in
this address of Palamon to Venus, had certainly his eye on
Spenser as well as Lucretius. I am inclined to think, that
to our elder poet the palm of superior elegance must be
awarded, at least in the opening of this poetical orison.—
See FAER. Qu. iv. c. 44.

"Great Venus! queene of Beautie and of Grace,
The joy of gods and men, that under skie
Dost fayrest shine, and most adorne thy place;
That with thy smyling looke dost pacifie
The raging seas, and mak'st the stormes to slee;
Thee, goddess, thee the winds, the clouds do feare—
And, when thou spread'st thy mantle forth on hie,
The waters play, and pleasant lands appeare,
And heavens laugh, and all the world shews joyous
cheare."

The conclusion of Spenser's address is also more pleasing
than Dryden's:

— gladder of the mount of Cytheron,
Increase of Jove, companion of the sun!

Thus smoothly and naturally the elder bard:

"Mother of laughter, and well-spring of blisse,
O graunt that of my love at last I may not misse."

TODD.

Ver. 1427. *Light sufferings give us leisure to complain
We groan, but cannot speak, in greater pain.]*

"Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent."
JOHN WARTON.

Mars is the warrior's god ; in him it lies,
 On whom he favours to confer the prize ;
 With smiling aspect you serenely move
 In your fifth orb, and rule the realm of love.
 The Fates but only spin the coarser clue,
 The finest of the wool is left for you,
 Spare me but one small portion of the twine,
 And let the sisters cut below your line :
 The rest among the rubbish may they sweep,
 Or add it to the yarn of some old miser's heap.
 But, if you this ambitious prayer deny,
 (A wish, I grant, beyond mortality.)
 Then let me sink beneath proud Arcite's arms,
 And I once dead, let him possess her charms.
 Thus ended he ; then with observance due
 The sacred incense on her altar threw :
 The curling smoke mounts heavy from the fires ;
 At length it catches flame, and in a blaze expires ;
 At once the gracious goddess gave the sign,
 Her statue shook, and trembled all the shrine :
 Pleased Palamon the tardy omen took ;
 For, since the flames pursued the trailing smoke,
 He knew his boon was granted ; but the day
 To distance driven, and joy adjourn'd with long
 delay.

Now morn with rosy light had streak'd the
 sky,
 Up rose the sun, and up rose Emily ;
 Address'd her early steps to Cynthia's fane,
 In state attended by her maiden train,
 Who bore the vests that holy rites require,
 Incense, and odorous gums, and cover'd fire.
 The plectreous horns with pleasant mead they
 crown,
 Nor wanted aught besides in honour of the Moon.
 Now while the temple smoked with hallow'd
 steam,
 They wash the virgin in a living stream ;
 The secret ceremonies I conceal,
 Uncouth, perhaps unlawful, to reveal :
 But such they were as pagan use required,
 Perform'd by women when the men retired,
 Whose eyes profane their chaste mysterious rites
 Might turn to scandal, or obscene delights.
 Well-meaners think no harm ; but for the rest,
 Things sacred they pervert, and silence is the
 best.

Her shining hair, uncomb'd, was loosely spread,
 A crown of mastless oak adorn'd her head :
 When to the shrine approach'd, the spotless
 maid
 Had kindled fires on either altar laid :
 (The rites were such as were observed of old,
 By Statius in his Theban story told.)
 Then kneeling with her hands across her breast,
 Thus lowly she preferr'd her chaste request.
 O goddess, haunter of the woodland green,
 To whom both heaven and earth and seas are seen ;

Ver. 1445. *The Fates but only spin the coarser clue.* These six lines must strike the reader with disgust, and even astonishment. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1478. *Perform'd by women* Those of Bona Dea, at Rome, to which Clodius intruded. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1483. *Her shining hair, uncomb'd, was loosely spread.* The original describes her only with dishevelled hair :

"Her bright here kembed was, untressed all."

In this respect he has altered the figure of Emily, though he has placed her in so graceful an attitude as a suppliant, that an artist of elegance (Angelica Kauffman) has thought proper to adopt it. JOHN WARTON.

Queen of the nether skies, where half the year
 Thy silver beams descend, and light the gloomy
 sphere ;

Goddess of maids, and conscious of our hearts,
 So keep me from the vengeance of thy darts,
 (Which Niobe's devoted issue felt,
 When shining through the skies the feather'd
 deaths were dealt.)

As I desire to live a virgin life,
 Nor know the name of mother or of wife.
 Thy votress from my tender years I am,
 And love, like thee, the woods and sylvan game.
 Like death, thou know'st, I loathe the nuptial
 state,

And man, the tyrant of our sex, I hate,
 A lowly servant, but a lofty mate ;
 Where love is duty on the female side ;
 On their's mere sensual gust, and sought with
 surly pride.

Now by thy triple shape, as thou art seen
 In heaven, earth, hell, and everywhere a queen,
 Grant this my first desire ; let discord cease,
 And make betwixt the rivals lasting peace :

Quench their hot fire, or far from me remove
 The flame, and turn it on some other love ;
 Or, if my frowning stars have so decreed,
 That one must be rejected, one succeed,

Make him my lord, within whose faithful breast
 Is fix'd my image, and who loves me best.
 But, oh ! ev'n that avert ; I choose it not,
 But take it as the least unhappy lot.

A maid I am, and of thy virgin train ;
 Oh, let me still that spotless name retain !
 Frequent the forests, thy chaste will obey,
 And only make the beasts of chase my prey !

The flames ascend on either altar clear,
 While thus the blameless maid address'd her
 prayer.

When lo ! the burning fire that shone so bright,
 Flew off all sudden, with extinguish'd light,
 And left one altar dark, a little space ;
 Which turn'd self-kindled, and renew'd the blaze ;
 That other victor-flame a moment stood,
 Then fell, and lifeless left the extinguish'd wood ;

Ver. 1497. *Which Niobe's devoted issue felt.* He has substituted Niobe's issue for Actæon, without any visible reason. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1499. *As I desire to live a virgin life.* So Spenser, speaking of a nymph pursued by Faunus, says :

"She set her down to weep for sore constraint,
 And, to Diana calling loud for aid,
 Her dear besought to let her die a maid."

"Da mihi, perpetua, genitor charissime, dixit,
 Virginitate frui."—Ovid Met. lib. 1.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1504. *"And man, the tyrant of our sex, I hate,
 A lowly servant, but a lofty mate ;
 Where love is duty on the female side ;
 On their's, mere sensual gust, and sought with
 surly pride."*

These four lines are not in the original, nor indeed are they in character with the speaker. He forgets the Horatian precept :

"Reddere personæ scit convenientia cuique."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1523 *And only make the beasts of chase my prey !* An ill-timed conceit. The reader must be chagrined at meeting with such a line on such an occasion. Our poet surely forgot the Horatian precept :

"Effugite leves indigna tragœdia versus"

JOHN WARTON.

For ever lost, the irrevocable light
 Forsook the blackening coals, and sunk to night :
 At either end it whistled as it flew,
 And as the brands were green, so dropp'd the dew ;

Infected as it fell with sweat of sanguine hue.
 The maid from that ill omen turn'd her eyes,
 And with loud shrieks and clamours rent the skies,
 Nor knew what signified the boding sign,
 But found the powers displeased, and fear'd the wrath divine.

Then shook the sacred shrine, and sudden light
 Sprung through the vaulted roof, and made the temple bright.

The power, behold ! the power in glory shone,
 By her bent bow, and her keen arrows known :
 The rest, a huntress issuing from the wood,
 Reclining on her cornel spear she stood.

Then gracious thus began : Dismiss thy fear,
 And Heaven's unchanged decrees attentive hear :
 More powerful gods have torn thee from my side,
 Unwilling to resign, and doom'd a bride :

The two contending knights are weigh'd above ;
 One Mars protects, and one the Queen of Love .
 But which the man, is in the Thunderer's breast ;
 This he pronounced, 'tis he who loves thee best.

The fire that, once extinct, revived again,
 Foreshows the love allotted to remain :
 Farewell ! she said, and vanish'd from the place ;
 The sheaf of arrows shook, and rattled in the case.

Aghast at thus, the royal virgin stood,
 Disclaim'd, and now no more a sister of the wood :
 But to the parting goddess thus she pray'd ;
 Propitious still be present to my aid,

Nor quite abandon your once favour'd maid.
 Then sighing she return'd ; but smiled betwixt,
 With hopes, and fears, and joys with sorrows mixt.

The next returning planetary hour
 Of Mars, who shared the heptarchy of power,
 His steps bold Arcite to the temple bent,
 To adore with pagan rites the power armipotent :
 Then prostrate, low before his altar lay,
 And raised his manly voice, and thus began to pray :

Strong god of arms, whose iron sceptre sways
 The freezing North, and Hyperborean seas,
 And Scythian colds, and Thracia's wintry coast,
 Where stand thy steeds, and thou art honour'd most ;

There most ; but everywhere thy power is known,
 The fortune of the fight is all thy own :
 Terror is thine, and wild amazement, flung
 From out thy chariot, withers ev'n the strong :
 And disarray and shameful rout ensue,
 And force is added to the fainting crew.
 Acknowledged as thou art, accept my prayer,
 If aught I have achieved deserve thy care :

Ver. 1543. *The power, behold ! the power in glory shone,*
 "Deus, ecce, Deus ———"
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1564. ——— *but smiled betwixt,*
With hopes, and fears, and joys with sorrows mixt.

Τῆν δ' ἄμα χάριμα καὶ ἄλγος ἐν στήθεσιν τοῖς αἰσέσι
 Δακρυόφιν πληθεῖν· θαλίσση δὲ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ φανή.

This is the *Δακρυόφιν χαλάρωσα* of Homer somewhat dilated. Our author, however, seems rather to have had in his eye an elegant passage of Carew's, a poet from whom, as before observed, he has condescended to borrow a couplet. JOHN WARTON.

If to my utmost power with sword and shield
 I dared the death, unknowing how to yield,
 And falling in my rank, still kept the field :

Then let my arms prevail, by thee sustain'd,
 That Emly by conquest may be gain'd.
 Have pity on my pains ; nor those unknown
 To Mars, which, when a lover, were his own.

Venus, the public care of all above,
 Thy stubborn heart has soften'd into love :
 Now, by her blandishments and powerful charms,
 When yielded she lay curling in thy arms,

Ev'n by thy shame, if shame it may be call'd,
 When Vulcan had thee in his net intrall'd ;
 (Oh envied ignominy, sweet disgrace,
 When every god that saw thee wish'd thy place !)

By those dear pleasures, aid my arms in fight,
 And make me conquer in my patron's right :
 For I am young, a novice in the trade,
 The fool of love, unpractised to persuade :

And want the soothing arts that catch the fair,
 But, caught myself, lie struggling in the snare :
 And she I love, or laughs at all my pain,
 Or knows her worth too well ; and pays me with disdain.

For sure I am, unless I win in arms,
 To stand excluded from Emilia's charms :
 Nor can my strength avail, unless, by thee
 Endued with force, I gain the victory :

Then for the fire which warm'd thy generous heart,
 Pity thy subject's pains, and equal smart.

So be the morrow's sweat and labour mine,
 The palm and honour of the conquest thine :
 Then shall the war, and stern debate, and strife
 Immortal, be the business of my life ;

And in thy fane, the dusty spoils among,
 High on the burnish'd roof, my banner shall be hung :

Rank'd with my champions' bucklers, and below,
 With arms reversed, the achievements of my foe :
 And while these limbs the vital spirit feeds,
 While day to night, and night to day succeeds,

Thy smoking altar shall be fat with food
 Of incense, and the grateful steam of blood ;
 Burnt-offerings morn and evening shall be thine
 And fires eternal in thy temple shine.

This bush of yellow beard, this length of hair,
 Which from my birth inviolate I bear,
 Guiltless of steel, and from the razor free,
 Shall fall a plenteous crop, reserved for thee.

So may my arms with victory be blest,
 I ask no more ; let fate dispose the rest.

The champion ceased ; there follow'd in the close
 A hollow groan : a murmuring wind arose ;
 The rings of iron, that on the doors were hung,
 Sent out a jarring sound, and harshly rung :

The bolted gates flew open at the blast,
 The storm rush'd in, and Arcite stood aghast :
 The flames were blown aside, yet shone they bright,
 Fann'd by the wind, and gave a ruffled light.

Ver. 1585. *I dared the death, unknowing how to yield,*
 "—— cedere nesci!"—HORACE.
 JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1621. *And while these limbs the vital spirit feeds,*
 "—— dum spiritus hos regit artus."—VIRGIL.
 JOHN WARTON.

Then from the ground a scent began to rise,
Sweet smelling as accepted sacrifice:
Thus omen pleased, and as the flames aspire
With odoriferous incense Arcite heaps the fire:
Nor wanted hymns to Mars, or heathen charms:
At length the nodding statue clasp'd his arms, 1646
And with a sullen sound and feeble cry,
Half sunk, and half pronounced the word of
Victory.

For this, with soul devout, he thank'd the god,
And, of success secure, return'd to his abode. 1650

These vows thus granted, raised a strife above,
Betwixt the god of War, and Queen of Love.
She, granting first, had right of time to plead;
But he had granted too, nor would recede.
Jove was for Venus; but he fear'd his wife, 1655
And seem'd unwilling to decide the strife;
Till Saturn from his leaden throne arose,
And found a way the difference to compose:
Though sparing of his grace, to mischief bent,
He seldom does a good with good intent. 1660

Wayward, but wise; by long experience taught,
To please both parties, for ill ends, he sought:
For this advantage age from youth has won,
As not to be outridden though outrun.
By fortune he has now to Venus trined, 1665
And with stern Mars in Capricorn was join'd:
Of him disposing in his own abode,

He soothed the goddess, while he gull'd the god:
Cease, daughter, to complain, and stint the strife:
Thy Palamon shall have his promised wife: 1670
And Mars, the lord of conquest, in the fight
With palm and laurel shall adorn his knight.
Wide is my course, nor turn I to my place,
Till length of time, and move with tardy pace. 1675
Man feels me, when I press the ethereal plains,
My hand is heavy, and the wound remains.
Mine is the shipwreck, in a watery sign;
And in an earthly, the dark dungeon mine.
Cold shivering agues, melancholy care,
And bitter blasting winds, and poison'd air, 1680
Are mine, and wilful death, resulting from de-
spair.

The throting quinsy 'tis my star appoints,
And rheumatisms ascend to rack the joints:

Ver. 1647.

*And with a sullen sound and feeble cry,
Half sunk, and half pronounced the word of Victory.]*

The original is fine:

"And with that soun he herd a murmuring
Full low and dim, that said thus, Victorie."

In my humble opinion Dryden has weakened the passage
by the insertion "the word of." The passage is more ani-
mated thus:

"Half sunk and half pronounced, Victory."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1650. *And, of success secure, return'd to his abode.*
Dryden has here omitted a simile, which, though short, is
natural, and highly expressive of Arcite's condition.

"As fayn as soul is of the brighte sonne;" i.e. as much
rejoiced at his reverse of fortune, as a bird is at the return
of sunshine after a storm. So Nicholaus Aretius:—

"—, uti solet volucris
Ramo, vere novo, ad novos tepores
Post solem accipere ætheris liquores
Gestire et pluvius ore blandiendo."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 1664. *For this advantage age from youth has won,
As not to be outridden, though outrun.]*

The original word is "ontrede," i.e. "ontwit, surpass in
contest. The sense of this word has been most ridiculously
mistaken by Dryden."—Tyrwhitt. JOHN WARTON.

When churls rebel against their native prince,
I arm their hands, and furnish the pretence, 1685
And housing in the lion's hateful sign,
Bought senates, and deserting troops are mine.
Mine is the privy poisoning; I command
Unkindly seasons, and ungrateful land.

By me king's palaces are push'd to ground, 1690
And miners crush'd beneath their mines are found.
'Twas I slew Samson, when the pillar'd hall
Fell down, and crush'd the many with the fall.

My looking is the sire of pestilence, 1694
That sweeps at once the people and the prince.

Now sweep no more, but trust thy grandsire's art,
Mars shall be pleased, and thou perform thy part
'Tis ill, though different your complexions are,
The family of heaven for men should war.

The expedient pleased, where neither lost his
right; 1700

Mars had the day, and Venus had the night.
The management they left to Chronos' care;
Now turn we to the effect, and sing the war.

In Athens all was pleasure, mirth, and play, 1705
All proper to the spring, and sprightly May:
Which every soul inspired with such delight,
'Twas jesting all the day, and love at night.

Heaven smiled, and gladdened was the heart of man;
And Venus had the world as when it first began.
At length in sleep their bodies they compose, 1710
And dreamt the future fight, and early rose.

Now scarce the dawning day began to spring,
As at a signal given, the streets with clamours
ring:

At once the crowd arose; confused and high,
Even from the heaven, was heard a shouting
cry; 1715

For Mars was early up, and roused the sky.
The gods came downward to behold the wars,
Sharpening their sights, and leaning from their
stars.

The neighing of the generous horse was heard,
For battle by the busy groom prepared: 1720

Rustling of harness, rattling of the shield,
Clattering of armour, furbish'd for the field.

Crowds to the castle mounted up the street,
Battering the pavement with their coursers' feet:

The greedy sight might there devour the gold 1725
Of glittering arms, too dazzling to behold:

And polish'd steel, that cast the view aside,
And crested morions, with their plumy pride.

Knights, with a long retinue of their squires,
In gaudy liveries march, and quaint attires. 1730

One laced the helm, another held the lance:
A third the shining buckler did advance.

The courser paw'd the ground with restless feet,
And snorting foam'd, and champ'd the golden
bit.

The smiths and armourers on palfreys ride, 1735
Files in their hands, and hammers at their side,

And nails for loosen'd spears, and thongs for
shields provide.

The yeomen guard the streets, in seemly bands;
And clowns come crowding on, with outgels in
their hands.

Ver. 1701. *Mars had the day, and Venus had the night*
An epigrammatic turn not to be found in Chaucer. JOHN
WARTON.

Ver. 1716. *For Mars was early up, and roused the sky.*
Mars is here improperly introduced, as are the figures of
the gods descending to behold the tournament. JOHN
WARTON.

The trumpets, next the gate, in order placed,
Attend the sign to sound the martial blast; 1741
The palace-yard is fill'd with floating tides,
And the last comers bear the former to the sides.
The throng is in the midst: the common crew
Shut out, the hall admits the better few; 1745
In knots they stand, or in a rank they walk,
Serious in aspect, earnest in their talk:
Factionous, and favouring this or t'other side,
As their strong fancy or weak reason guide: 1749
Their wagers back their wishes; numbers hold
With the fair freckled king, and beard of gold:
So vigorous are his eyes, such rays they cast,
So prominent his eagle's beak is placed.
But most their looks on the black monarch bend,
His rising muscles, and his brawn commend; 1755
His double-biting axe, and beamy spear,
Each asking a gigantic force to rear.
All spoke as partial favour moved the mind;
And, safe themselves, at others' cost divided.

Waked by the cries, the Athenian chief arose, 1761
The knightly forms of combat to dispose;
And passing through the obsequious guards, he sat
Conspicuous on a throne, sublime in state;
There, for the two contending knights he sent:
Arm'd cap-a-pie, with reverence low they bent:
He smiled on both, and with superior look 1765
Alike their offer'd adoration took.
The people press on every side to see
Their awful prince, and hear his high decree.
Then signing to their heralds with his hand, 1770
They gave his orders from their lofty stand.
Silence is thrice enjoind; then thus aloud
The king at arms bespeaks the knights and listen-
ing crowd.

Our sovereign lord has ponder'd in his mind
The means to spare the blood of gentle kind; 1775
And of his grace, and inborn clemency,
He modifies his first severe decree!
The keener edge of battle to rebate,
The troops for honour fighting, not for hate,
He wills, not death should terminate their strife;
And wounds, if wounds ensue, be short of life: 1781
But issues, ere the fight, his dread command,
That slings afar, and poniards hand to hand,
Be banish'd from the field; that none shall dare
With shorten'd sword to stab in closer war; 1785
But in fair combat fight with manly strength,
Nor push with biting point, but strike at length;
The tourney is allow'd but one career,
Of the tough ash, with the sharp-grinded spear,
But knights unhorsed may rise from off the plain,
And fight on foot their honour to regain; 1791
Nor, if at mischief taken, on the ground
Be slain, but prisoners to the pillar bound,
At either barrier placed; nor (captives made),
Be freed, or arm'd anew the fight invade. 1795
The chief of either side, bereft of life,
Or yielded to his foe, concludes the strife.
Thus dooms the lord: now valiant knights and
young,
Fight each his fill with swords and maces long.
The herald ends: the vaulted firmament 1800
With loud acclaims and vast applause is rent:
Heaven guard a prince so gracious and so good,
So just, and yet so provident of blood!

Ver. 1742. *The palace-yard is fill'd with floating tides,*
A Virgilian expression:

"Mane salutauntum totis vomit ædibus undam."

JOHN WARTON.

This was the general cry. The trumpets sound,
And warlike symphony is heard around. 1805
The marching troops through Athens take their
way,

The great earl-marshal orders their array.
The fair from high the passing pomp behold;
A rain of flowers is from the windows roll'd.
The casements are with golden tissue spread, 1810
And horses' hoofs, for earth, on silken tapestry
tread.

The king goes midmost, and the rivals ride
In equal rank, and close his either side.
Next after these, there rode the royal wife,
With Emily, the cause, and the reward of strife.
The following cavalcade, by three and three, 1815
Proceed by titles marshall'd in degree.
Thus through the southern gate they take their
way,

And at the list arrived ere prime of day.
There, parting from the king, the chiefs divide,
And wheeling east and west, before their many
ride. 1822

The Athenian monarch mounts his throne on
high,

And after him the queen and Emily:
Next these, the kindred of the crown are graced
With nearer seats, and lords by ladies placed. 1825
Scarce were they seated, when with clamours
loud

In rush'd at once a rude promiscuous crowd:
The guards, and then each other overbear,
And in a moment throng the spacious theatre.
Now changed the jarring noise to whispers low,
As winds forsaking seas more softly blow; 1831
When at the western gate, on which the car
Is placed aloft, that bears the god of war,
Proud Arcite, entering arm'd before his train,
Stops at the barrier, and divides the plain. 1835
Red was his banner, and display'd abroad
The bloody colours of his patron god.

At that self moment enters Palamon
The gate of Venus, and the rising Sun;
Waved by the wanton winds, his banner flies, 1840
All maiden white, and shares the people's eyes.
From east to west, look all the world around,
Two troops so match'd were never to be found;
Such bodies built for strength, of equal age,
In stature sized; so proud an equipage: 1845
The nicest eye could no distinction make,
Where lay the advantage, or what side to take.

Thus ranged, the herald for the last proclaims
A silence, while they answer'd to their names:
For so the king decreed, to shun with care 1850
The fraud of musters false, the common bane of
war.

The tale was just, and then the gates were
closed;
And chief to chief, and troop to troop opposed.
The heralds last retired, and loudly cried,
The fortune of the field be fairly tried. 1855

At this, the challenger with fierce defy
His trumpet sounds; the challenged makes reply:
With clangour rings the field, resounds the vaulted
sky.

Their visors closed, their lances in the rest,
Or at the helmet pointed, or the crest, 1860
They vanish from the barrier, speed the race,
And spurring see decrease the middle space.
A cloud of smoke envelops either host,
And all at once the combatants are lost:

Darkling they join adverse, and shock unseen,¹⁸⁶⁵
 Coursers with coursers jostling, men with men :
 As labouring in eclipse, a while they stay,
 Till the next blast of wind restores the day.
 They look anew : the beauteous form of fight
 Is changed, and war appears a grisly sight.¹⁸⁷⁰
 Two troops in fair array one moment show'd,
 The next, a field with fallen bodies strow'd :
 Not half the number in their seats are found ;¹⁸⁷³
 But men and steeds lie grovelling on the ground.
 The points of spears are stuck within the shield,
 The steeds without their riders scour the field.
 The knights, unhorsed, on foot renew the fight ;
 The glittering fauchions cast a gleaming light :
 Hauberks and helms are hew'd with many a
 wound,
 Out spins the streaming blood and dyes the
 ground.¹⁸⁸⁰
 The mighty maces with such haste descend,
 They break the bones, and make the solid armour
 bend.
 This thrusts amid the throng with furious force ;
 Down goes, at once, the horseman and the horse :
 That courser stumbles on the fallen steed,¹⁸⁸⁵
 And floundering throws the rider o'er his head.
 One rolls along, a foot-ball to his foes ;
 One with a broken truncheon deals his blows.
 This halting, this disabled with his wound,
 In triumph led, is to the pillar bound,¹⁸⁹⁰
 Where by the king's award he must abide :
 There goes a captive led on t'other side.
 By fits they cease ; and leaning on the lance,
 Take breath a while, and to new fight advance.
 Full oft the rivals met, and neither spared¹⁸⁹⁵
 His utmost force, and each forgot to ward.
 The head of this was to the saddle bent,
 That other backward to the crupper sent :
 Both were by turns unhorsed ; the jealous blows
 Fall thick and heavy, when on foot they close.¹⁹⁰⁰
 So deep their fauchions bite, that every stroke
 Pierced to the quick ; and equal wounds they gave
 and took.
 Borne far asunder by the tides of men,
 Like adamant and steel they meet again.
 So when a tiger sucks the bullock's blood,¹⁹⁰⁵
 A famish'd lion issuing from the wood
 Roars lordly fierce, and challenges the food.
 Each claims possession, neither will obey,
 But both their paws are fasten'd on the prey ;
 They bite, they tear ; and while in vain they strive,
 The swains come arm'd between, and both to
 distance drive.¹⁹¹¹
 At length, as fate foredoom'd, and all things
 tend
 By course of time to their appointed end ;
 So when the sun to west was far declined,
 And both afresh in mortal battle join'd,¹⁹¹⁵
 The strong Emetrius came in Arcite's aid,
 And Palamon with odds was overlaid :

Ver 1905. *So when a tiger sucks the bullock's blood.* This
 simile falls short of the original as to spirit and propriety.

"Ther n'as no tigre in the vale of Galaphey,
 Whan that hure whelpis is stole, whan it is lite,
 So cruel on the hunt, as is Arcite
 For jalous herre upon this Palamon :
 Ne in Belmarie ther n'is so fell lion
 That hunted is, or for his hunger wood,
 Ne of his prey desireth so the blood,
 As Palamon to sleen his foo Arcite."

JOHN WATSON.

For turning short, he struck with all his might
 Full on the helmet of the unwary knight.
 Deep was the wound, he stagger'd with the blow,¹⁹²¹
 And turn'd him to his unexpected foe ;
 Whom with such force he struck, he fell'd him
 down,
 And cleft the circle of his golden crown.
 But Arcite's men, who now prevail'd in fight,
 Twice ten at once surround the single knight.¹⁹²⁵
 O'erpower'd, at length, they force him to the
 ground,
 Unyielded as he was, and to the pillar bound ;
 And king Lycurgus, while he fought in vain
 His friend to free, was tumbled on the plain.
 Who now laments but Palamon, compell'd¹⁹³⁰
 No more to try the fortune of the field !
 And, worse than death, to view with hateful eyes
 His rival's conquest, and renounce the prize !

The royal judge on his tribunal placed,
 Who had beheld the fight from first to last,¹⁹³⁵
 Bade cease the war ; pronouncing from on high,
 Arcite of Thebes had won the beauteous Emily.
 The sound of trumpets to the voice replied,
 And round the royal lists the heralds cried,
 Arcite of Thebes has won the beauteous bride.¹⁹⁴⁰
 The people rend the skies with vast applause ;
 All own the chief, when Fortune owns the cause.
 Arcite is own'd ev'n by the gods above,
 And conquering Mars insults the Queen of Love.
 So laugh'd he, when the rightful Titan fail'd,¹⁹⁴⁵
 And Jove's usurping arms in heaven prevail'd.
 Laugh'd all the powers who favour tyranny ;
 And all the standing army of the sky.
 But Venus with dejected eyes appears,
 And weeping on the lists distill'd her tears ;¹⁹⁵⁰
 Her will refused, which grieves a woman most,
 And, in her champion foil'd, the cause of Love is
 lost.

Till Saturn said, Fair daughter, now be still,
 The blustering fool has satisfied his will ;
 His boon is given ; his knight has gain'd the day,
 But lost the prize, the arrears are yet to pay.¹⁹⁵⁵
 Thy hour is come, and mine the care shall be
 To please thy knight, and set thy promise free.
 Now while the heralds run the lists around,
 And Arcite, Arcite, heaven and earth resound ;¹⁹⁶⁰
 A miracle (nor less it could be call'd)
 Their joy with unexpected sorrow pall'd.
 The victor knight had laid his helm aside,
 Part for his ease, the greater part for pride :
 Bare-headed, popularly low he bow'd,¹⁹⁶⁵
 And paid the salutations of the crowd.
 Then spurring at full speed, ran endlong on
 Where Theseus sate on his imperial throne ;
 Furious he drove, and upward cast his eye,
 Where next the queen was placed his Emily ;¹⁹⁷⁰
 Then passing, to the saddle-bow he bent :
 A sweet regard the gracious virgin lent
 (For women, to the brave an easy prey,
 Still follow Fortune where she leads the way :)
 Just then, from earth sprung out a flashing fire,
 By Pluto sent, at Saturn's bad desire :¹⁹⁷⁵
 The starting steed was seized with sudden fright,
 And, bounding, o'er the pommel cast the knight :
 Forward he flew, and pitching on his head,
 He quiver'd with his feet, and lay for dead.¹⁹⁸⁰

Ver. 1941. *The people rend the skies with vast applause ;*)
 An imitation of himself: Ode on Alexander's feast, st. 5.
The many rend the skies with loud applause. TODD.

Black was his countenance in a little space,
For all the blood was gather'd in his face.
Help was at hand: they rear'd him from the
ground, 1983

And from his cumbrous arms his limbs unbound;
Then lanced a vein, and watch'd returning breath;
It came, but clogg'd with symptoms of his death.
The saddle-bow the noble parts had press'd,
All bruised and mortified his manly breast.
Him still entranced, and in a litter laid,
They bore from field, and to his bed convey'd. 1990
At length he waked, and with a feeble cry,
The word he first pronounced was Emily.

Mean time the king, though inwardly he
mourn'd,

In pomp triumphant to the town return'd,
Attended by the chiefs, who fought the field; 1995
(Now friendly mix'd, and in one troop compell'd):
Composed his looks to counterfeited cheer,
And bade them not for Arcite's life to fear.
But that which gladdened all the warrior train,
Though most were sorely wounded, none were
slain. 2000

The surgeons soon despoil'd 'em of their arms,
And some with salves they cure, and some with
charms;

Foment the bruises, and the pains assuage,
And heal their inward hurts with sovereign
draughts of sage.

The king in person visits all around, 2005
Comforts the sick, congratulates the sound;
Honours the princely chiefs, rewards the rest,
And holds for thrice three days a royal feast.
None was disgraced; for falling is no shame;
And cowardice alone is loss of fame. 2010

The ventrous knight is from the saddle thrown,
But 'tis the fault of fortune, not his own;
For crowds and palms the conquering side adorn,
The victor under better stars was born:
The brave man seeks not popular applause, 2015
Nor overpower'd with arms deserts his cause;
Unshamed, though foil'd, he does the best he can;
Force is of brutes, but honour is of man.

Thus Theseus smiled on all with equal grace,
And each was set according to his place; 2020
With ease were reconciled the differing parts,
For envy never dwells in noble hearts.
At length they took their leave, the time expired;
Well pleased, and to their several homes retired.

Meanwhile the health of Arcite still impairs;
From bad proceeds to worse, and mocks the
leeches' cares; 2025

Swoll'n is his breast; his inward pains increase,
All means are used, and all without success.
The clotted blood lies heavy on his heart,
Corrupts, and there remains in spite of art: 2030
Nor breathing veins, nor cupping will prevail;
All outward remedies and inward fail:
The mould of nature's fabric is destroy'd,
Her vessels discomposed, her virtue void:
The bellows of his lungs begin to swell: 2035
All out of frame is every secret cell,
Nor can the good receive, nor bad expel.

Those breathing organs, thus within oppress'd,
With venom soon distend the sinews of his breast.
Nought profits him to save abandon'd life, 2040
Nor vomit's upward aid, nor downward laxative.
The midmost region batter'd and destroy'd,
When nature cannot work, the effect of art is
void.

For physic can but mend our crazy state,
Patch an old building, not a new create. 2045
Arcite is doom'd to die in all his pride,
Must leave his youth, and yield his beauteous
bride,

Gain'd hardly, against right, and unenjoy'd.
When 'twas declared all hope of life was past,
Conscience (that of all physic works the last) 2050
Caused him to send for Emily in haste.

With her, at his desire, came Palamon;
Then on his pillow raised, he thus begun.
No language can express the smallest part
Of what I feel, and suffer in my heart, 2055

For you, whom best I love and value most;
But to your service I bequeath my ghost;
Which from this mortal body when untied,
Unseen, unheard, shall hover at your side;
Nor fright you waking, nor your sleep offend, 2060
But wait officious, and your steps attend:
How I have loved, excuse my fltering tongue,
My spirits feeble, and my pains are strong:

This I may say, I only grieve to die,
Because I lose my charming Emily: 2065

To die, when Heaven had put you in my power,
Fate could not choose a more malicious hour!
What greater curse could envious Fortune give,
Than just to die, when I began to live!

Vain men, how vanishing a bliss we crave, 2070
Now warm in love, now withering in the grave!
Never, oh, never more to see the sun!

Still dark, in a damp vault, and still alone!
This fate is common; but I lose my breath
Near bliss, and yet not bless'd before my death.
Farewell; but take me dying in your arms, 2075

'Tis all I can enjoy of all your charms:

This hand I cannot but in death resign;
Ah! could I live! but while I live 'tis mine.

I feel my end approach, and thus embraced, 2080
Am pleas'd to die; but hear me speak my last:

Ah! my sweet foe, for you, and you alone,
I broke my faith with injured Palamon.

But love the sense of right and wrong confounds,
Strong love and proud ambition have no
bounds. 2085

And much I doubt, should Heaven my life prolong,
I should return to justify my wrong:

For while my former flames remain within,
Repentance is but want of power to sin.

With mortal hatred I pursued his life, 2090
Nor he, nor you, were guilty of the strife;

Nor I, but as I loved; yet all combined,
Your beauty, and my impotence of mind;

And his concurrent flame, that blew my fire;
For still our kindred souls had one desire. 2095

He had a moment's right in point of time;
Had I seen first, then his had been the crime.

Fate made it mine, and justified his right;
Nor holds this earth a more deserving knight,

For virtue, valour, and for noble blood, 2100
Truth, honour, all that is comprised in good;

So help me Heaven, in all the world is none
So worthy to be loved as Palamon.

Ver. 2084. *But love the sense of right and wrong confounds,*
This speech is without doubt tedious and unsuited to such
an occasion: yet the next fourteen lines are not in the
original, and therefore for them our author is answerable;
and I fear we cannot make any sufficient apology for so
glaring an impropriety, but must attribute its undue length
to our author's perpetual indulgence of his talent for ratio-
cination JOHN WATSON.

He loves you too, with such an holy fire,
As will not, cannot, but with life expire : 2105
Our vow'd affections both have often tried,
Nor any love but yours could ours divide.
Then, by my love's inviolable band,
By my long suffering, and my short command,
If ere you plight your vows when I am gone, 2110
Have pity on the faithful Palamon.

This was his last; for Death came on amain,
And exercised below his iron reign;
Then upward to the seat of life he goes :
Sense fled before him, what he touch'd he froze :
Yet could he not his closing eyes withdraw, 2115
Though less and less of Emily he saw;
So, speechless, for a little space he lay;
Then gasp'd the hand he held, and sigh'd his
soul away.

But whither went his soul, let such relate 2120
Who search the secrets of the future state :
Divines can say but what themselves believe;
Strong proofs they have, but not demonstrative :
For, were all plain, then all sides must agree, 2125
And faith itself be lost in certainty.
To live uprightly then is sure the best,
To save ourselves, and not to damn the rest.
The soul of Arcite went where heathens go,
Who better live than we, though less they know.

In Palamon a manly grief appears; 2130
Silent, he wept, ashamed to show his tears :
Emilia shriek'd but once, and then, oppress'd
With sorrow, sunk upon her lover's breast :
Till Theseus in his arms convey'd with care,
Far from so sad a sight, the swooning fair, 2135
'Twere loss of time her sorrow to relate;
Ill bears the sex a youthful lover's fate,
When just approaching to the nuptial state.
But like a low-hung cloud, it rains so fast,
That all at once it falls, and cannot last. 2140
The face of things is changed, and Athens now,
That laugh'd so late, becomes the scene of woe :
Matrons and maids, both sexes, every state,
With tears lament the knight's untimely fate.
Nor greater grief in falling Troy was seen 2145
For Hector's death; but Hector was not then.
Old men with dust deform'd their hoary hair,
The women beat their breasts, their cheeks they
tare.

Why would'st thou go, with one consent they
cry,

When thou hadst gold enough, and Emily? 2150
Theseus himself, who should have cheer'd the
grief

Of others, wanted now the same relief;
Old Egeus only could revive his son.
Who various changes of the world had known,
And strange vicissitudes of human fate, 2155
Still altering, never in a steady state;
Good after ill, and, after pain, delight;
Alternate like the scenes of day and night :

Ver. 2112. *This was his last*;] What Homer emphatically
says in two words only, *αὐτὸν ἔτελλε*, is far beyond the
800 verses of Quintus Calaber in describing the death of
Achilles in his 4th book. In truth, this speech of the dying
Arcite, consisting of sixty lines, is too long, and the minute
account of his departure rather tedious. But the lines
from 2108 to 2120 are exquisitely pathetic. Though the
death of Patroclus above-mentioned was not intended as a
description, but merely to announce the event with brevity,
yet, still is this description of the death of Arcite too prolix.
The lines following 2130, relating to a future state, are
trangely introduced and improper. Dr. J. WATSON.

Since every man, who lives, is born to die,
And none can boast sincere felicity, 2160
With equal mind, what happens, let us bear,
Nor joy, nor grieve, too much for things beyond
our care.

Like pilgrims to the appointed place we tend;
The world's an inn, and death the journey's end.
Ev'n kings but play; and when their part is done,
Some other, worse or better, mount the throne.
With words like these the crowd was satisfied,
And so they would have been, had Theseus died.
But he, their king, was labouring in his mind, 2170
A fitting place for funeral pomps to find,
Which were in honour of the dead design'd.
And after long debate, at last he found
(As love itself had mark'd the spot of ground)
That grove for ever green, that conscious laund,
Where he with Palamon fought hand to hand : 2175
That where he fed his amorous desires
With soft complaints, and felt his hottest fires,
There other flames might waste his earthly part,
And burn his limbs, where love had burn'd his
heart.

This once resolved, the peasants were enjoin'd
Sere-wood, and firs, and dodder'd oaks to find. 2181
With sounding axes to the grove they go,
Fall, split, and lay the fuel on a row,
Vulcanian food. A bier is next prepared,
On which the lifeless body should be rear'd, 2185
Cover'd with cloth of gold, on which was laid
The corpse of Arcite, in like robes array'd.
White gloves were on his hands, and on his head
A wreath of laurel, mix'd with myrtle, spread.
A sword keen-edged within his right he held, 2190
The warlike emblem of the conquer'd field :
Bare was his manly visage on the bier :
Menaced his countenance; ev'n in death severe.
Then to the palace-hall they bore the knight,
To lie in solemn state, a public sight. 2195
Groans, cries, and howlings fill the crowded place,
And unaffected sorrow sat on every face.
Sad Palamon above the rest appears,
In sable garments, dew'd with gushing tears :
His auburn locks on either shoulder flow'd, 2200
Which to the funeral of his friend he vow'd :
But Emily, as chief, was next his side,
A virgin-widow, and a mourning bride.
And that the princely obsequies might be
Perform'd according to his high degree, 2205
The steed, that bore him living to the fight,
Was trapp'd with polish'd steel, all shining bright,

Ver. 2183. *Like pilgrims to the appointed place we tend*;]
"Exipsa viâ discedimus, tanquam ex hospitio, non tanquam
ex domo, commorandi enim nobis natura diversorium non
habitandi dedit."—Cicero. JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 2193.] So Sallust, though of a quite different cha-
racter.

"—ferocidamque animi quam habuerat vivus, in vultu
retinens." JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 2206.] I hope my reader will not think the assertion
trifling, that Dryden here with his usual haste has rendered
Chaucer unfaithfully.

The steed, that bore him living to the fight.

The original says,

"Duke Theseus let forth three stedes being
That trapped were in stele all glittering,
And cover'd with the arms of Dan Arcite,
And eke upon these stedes, gret and white,
Their satten folk," &c.

Chaucer abounds in minute and circumstantial painting.
The observation of Quintilian is undoubtedly just, when

And cover'd with the achievements of the knight.
 The riders rode abreast, and one his shield,
 His lance of cornel-wood another held ; 2210
 The third his bow, and, glorious to behold,
 The costly quiver, all of burnish'd gold.
 The noblest of the Grecians next appear,
 And, weeping, on their shoulders bore the bier ;
 With sober pace they march'd, and often staid, 2215
 And through the master-street the corpse convey'd.
 The houses to their tops with black were spread,
 And e'en the pavements were with mourning hid.
 The right side of the pall old Egeus kept,
 And on the left the royal Theseus wept ; 2220
 Each bore a golden bowl, of work divine,
 With honey fill'd, and milk, and mix'd with ruddy
 wine.

Then Palamon, the kinsman of the slain,
 And after him appear'd the illustrious train.
 To grace the pomp, came Emily the bright, 2225
 With cover'd fire, the funeral pile to light.
 With high devotion was the service made,
 And all the rites of pagan honour paid :
 So lofty was the pile, a Parthian bow,
 With vigour drawn, must send the shaft below. 2230
 The bottom was full twenty fathom broad,
 With crackling straw beneath in due proportion
 strow'd.

The fabric seem'd a wood of rising green,
 With sulphur and bitumen cast between,
 To feed the flames : the trees were unctuous fir,
 And mountain-ash, the mother of the spear ; 2235
 The mourner yew, and bullder oak were there :
 The beech, the swimming alder, and the plane,
 Hard box, and linden of a softer grain,
 And laurels, which the gods for conquering chiefs
 ordain. 2240

How they were rank'd, shall rest untold by me,
 With nameless Nymphs that lived in every tree ;
 Nor how the Dryads, or the woodland train,
 Disherited, ran howling o'er the plain :
 Nor how the birds to foreign seats repair'd, 2245
 Or beasts, that bolted out, and saw the forest bared :
 Nor how the ground, now clear'd, with ghastly
 fright

Beheld the sudden sun, a stranger to the light.

after giving an accurate and particular account of a besieged city, he says, " Minus est tamen totum dicere quam omnia." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 2229. *So lofty was the pile,*]

" — uti aera vincere summum
 Arboris haud ullæ jactu potuere sagittæ."
 Virg. Georgic. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 2235.] I cannot resist the pleasure of transcribing here a passage from Cowper descriptive of trees whose peculiar beauties and properties have scarcely been noticed by other poets :

" No tree in all the grove but has its charms,
 Though each its hue peculiar ; paler some
 And of a wannish grey ; the willow such,
 And poplar, that with silver lines his leaf,
 And ash far-stretching his umbrageous arm ;
 Of deeper green the elm ; and deeper still,
 Lord of the woods, the long surviving oak ;
 Some glossy-leaved, and shining in the sun,
 The maple, and the beech, of oily nuts
 Prolific, and the lime at dewy eve
 Diffusing odours ; nor unnoted pass
 The sycamore, capricious in attire,
 Now green, now tawny, and ere autumn yet
 Have changed the woods, in scarlet honours bright."

Cowper's Task. JOHN WARTON.

The straw, as first I said, was laid below :
 Of chips and sere-wood was the second row ; 2250
 The third of greens, and timber newly fell'd ;
 The fourth high stage the fragrant odours held,
 And pearls, and precious stones, and rich array,
 In midst of which, embalm'd, the body lay. 2254
 The service sung, the maid with mourning eyes
 The stubble fired ; the smouldering-flames arise :
 This office done, she sunk upon the ground ;
 But what she spoke, recover'd from her swoond,
 I want the wit in moving words to dress ;
 But by themselves the tender sex may guess. 2260
 While the devouring fire was burning fast,
 Rich jewels in the flame the wealthy cast ;
 And some their shields, and some their lances
 threw,

And gave their warrior's ghost a warrior's due.
 Full bowls of wine, of honey, milk, and blood, 2265
 Were pour'd upon the pile of burning wood,
 And hissing flames receive, and hungry lick the
 food.

Then thrice the mounted squadrons ride around
 The fire, and Arcite's name they thrice resound :
 Hail, and farewell, they shouted thrice amain, 2270
 Thrice facing to the left, and thrice they turn'd
 again :

Still as they turn'd, they beat their clattering
 shields ;
 The women mix their cries ; and clamour fills
 the fields.

The warlike wakes continued all the night,
 And funeral games were play'd at new returning
 light ; 2275
 Who naked wrestled best, besmear'd with oil,
 Or who with gauntlets gave or took the foil,
 I will not tell you, nor would you attend ;
 But briefly haste to my long story's end.

I pass the rest ; the year was fully moun'd, 2280
 And Palamon long since to Thebes return'd :
 When by the Grecians' general consent,
 At Athens Theseus held his parliament :
 Among the laws that pass'd, it was decreed,
 That conquer'd Thebes from bondage should be
 freed ; 2285

Reserving homage to the Athenian throne,
 To which the sovereign summon'd Palamon.
 Unknowing of the cause, he took his way,
 Mournful in mind, and still in black array.

The monarch mounts the throne, and, placed
 on high, 2290

Commands into the court the beauteous Emily :

Ver. 2263. *And some their shields, and some their lances
 threw,*]

" Hinc alii spolia occisis direpta Latinis
 Conjiciunt igni, galeas, ensesque decoras,
 Frenaque, ferventesque rotas, pars munera nota,
 Ipsorum clypeos, et non felicia tela."—Virg. Æn. xi.

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 2267. — *and hungry lick the food.*] An expression borrowed from the Scripture.

" Then the fire of the lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench."—1 Kings, chap. xviii, v. 38. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 2268. *Then thrice the mounted squadrons ride around*]

" Ter circum accensos, cincti fulgentibus armis,
 Decurrere rogos ; ter moestum funeris ignem
 Lustrare in equis, ululatusque ore dedere."

Virg. Æn. xi. JOHN WARTON

So call'd, she came; the senate rose, and paid
Becoming reverence to the royal maid.
And first, soft whispers through the assembly
went:

With silent wonder then they watch'd the event:
All hush'd, the king arose with awful grace, ²³⁰⁶
Deep thought was in his breast, and counsel in
his face.

At length he sigh'd; and having first prepared
The attentive audience, thus his will declared.

The Cause and Spring of motion, from above,
Hung down on earth the golden chain of Love: ²³⁰⁷
Great was the effect, and high was his intent,
When peace among the jarring seeds he sent.
Fire, flood, and earth, and air by this were bound,
And Love, the common link, the new creation
crown'd. ²³⁰⁸

The chain still holds; for though the forms
decay,

Eternal matter never wears away:

The same first Mover certain bounds has placed,
How long those perishable forms shall last:
Nor can they last beyond the time assign'd ²³¹⁰

By that all-seeing, and all-making mind:
Shorten their hours they may; for will is free;
But never pass the appointed destiny.

So men oppress'd, when weary of their breath,
Throw off the burden, and soborn their death. ²³¹⁵
Then since those forms begin, and have their
end,

On some unalter'd cause they sure depend:
Parts of the whole are we; but God the whole:
Who gives us life, and animating soul.

For nature cannot from a part derive ²³²⁰
That being, which the whole can only give:

He perfect, stable; but imperfect we,
Subject to change, and different in degree;
Plants, beasts, and man; and, as our organs are,
We more or less of his perfection share. ²³²³

But by a long descent, the ethereal fire
Corrupts; and forms, the mortal part, expire:
As he withdraws his virtue, so they pass,
And the same matter makes another mass:
This law the Omnipotent Power was pleased to
give. ²³³⁰

That every kind should by succession live:
That individuals die, his will ordains;
The propagated species still remains.

The monarch oak, the patriarch of the trees,
Shoots rising up, and spreads by slow degrees; ²³³⁵

Three centuries he grows, and three he stays,
Supreme in state, and in three more decays;
So wears the paving pebble in the street,
And towns and towers their fatal periods meet:

Ver. 2301. *Hung down on earth the golden chain of Love.*]
Our author's philosophy is borrowed, as it is usually,
from Boethius. L. 2. Met. 8.

"Hanc rerum seriem ligat,
Terras ac pelagus regens,
Et cælo imperitans, amor.

Tyrwhitt. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 2310. *Nor can they last beyond the time assign'd*]

" — Did he not all create
To die again? all ends that was begun,
Their times in his eternal book of fate
Are written sure, and have their certain date."

Spens. l. 9, 47. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 2338. *So wears the paving pebble in the street,*] From

So rivers, rapid once, now naked lie, ²³⁴⁰
Forsaken of their springs; and leave their chan-
nels dry.

So man, at first a drop, dilates with heat,
Then, form'd, the little heart begins to beat;
Secret he feeds, unknowing in the cell;

At length, for hatching ripe, he breaks the shell, ²³⁴⁴
And struggles into breath, and cries for aid;

Then, helpless, in his mother's lap is laid.
He creeps, he walks, and issuing into man,

Grudges their life, from whence his own began:
Retchless of laws, affects to rule alone, ²³⁵⁰

Anxious to reign, and restless on the throne:
First vegetive, then feels, and reasons last;

Rich of three souls, and lives all three to waste.
Some thus; but thousands more in flower of age:
For few arrive to run the latter stage. ²³⁵⁵

Sunk in the first, in battle some are slain,
And others whelm'd beneath the stormy main.

What makes all this, but Jupiter the king,
At whose command we perish, and we spring?

Then 'tis our best, since thus ordain'd to die, ²³⁶⁰
To make a virtue of necessity;

Take what he gives, since to rebel is vain;
The bad grows better, which we well sustain;

And could we choose the time, and choose aright,
'Tis best to die, our honour at the height. ²³⁶⁵

When we have done our ancestors no shame,
But served our friends, and well secured our
fame;

Then should we wish our happy life to close,
And leave no more for fortune to dispose:

So should we make our death a glad relief ²³⁷⁰
From future shame, from sickness, and from grief

Enjoying while we live the present hour,
And dying in our excellence and flower.

Then round our death-bed every friend shoul-
run,

And joyous of our conquest early won. ²³⁷
While the malicious world with envious tears

Should grudge our happy end, and wish it theirs.
Since then our Arcite is with honour dead,

Why should we mourn, that he so soon is freed,
Or call untimely, what the gods decreed? ²³⁸⁰

With grief as just, a friend may be deplored,
From a foul prison to free air restored.

Ought he to thank his kinsman or his wife,
Could tears recall him into wretched life? ²³⁸⁴

Their sorrow hurts themselves; on him is lost;
And worse than both, offends his happy ghost.

What then remains, but, after past annoy,
To take the good vicissitude of joy?

To thank the gracious gods for what they give,
Possess our souls, and while we live, to live? ²³⁹⁰

Ordain we then two sorrows to combine,
And in one point the extremes of grief to join;

That thence resulting joy may be renew'd,
As jarring notes in harmony conclude.

Lucretius; but possibly my reader will not be displeased
with the whole context:

"Quin etiam, multis solis redeuntibus annis,
Annulus in digito subtertenatur habendo:
Stillhædi casus lapidem cavat: nuncus aratri
Ferrens occulte decrescit vomer in arvis:
Strataque jam vulgi pedibus detrita viarum
Saxea conspicimus: tum, portas propter, ahenæ
Signa manus dextras ostendunt attenuari
Sæpe salutantum tactu, præterque meantum."

Lib. i. l. 812. JOHN WARTON

Then I propose that Palamon shall be
 In marriage join'd with beauteous Emily; 239c
 For which already I have gain'd the assent
 Of my free people in full parliament.
 Long love to her has borne the faithful knight,
 And well deserved, had Fortune done him right:
 'Tis time to mend her fault; since Emily 240i
 By Arcite's death from former vows is free:
 If you, fair sister, ratify the accord,
 And take him for your husband, and your lord,
 'Tis no dishonour to confer your grace 240s
 On one descended from a royal race:
 And were he less, yet years of service past
 From grateful souls exact reward at last;
 Pity is Heaven's and your's; nor can she find 241o
 A throne so soft as in a woman's mind.
 He said; she blush'd, and as o'eraw'd by might,
 Seem'd to give Theseus what she gave the knight.
 Then turning to the Theban thus he said;
 Small arguments are needful to persuade
 Your temper to comply with my command; 241s
 And speaking thus, he gave Emilia's hand.
 Smiled Venus, to behold her own true knight
 Obtain the conquest, though he lost the fight;
 And bless'd with nuptial bliss the sweet laborious
 night.
 Eros, and Anteros, on either side, 242o
 One fired the bridegroom, and one warm'd the
 bride;

And long-attending Hymen, from above,
 Shower'd on the bed the whole Italian grove.
 All of a tenor was their after-life,
 No day discolour'd with domestic strife; 242s
 No jealousy, but mutual truth believed,
 Secure repose, and kindness un deceived.
 Thus Heaven, beyond the compass of his thought,
 Sent him the blessing he so dearly bought.
 So may the Queen of love long duty bless, 243i
 And all true lovers find the same success.

Ver. 2430. *So may the Queen*]

"Such was old Chancer, such the placid mien
 Of him who first with harmony inform'd
 The language of our fathers. Here he dwelt
 For many a cheerful day. These ancient walls
 Have often heard him, while his legends blithe
 He sang; of love, or knighthood, or the wiles
 Of homely life: through each estate and age
 The fashions and the follies of the world
 With cunning hand portraying. Though perchance
 From Blenheim's towers, O stranger, thou art come
 Glowing with Churchill's trophies; yet in vain
 Dost thou applaud them, if thy breast be cold
 To him, this other hero; who, in times
 Dark and untanght, began with charming verse
 To tame the rudeness of his native land."

Dr. Aken-side wrote these lines to be placed under a statue
 of Chancer, at Woodstock, and they are in the true simple
 taste of ancient inscriptions. Dr. J. WARTON.

THE COCK AND THE FOX;

OR, THE TALE OF THE NUN'S PRIEST.

THERE lived, as authors tell, in days of yore,
 A widow somewhat old, and very poor:
 Deep in a cell her cottage lonely stood,
 Well thatch'd, and under covert of a wood.
 This dowager, on whom my tale I found, 5
 Since last she laid her husband in the ground,
 A simple sober life, in patience, led,
 And had but just enough to buy her bread;
 But huswifery the little Heaven had lent,
 She duly paid a groat for quarter rent; 10
 And punch'd her belly, with her daughters two,
 To bring the year about with much ado.
 The cattle in her homestead were three sows.
 An ewe call'd Mally, and three brindled cows.
 Her parlour-window stuck with herbs around, 15

Ver. 15, and three following verses, a deviation from the
 original.

"Eui sooty was hire boure, and eke hire halle."

This image Dryden has omitted, which is taken from
 Virgil.

"— assiduū postes fulgine nigri."—Ecl. vii. 5. 50

But which contains a lively picture of the homely furniture
 of the widow's cottage.

Goldsmith has added many natural strokes:

"Imagination fondly stoops to trace—"

And an author who deserves to be better known, Cun-

Of savoury smell; and rushes strew'd the ground.
 A maple-dresser in her hall she had,
 On which full many a slender meal she made;
 For no delicious morsel pass'd her throat;
 According to her cloth she cut her coat: 20
 No poignant sauce she knew, nor costly treat,
 Her hunger gave a relish to her meat:
 A sparing diet did her health assure;
 Or sick, a pepper posset was her cure.
 Before the day was done, her work she sped, 25
 And never went by candle-light to bed:
 With exercise she sweat ill humours out,
 Her dancing was not hinder'd by the gout.
 Her poverty was glad; her heart content,
 Nor knew she what the spleen or vapours meant.
 Of wine she never tasted through the year, 31
 But white and black was all her homely cheer:
 Brown bread, and milk, (but first she skimm'd
 her bowls)
 And rashers of singed bacon on the coals.

ingham, has adopted one of these images in a little pleas-
 ing song, called "Content:"

"Yellow sheaves from rich Ceres her cottage had crown'd,
 Green rushes were strew'd on the floor,
 Her casement sweet woodbines crept modestly round,
 And deck'd the sod seats at her door."

JOHN WARTON

On holy days an egg, or two at most ;
But her ambition never reach'd to roast.
A yard she had with pales enclosed about,
Some high, some low, and a dry ditch without.
Within this homestead lived, without a peer,
For crowing loud, the noble Chanticleer ;
So high her cock, whose singing did surpass
The merry notes of organs at the mass.
More certain was the crowing of the cock
To number hours, than is an abbey-clock ;
And sooner than the matin-bell was rung,
He clapp'd his wings upon his roost, and sung :
For when degrees fifteen ascended right,
By sure instinct he knew 'twas one at night.
High was his comb, and coral-red withal,
In dents embattled like a castle wall ;
His bill was raven-black, and shone like jet ;
Blue were his legs, and orient were his feet :
White were his nails like silver to behold,
His body glittering like the burnish'd gold.
This gentle cock, for solace of his life,
Six misses had, besides his lawful wife ;
Scandal, that spares no king, though ne'er so
good,

Says, they were all of his own flesh and blood,
His sisters both by sire and mother's side ;
And sure their likeness show'd them near allied.
But make the worst, the monarch did no more,
Than all the Ptolemys had done before :
When incest is for interest of a nation,
'Tis made no sin by holy dispensation.
Some lines have been maintain'd by this alone,
Which by their common ugliness are known.

But passing this as from our tale apart,
Dame Partlet was the sovereign of his heart :
Ardent in love, outrageous in his play,
He feather'd her a hundred times a day :
And she, that was not only passing fair,
But was withal discreet, and debonaire,
Resolved the passive doctrine to fulfil,
Though loth, and let him work his wicked will :
At board and bed was affable and kind,
According as their marriage-vow did bind,
And as the Church's precept had enjoind.
Er'n since she was a se'nnight old, they say,
Was chaste and humble to her dying day,
Nor chick nor hen was known to disobey.

By this her husband's heart she did obtain ;
What cannot beauty, join'd with virtue, gain !
She was his only joy, and he her pride ;
She, when he walk'd, went pecking by his side ;
If, spurning up the ground, he sprang a corn,
The tribute in his bill to her was borne.
But oh ! what joy it was to hear him sing
In summer, when the day began to spring,
Stretching his neck, and warbling in his throat,
Solus cum sola, then was all his note.
For in the days of yore, the birds of parts
Were bred to speak, and sing, and learn the
liberal arts.

It happ'd that perching on the parlour-beam
Amidst his wives, he had a deadly dream,
Just at the dawn ; and sigh'd, and groan'd so fast,
As every breath he drew would be his last.
Dame Partlet, ever nearest to his side,
Heard all his piteous moan, and how he cried
For help from gods and men ; and sore aghast
She peck'd and pull'd, and waken'd him at last.
Dear heart, said she, for love of Heaven declare
Your pain, and make me partner of your care.

You groan, Sir, ever since the morning-light,
As something had disturb'd your noble spright.
And, Madam, well I might, said Chanticleer,
Never was Shrove-tide cock in such a fear.

Er'n still I run all over in a sweat,
My princely senses not recover'd yet.
For such a dream I had of dire portent,
That much I fear my body will be shent :
It bodes I shall have wars and woful strife,
Or in a loathsome dungeon end my life.

Know, dame, I dreamt within my troubled breast,
That in our yard I saw a murderous beast,
That on my body would have made arrest.
With waking eyes I ne'er beheld his fellow ;
His colour was betwixt a red and yellow :

Tipp'd was his tail, and both his pricking ears
Were black ; and much unlike his other hairs :
The rest, in shape a beagle's whelp throughout,
With broader forehead, and a sharper snout :
Deep in his front were sunk his glowing eyes,
That yet methinks I see him with surprise.
Reach out your hand, I drop with clammy sweat,
And lay it to my heart, and feel it beat.

Now fie for shame, quoth she, by Heaven above,
Thou hast for ever lost thy lady's love ;
No woman can endure a recreant knight,
He must be bold by day, and free by night :
Our sex desires a husband or a friend,
Who can our honour and his own defend ;
Wise, hardy, secret, liberal of his purse :
A fool is nauseous, but a coward worse :
No bragging coxcomb, yet no baffled knight.
How dar'st thou talk of love, and dar'st not
fight ?

How dar'st thou tell thy dame thou art afraid ?
Hast thou no manly heart, and hast a beard ?
If aught from fearful dreams may be divined,
They signify a cock of dunghill kind.

All dreams, as in old Galen I have read,
Are from repletion and complexion bred ;
From rising fumes of indigested food,
And noxious humours that infect the blood :
And sure, my lord, if I can read aright,
These foolish fancies you have had to-night,
Are certain symptoms (in the canting style)
Of boiling choler, and abounding bile ;
This yellow gall that in your stomach floats,
Engenders all these visionary thoughts.

When choler overflows, then dreams are bred
Of flames, and all the family of red ;
Red dragons, and red beasts, in sleep we view,
For humours are distinguish'd by their hue.
From hence we dream of wars and warlike things,
And wasps and hornets with their double wings.

Choler adust congeals our blood with fear,
Then black bulls toss us, and black devils tear.
In sanguine airy dreams aloft we bound,
With rheums oppress'd, we sink in rivers drown'd.

More I could say, but thus conclude my theme,
The dominating humour makes the dream.
Cato was in his time accounted wise,
And he condemns them all for empty lies.
Take my advice, and when we fly to ground
With laxatives preserve your body sound,
And purge the peccant humours that abound.

Ver. 140. — as in old Galen] Even Euripides has been blamed for making his Hecuba talk much too philosophically. What shall we say of the knowledge our Chanticleer displays in physics and metaphysics? Dr. J. WARRON.

I should be loth to lay you on a bier;
And though there lives no 'pothecary near,
I dare for once prescribe for your disease,
And save long bills, and a damn'd doctor's fees. 170

Two sovereign herbs, which I by practice know,
And both at hand (for in your yard they grow)
On peril of my soul shall rid you wholly
Of yellow cholera, and of melancholy:
You must both purge and vomit; but obey, 175
And for the love of Heaven make no delay.
Since hot and dry in your complexion join,
Beware the sun when in a vernal sign;
For when he mounts exalted in the Ram,
If then he finds your body in a flame, 180
Replete with cholera, I dare lay a groat,
A tertian ague is at least your lot.
Perhaps a fever (which the gods forefend)
May bring your youth to some untimely end:
And therefore, Sir, as you desire to live, 185
A day or two before your laxative,
Take just three worms, nor under nor above,
Because the gods unequal numbers love.
These digestives prepare you for your purge;
Of fumatory, centaury, and spurge, 190
And of ground-ivy add a leaf or two,
All which within our yard or garden grow.
Eat these, and be, my lord, of better cheer:
Your father's son was never born to fear.

Madam, quoth he, gramercy for your care, 195
But Cato, whom you quoted, you may spare:
'Tis true, a wise and worthy man he seems,
And (as you say) gave no belief to dreams:
But other men of more authority,
And, by the immortal powers, as wise as he, 200
Maintain, with sounder sense, that dreams fore-
bode;

For Homer plainly says they come from God.
Nor Cato said it: but some modern fool
Imposed in Cato's name on boys at school.

Believe me, Madam, morning dreams foreshew
The events of things, and future weal or woe: 205
Some truths are not by reason to be tried,
But we have sure experience for our guide.
An ancient author, equal with the best,
Relates this tale of dreams among the rest. 210

Two friends or brothers, with devout intent,
On some far pilgrimage together went.
It happen'd so that, when the sun was down,
They just arriv'd by twilight at a town:
That day had been the baiting of a bull, 215
'Twas at a feast, and every inn so full,
That no void room in chamber, or on ground,
And but one sorry bed was to be found;
And that so little it would hold but one,
Though till this hour they never lay alone. 220

So were they forced to part; one stay'd behind,
His fellow sought what lodging he could find:
At last he found a stall where oxen stood,
And that he rather chose than lie abroad. 225
'Twas in a farther yard without a door;
But, for his ease, well litter'd was the floor.

His fellow, who the narrow bed had kept,
Was weary, and without a rocker slept:
Supine he snored; but, in the dead of night,
He dreamt his friend appear'd before his sight, 230

Who, with a ghastly look and doleful cry,
Said, Help me, brother, or this night I die:
Arise, and help, before all help be vain,
Or in an ox's stall I shall be slain.

Roused from his rest he waken'd in a start, 235
Shivering with horror, and with aching heart;
At length to cure himself by reason tries;
'Tis but a dream, and what are dreams but lies?
So thinking changed his side, and closed his eyes.
His dream returns; his friend appears again: 240
The murderers come, now help, or I am slain:
'Twas but a vision still, and visions are but vain.
He dreamt the third; but now his friend appear'd
Pale, naked, pierced with wounds, with blood
besmeared:

Thrice warn'd, awake, said he; relief is late, 245
The deed is done; but thou revenge my fate:
Tardy of aid, unseal thy heavy eyes,
Awake, and with the dawning day arise:
Take to the western gate thy ready way,
For by that passage they my corpse convey: 250
My corpse is in a tumbrel laid, among
The filth and ordure, and enclosed with dung.
That cart arrest, and raise a common cry;
For sacred hunger of my gold I die:
Then show'd his grisly wounds: and last he 255
drew

A piteous sigh; and took a long adieu.
The frighted friend arose by break of day,
And found the stall where late his fellow lay.
Then of his impious host inquiring more,
Was answer'd that his guest was gone before: 260
Muttering he went, said he, by morning-light,
And much complain'd of his ill rest by night.
This raised suspicion in the pilgrim's mind;
Because all hosts are of an evil kind,
And oft to share the spoil with robbers join'd. 265
His dream confirm'd his thought; with troubled
look

Straight to the western gate his way he took;
There, as his dream foretold, a cart he found,
That carried compost forth to dung the ground.
This when the pilgrim saw, he stretch'd his
throat, 270

And cried out murder with a yelling note.
My murder'd fellow in this cart lies dead,
Vengeance and justice on the villain's head;
You, magistrates, who sacred laws dispense,
On you I call to punish this offence. 275

The word thus given; within a little space,
The mob came roaring out, and throng'd the
place. 280
All in a trice they cast the cart to ground,
And in the dung the murder'd body found;
Though breathless, warm, and reeking from the
wound.

Good Heaven, whose darling attribute we find
Is boundless grace, and mercy to mankind,
Abhors the cruel; and the deeds of night
By wondrous ways reveals in open light:
Murder may pass unpunish'd for a time, 285
But tardy justice will o'ertake the crime.
And oft a speedier pain the guilty feels,
The hue and cry of Heaven pursues him at the
heels,

Fresh from the fact; as in the present case,
The criminals are seized upon the place: 290
Carter and host confronted face to face.
Stiff in denial, as the law appoints,
On engines they distend their tortured joints:

Ver. 188. *Because the gods unequal*] One of his many
undesign'd and involuntary imitations of Virgil.

"— — — numero Deus impare gaudet."—Virg. Ecl. viii.
JOHN WARTON.

So was confession forced, the offence was known,
And public justice on the offenders done. 295

Here may you see that visions are to dread;
And in the page that follows this, I read
Of two young merchants, whom the hope of gain
Induced in partnership to cross the main:
Waiting till willing winds their sails supplied, 300
Within a trading-town they long abide,
Full fairly situate on a haven's side.

One evening it befel, that looking out,
The wind they long had wish'd was come about:
Well pleased they went to rest; and if the gale 305
Till morn continued, both resolved to sail.
But as together in a bed they lay,
The younger had a dream at break of day.
A man he thought stood frowning at his side:
Who warn'd him for his safety to provide, 310
Nor put to sea, but safe on shore abide.
I come, thy genius, to command thy stay;
Trust not the winds, for fatal is the day,
And death unhoped attends the watery way.

The vision said, and vanish'd from his sight:
The dreamer waken'd in a mortal fright: 315
Then pull'd his drowsy neighbour, and declared
What in his slumber he had seen and heard.
His friend smiled scornful, and with proud con-
tempt

Rejects as idle what his fellow dreamt. 320
Stay, who will stay: for me no fears restrain,
Who follow Mercury the god of gain;
Let each man do as to his fancy seems,
I wait, not I, till you have better dreams.
Dreams are but interludes which fancy makes; 325
When monarch reason sleeps, this mimic wakes:
Compounds a medley of disjointed things,
A mob of cobbler, and a court of kings:
Light fumes are merry, grosser fumes are sad: 330
Both are the reasonable soul run mad:
And many monstrous forms in sleep we see,
That neither were, nor are, nor e'er can be.
Sometimes forgotten things long cast behind
Rush forward in the brain, and come to mind. 335
The nurse's legends are for truths received,
And the man dreams but what the boy believed.

Sometimes we but rehearse a former play,
The night restores our actions done by day;
As hounds in sleep will open for their prey.

Ver. 325—339. These lines are not in the original. It is probable that our author had been reading, perhaps translating, Lucretius.

"Et quot quisque fore studio devinctus adhæret,
Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati;
Atque in quâ ratione fuit contenta magis mens;
In somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire."

Et quicunque dies multos ex ordine ludis
Assiduas dederint operas: plerumque videmus,
Quum jam destiterint ea sensibus usurpare,
Reliquas tamen esse vias in mente patentis,
Quâ po-sint eadem rerum simulachra venire
Permultos itaque illa dies eadem observantur
Ante oculos, etiam vigilantes ut videantur
Cernere saltantes, et mollia membra moventes;
Et tunc re liquidum carmen, choriæque loquentes,
Auribus accipere, et consensum cernere eundem
Scenæque simul varios splendere decores.
Usque adeo magni refert studium atque voluntas;
Et quibus in rebus consuerint esse operati
Non homines solum, sed vero animalia cuncta.

Venantumque canes in molli sæpe quietis
Jactant crura tamen subito, vocesque repente
Mittunt, et crebras reducant naribus auras,
Ut vestigia si teneant invota ferarum."

JOHN WATSON.

In short the farce of dreams is of a piece,
Chimeras all; and more absurd, or less:
You, who believe in tales, abide alone;
Whate'er I get this voyage is my own.

Thus while he spoke, he heard the shouting
crew

That call'd aboard, and took his last adieu. 345
The vessel went before a merry gale,
And for quick passage put on every sail:
But when least fear'd, and ev'n in open day,
The mischief overtook her in the way:
Whether she sprung a leak, I cannot find, 350
Or whether she was overset with wind,
Or that some rock below her bottom rent;
But down at once with all her crew she went:
Her fellow-ships from far her loss descried;
But only she was sunk, and all were safe beside.

By this example you are taught again, 355
That dreams and visions are not always vain:
But if, dear Partlet, you are still in doubt,
Another tale shall make the former out.
Kenelm, the son of Kenulph, Mercia's king, 360
Whose holy life the legends loudly sing,
Warn'd in a dream, his murder did foretel
From point to point as after it befel:
All circumstances to his nurse he told,
(A wonder from a child of seven years old.) 365
The dream with horror heard, the good old
wife

From treason counsell'd him to guard his life;
But close to keep the secret in his mind,
For a boy's vision small belief would find.
The pious child, by promise bound, obey'd, 370
Nor was the fatal murder long delay'd:
By Quenda slain, he fell before his time,
Made a young martyr by his sister's crime.
The tale is told by venerable Bede,
Which, at your better leisure, you may read. 375
Macrobius too relates the vision sent
To the great Scipio, with the famed event:
Objections makes, but after makes replies,
And adds, that dreams are often prophecies.

Of Daniel you may read in holy writ, 380
Who, when the king his vision did forget,
Could word for word the wondrous dream re-
peat.

Nor less of patriarch Joseph understand,
Who by a dream enslaved the Egyptian land,
The years of plenty and of dearth foretold, 385
When, for their bread, their liberty they sold.
Nor must the exalted butler be forgot,
Nor he whose dream presaged his hanging lot.

And did not Croesus the same death foresee, 390
Raised in his vision on a lofty tree?
The wife of Hector, in his utmost pride,
Dreamt of his death the night before he died;
Well was he warn'd from battle to refrain,
But men to death decreed are warn'd in vain:
He dared the dream, and by his fatal foe was
slain. 395

Much more I know, which I forbear to speak,
For see the ruddy day begins to break;
Let this suffice, that plainly I foreseee
My dream was bad, and bodes adversity:
But neither pills nor laxatives I like, 400
They only serve to make the well-man sick:
Of these his gain the sharp physician makes,
And often gives a purge, but seldom takes:
They not correct, but poison all the blood,
And ne'er did any but the doctors good. 405

Their tribe, trade, trinkets, I defy them all;
 With every work of 'pothecary's hall.
 These melancholy matters I forbear:
 But let me tell thee, Partlet mine, and swear,
 That when I view the beauties of thy face, 410
 I fear not death, nor dangers, nor disgrace:
 So may my soul have bliss, as when I spy
 The scarlet red about thy partridge eye,
 While thou art constant to thy own true knight,
 While thou art mine, and I am thy delight, 415
 All sorrows at thy presence take their flight.
 For true it is, as in principio,
 Mulier est hominis confusio.
 Madam, the meaning of this Latin is,
 That woman is to man his sovereign bliss. 420
 For when by night I feel your tender side,
 Though for the narrow perch I cannot ride,
 Yet I have such a solace in my mind,
 That all my boding cares are cast behind;
 And ev'n already I forget my dream: 425
 He said, and downward flew from off the beam.
 For day-light now began apace to spring,
 The thrush to whistle, and the lark to sing.
 Then crowing clapp'd his wings, the appointed call,
 To chuck his wives together in the hall. 430
 By this the widow had unbarr'd the door,
 And Chanticleer went strutting out before,
 With royal courage, and with heart so light,
 As show'd he scorn'd the visions of the night.
 Now roaming in the yard, he spurn'd the ground,
 And gave to Partlet the first grain he found. 435
 Then often feather'd her with wanton play,
 And trod her twenty times ere prime of day:
 And took by turns and gave so much delight,
 Her sisters pined with envy at the sight. 440
 He chuck'd again, when other corns he found,
 And scarcely deign'd to set a foot to ground.
 But swagger'd like a lord about his hall,
 And his seven wives came running at his call.
 'Twas now the month in which the world 445
 began,
 (If March beheld the first created man :)
 And since the vernal equinox, the sun,
 In Aries twelve degrees, or more, had run;
 When casting up his eyes against the light,
 Both month, and day, and hour he measured 450
 right;
 And told more truly than the Ephemeris:
 For art may err, but nature cannot miss.
 Thus numbering times and seasons in his
 breast,
 His second crowing the third hour confess'd.
 Then turning, said to Partlet, See, my dear, 455
 How lavish nature has adorn'd the year;
 How the pale primrose and blue violet spring,
 And birds essay their throats disused to sing:
 All these are ours; and I with pleasure see
 Man strutting on two legs, and aping me: 460
 An unfledged creature, of a lumpish frame,
 Endow'd with fewer particles of flame;
 Our dame sits cowering o'er a kitchen fire,
 I draw fresh air, and nature's works admire:
 And ev'n this day in more delight abound, 465
 Than, since I was an egg, I ever found.
 The time shall come when Chanticleer shall
 wish
 His words unsaid, and hate his boasted bliss:
 The crested bird shall by experience know,
 Jove made not him his masterpiece below; 470
 And learn the latter end of joy is woe.

The vessel of his bliss to dregs is run,
 And Heaven will have him taste his other tun.
 Ye wise, draw near, and hearken to my tale,
 Which proves that oft the proud by flattery 475
 fall:
 The legend is as true I undertake
 As Tristran is, and Launcelot of the Lake:
 Which all our ladies in such reverence hold,
 As if in Book of Martyrs it were told.
 A fox full-fraught with seeming sanctity, 480
 That fear'd an oath, but, like the devil, would
 lie;
 Who look'd like Lent, and had the holy leer,
 And durst not sin before he said his prayer;
 This pious cheat, that never suck'd the blood,
 Nor chew'd the flesh of lambs, but when he 485
 could;
 Had pass'd three summers in the neighbouring
 wood:
 And musing long, whom next to circumvent,
 On Chanticleer his wicked fancy bent:
 And in his high imagination cast,
 By stratagem to gratify his taste. 490
 The plot contriv'd, before the break of day,
 Saint Reynard through the hedge had made his
 way;
 The pale was next, but proudly with a bound
 He leapt the fence of the forbidden ground:
 Yet fearing to be seen, within a bed 495
 Of coleworts he conceal'd his wily head;
 Then skulk'd till afternoon, and watch'd his time,
 (As murderers use) to perpetrate his crime.
 O hypocrite, ingenious to destroy,
 O traitor, worse than Sinon was to Troy! 500
 O vile subverter of the Gallic reign,
 More false than Gano was to Charlemagne!
 O Chanticleer, in an unhappy hour
 Didst thou forsake the safety of thy bower:
 Better for thee thou hadst believed thy dream, 505
 And not that day descended from the beam!
 But here the doctors eagerly dispute:
 Some hold predestination absolute:
 Some clerks maintain, that Heaven at first fore-
 sees, 510
 And in the virtue of foresight decrees.
 If this be so, then prescience binds the will,
 And mortals are not free to good or ill;
 For what he first foresaw, he must ordain,
 Or its eternal prescience may be vain:
 As bad for us as prescience had not been: 515
 For first, or last, he's author of the sin.
 And who says that, let the blaspheming man
 Say worse ev'n of the devil, if he can.
 For how can that eternal power be just
 To punish man, who sins because he must? 520
 Or how can he reward a virtuous deed,
 Which is not done by us; but first decreed!
 I cannot bolt this matter to the bran,
 As Bradwardin and holy Austin can;

Ver 473. *And Heaven will have him taste his other tun.*
 An allusion to Homer's allegory of the two urns. *And yea*
in Ilia, Iliad 24, l. 527. used by Achilles in consolation to
the afflicted Priam. JOHN WARTON.

Ver 511. *If this be so, then prescience binds the will.*

" ——— reason'd high
 Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
 Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
 And found no end, in wandering mazes lost." 525
 Milton, *Par. Lost*, B. 2. 568.

JOHN WARTON.

If prescience can determine actions so
That we must do, because he did foreknow,
Or that foreknowing, yet our choice is free,
Not forced to sin by strict necessity;
This strict necessity they simple call,
Another sort there is conditional.
The first so binds the will, that things foreknown
By spontaneity, not choice, are done.
Thus galley-slaves tug willing at their oar,
Content to work, in prospect of the shore;
But would not work at all if not constrain'd
before.

That other does not liberty constrain,
But man may either act, or may refrain.
Heaven made us agents free to good or ill,
And forced it not, though he foresaw the will.
Freedom was first bestow'd on human race,
And prescience only held the second place.

If he could make such agents wholly free,
I not dispute, the point's too high for me;
For Heaven's unfathom'd power what man can
sound,

Or put to his omnipotence a bound?
He made us to his image, all agree;
That image is the soul, and that must be,
Or not the Maker's image, or be free.
But whether it were better man had been
By nature bound to good, not free to sin,
I waive, for fear of splitting on a rock.

The tale I tell is only of a cock;
Who had not run the hazard of his life,
Had he believed his dream, and not his wife:
For women, with a mischief to their kind,
Pervert, with bad advice, our better mind.
A woman's counsel brought us first to woe,
And made her man his paradise forego,
Where at heart's ease he lived; and might have
been

As free from sorrow as he was from sin.
For what the devil had their sex to do,
That, born to folly, they presumed to know,
And could not see the serpent in the grass?
But I myself presume, and let it pass.

Silence in times of suffering is the best,
'Tis dangerous to disturb an hornet's nest.
In other authors you may find enough,
But all they say of dames is idle stuff.
Legends of lying wits together bound,
The wife of Bath would throw 'em to the ground;
These are the words of Chanticleer, not mine,
I honour dames, and think their sex divine.

Now to continue what my tale begun;
Lay Madame Partlet basking in the sun,
Breast-high in sand: her sisters, in a row,
Enjoy'd the beams above, the warmth below.
The cock, that of his flesh was ever free,
Sung merrier than the mermaid in the sea:
And so befel, that as he cast his eye
Among the coleworts on a butterfly,
He saw false Reynard where he lay full low:
I need not swear he had no list to crow:
But cried, cock, cock, and gave a sudden start,
As sore dismay'd and frighted at his heart.
For birds and beasts, inform'd by Nature, know
Kinds opposite to theirs, and fly their foe.
So Chanticleer, who never saw a fox,
Yet shunn'd him as a sailor shuns the rocks.

But the false loon, who could not work his
will

'v open force, employ'd his flattering skill;

I hope, my lord, said he, I not offend;
Are you afraid of me, that am your friend
I were a beast indeed to do you wrong,
I, who have loved and honour'd you so long:
Stay, gentle Sir, nor take a false alarm.
For on my soul I never meant you harm.
I come no spy, nor as a traitor press,
To learn the secrets of your soft recess:
Far be from Reynard so profane a thought,
But by the sweetness of your voice was brought:
For, as I bid my beads, by chance I heard
The song as of an angel in the yard;

A song that would have charm'd the infernal gods,
And banish'd horror from the dark abodes:
Had Orpheus sung it in the nether sphere,
So much the hymn had pleased the tyrant's ear,
The wife had been detain'd, to keep the husband
there.

My lord, your sire familiarly I knew,
A peer deserving such a son as you.
He, with your lady-mother, (whom Heaven
rest)

Has often graced my house, and been my guest:
To view his living features does me good,
For I am your poor neighbour in the wood;
And in my cottage should be proud to see
The worthy heir of my friend's family.

But since I speak of singing, let me say,
As with an upright heart I safely may,
That, save yourself, there breathes not on the
ground

One like your father for a silver sound.
So sweetly would he wake the winter-day,
That matrons to the church mistook their way,
And thought they heard the merry organ play.
And he to raise his voice with artful care,
(What will not beaux attempt to please the
fair?)

On tiptoe stood to sing with greater strength,
And stretch'd his comely neck at all the length:
And while he strain'd his voice to pierce the skies,
As saints in raptures use, would shut his eyes,
That the sound striving through the narrow
throat,

His winking might avail to mend the note.
By this, in song, he never had his peer,
From sweet Cecilia down to Chanticleer;
Not Maro's muse, who sung the mighty man,
Nor Pindar's heavenly lyre, nor Horace when a
swan.

Your ancestors proceed from race divine:
From Brennus and Belinus is your line;
Who gave to sovereign Rome such loud alarms,
That ev'n the priests were not excused from arms.

Besides, a famous monk of modern times
Has left of cocks recorded in his rhymes,
That of a parish priest the son and heir,
(When sons of priests were from the proverb clear)
Affronted once a cock of noble kind,
And either lamed his legs, or struck him blind;
For which the clerk his father was disgraced,
And in his benefice another placed.

Now sing, my lord, if not for love of me,
Yet for the sake of sweet Saint Charity;
Make hills, and dales, and earth, and heaven rejoice,
And emulate your father's angel-voice.

The cock was pleased to hear him speak so fair,
And proud beside, as solar people are;
Nor could the treason from the truth descry,
So was he ravish'd with this flattery:

So much the more, as from a little elf,
He had a high opinion of himself;
Though sickly, slender, and not large of limb,
Concluding all the world was made for him.

Ye princes, raised by poets to the gods,
And Alexander'd up in lying odes,
Believe not every flattering knave's report,
There 's many a Reynard lurking in the court;
And he shall be received with more regard,
And listen'd to, than modest truth is heard.

This Chanticleer, of whom the story sings,
Stood high upon his toes, and clapp'd his wings;
Then stretch'd his neck, and wink'd with both
his eyes,

Ambitious as he sought the Olympic prize.
But while he pain'd himself to raise his note,
False Reynard rush'd, and caught him by the
throat.

Then on his back he laid the precious load,
And sought his wonted shelter of the wood;
Swiftly he made his way, the mischief done,
Of all unheeded, and pursued by none.

Alas, what stay is there in human state,
Or who can shun inevitable fate?
The doom was written, the decree was pass'd,
Ere the foundations of the world were cast!
In Aries though the sun exalted stood,
His patron-planet to procure his good;
Yet Saturn was his mortal foe, and he,
In Libra raised, opposed the same degree:
The rays both good and bad, of equal power,
Each thwarting other, made a mingled hour.

On Friday morn he dreamt this direful
dream,

Cross to the worthy native, in his scheme!
Ah blissful Venus, goddess of delight,
How could'st thou suffer thy devoted knight
On thy own day to fall by foe oppress'd?
The wight of all the world who served thee best?
Who, true to love, was all for recreation,
And minded not the work of propagation.

Gaufride, who could'st so well in rhyme complain
The death of Richard with an arrow slain,
Why had not I thy muse, or thou my heart,
To sing this heavy dirge with equal art!
That I like thee on Friday might complain;
For on that day was Cœur de Lion slain.

Not louder cries, when Ilium was in flames,
Were sent to heaven by woful Trojan dames,
When Pyrrhus toss'd on high his burnish'd blade,
And offer'd Priam to his father's shade,
Than for the cock the widow'd poultry made.
Fair Partlet first, when he was borne from sight,
With sovereign shrieks bewail'd her captive
knight:

Far louder than the Carthaginian wife,
When Asdrubal her husband lost his life,
When she beheld the smouldering flames ascend,
And all the Punic glories at an end:
Willing into the fires she plunged her head,
With greater ease than others seek their bed.
Not more agast the matrons of renown,
When tyrant Nero burn'd the imperial town,
Shriek'd for the downfall in a doleful cry,
For which their guiltless lords were doom'd to
die.

Now to my story I return again:
The trembling widow, and her daughters twain,
This woful cackling cry with horror heard,
Of those distracted damsels in the yard:

And starting up, beheld the heavy sight,
How Reynard to the forest took his flight.
And cross his back, as in triumphant scorn,
The hope and pillar of the house was borne.

The fox, the wicked fox, was all the cry;
Out from his house ran every neighbour nigh:
The vicar first, and after him the crew,
With forks and staves the felon to pursue.
Ran Coll our dog, and Talbot with the band,
And Malkin, with her distaff in her hand:
Ran cow and calf, and family of hogs,
In panic horror of pursuing dogs;

With many a deadly grunt and doleful squeak,
Poor swine, as if their pretty hearts would break.
The shouts of men, the women in dismay,
With shrieks augment the terror of the day.
The ducks, that heard the proclamation cried,
And fear'd a persecution might betide,
Full twenty mile from town their voyage take,
Obscure in rushes of the liquid lake.

The geese fly o'er the barn; the bees in arms
Drive headlong from their waxen cells in
swarms.

Jack Straw at London-stone, with all his rout,
Struck not the city with so loud a shout;
Not when with English hate they did pursue
A Frenchman, or an unbelieving Jew:
Not when the welkin rung with "one and all;"
And echoes bounded back from Fox's hall:
Earth seem'd to sink beneath, and heaven above
to fall.

With might and main they chased the murderous
fox,

With brazen trumpets, and inflated box,
To kindle Mars with military sounds,
Nor wanted horns to inspire sagacious hounds.

But see how Fortune can confound the wise,
And when they least expect it, turn the dice.
The captive-cock, who scarce could draw his
breath,

And lay within the very jaws of death;
Yet in this agony his fancy wrought,
And fear supplied him with this happy thought:
Your's is the prize, victorious prince, said he,
The vicar my defeat, and all the village sea.
Enjoy your friendly fortune while you may,
And bid the churls that envy you the prey
Call back their mongrel curs, and cease their cry.
See, fools, the shelter of the wood is nigh,
And Chanticleer in your despite shall die,
He shall be pluck'd and eaten to the bone.

'Tis well advised, in faith it shall be done;
This Reynard said: but as the word he spoke,
The prisoner with a spring from prison broke:
Then stretch'd his feather'd fans with all his
might,

And to the neighbouring maple wing'd his flight.

Whom when the traitor safe on tree beheld,
He cursed the gods, with shame and sorrow fill'd;

Ver. 794. *The fox, the wicked fox.* In the fables of all ages the fox makes a conspicuous figure. The fable of the Fox and the Grapes has been by severe critics thought unnatural. Mr. Dodsley, in his sensible Dissertation on Fable, has mentioned it as such; because this is an animal that does not prey on this sort of fruit: but this is a mistake; for Hasselquist describes the foxes destroying the vineyards in his travels; they are mentioned as hurting vineyards in Solomon's Songs; and in the first *Idyllium* of Theocritus, in that beautiful description of the vessel (not cup, as it is called,) and which is one of the most picturesque descriptions in any author, ancient or modern whatever and far beyond Virgil's cup. Dr. J. WARTON.

Shame for his folly, sorrow out of time,
 For plotting an unprofitable crime; 775
 Yet mastering both, the artificer of lies
 Renews the assault, and his last battery tries.
 Though I, said he, did ne'er in thought offend,
 How justly may my lord suspect his friend?
 The appearance is against me, I confess, 780
 Who seemingly have put you in distress :
 You, if your goodness does not plead my cause,
 May think I broke all hospitable laws,
 To bear you from your palace-yard by night,
 And put your noble person in a fright : 785
 This, since you take it ill, I must repent,
 Though Heaven can witness, with no bad intent
 I practised it, to make you taste your cheer
 With double pleasure, first prepared by fear. 790
 So loyal subjects often seize their prince,
 Forced (for his good) to seeming violence,
 Yet mean his sacred person not the least offence.
 Descend ; so help me Jove, as you shall find
 That Reynard comes of no dissembling kind.
 Nay, quoth the cock ; but I beshrew us both, 795
 If I believe a saint upon his oath :
 An honest man may take a knave's advice,
 But idiots only may be cozen'd twice :
 Once warn'd is well bewared ; no flattering lies

Shall soothe me more to sing with winking
 eyes, 800
 And open mouth, for fear of catching flies.
 Who blindfold walks upon a river's brim,
 When he should see, has he deserved to swim ?
 Better, sir Cock, let all contention cease,
 Come down, said Reynard, let us treat of 805
 peace.
 A peace with all my soul, said Chanticleer ;
 But, with your favour, I will treat it here :
 And lest the truce with treason should be mix'd,
 'Tis my concern to have the tree betwixt.

THE MORAL.

In this plain fable you the effect may see 810
 Of negligence, and fond credulity :
 And learn besides of flatterers to beware,
 Then most pernicious when they speak too fair.
 The cock and fox, the fool and knave imply ;
 The truth is moral, though the tale a lie. 815
 Who spoke in parables, I dare not say ;
 But sure he knew it was a pleasing way,
 Sound sense, by plain example, to convey.
 And in a heathen author we may find,
 That pleasure with instruction should be join'd ;
 So take the corn, and leave the chaff behind. 821

THE FLOWER AND THE LEAF : *

OR, THE LADY IN THE ARBOUR.

A Vision.

Now turning from the wintry signs, the sun
 His course exalted through the Ram had run,
 And whirling up the skies, his chariot drove
 Through Taurus, and the lightsome realms of love ;
 Where Venus from her orb descends in showers ;
 To glad the ground, and paint the fields with
 flowers :
 When first the tender blades of grass appear,
 And buds, that yet the blast of Eurus fear,
 Stand at the door of life, and doubt to clothe the
 year :
 Till gentle heat, and soft repeated rains, 10
 Make the green blood to dance within their veins :

* It is singularly strange that our author, enumerating the different pieces of Chaucer that he has versified, should not sav a syllable of this exquisite and elegant vision, which of all his compositions is perhaps the most perfectly melodious. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 7.

*When first the tender blades of grass appear.**And buds, that yet the blast of Eurus fear,
 Stand at the door of life, and doubt to clothe the year :]**"Inque novos soles adent se gramina, tuto
 Credere, nec metuit surgentes pampinus Anstros."*

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 11. *Make the green blood to dance within their veins :]*
 An expression perfectly Ovidian.*"Omnia tunc florent : tunc est nova temporis ætas :**Et nova de gravido palmitis gemma tumet.**Et modo formatis amittitur vitibus arbor :**Prodit et in summum seminis herba solum."*

Ovid's Fasti, lib. 1, 150. JOHN WARTON.

Then, at their call, embolden'd out they come,
 And swell the gems, and burst the narrow room ;
 Broader and broader yet, their blooms display,
 Salute the welcome sun, and entertain the day. 15
 Then from their breathing souls the sweets repair
 To scent the skies, and purge the unwholesome air :
 Joy spreads the heart, and, with a general song,
 Spring issues out, and leads the jolly months along.
 In that sweet season, as in bed I lay, 20
 And sought in sleep to pass the night away,
 I turn'd my weary side, but still in vain,
 Though full of youthful health, and void of pain :
 Cares I had none, to keep me from my rest,
 For love had never enter'd in my breast ; 25
 I wanted nothing Fortune could supply,
 Nor did she slumber till that hour deny.
 I wonder'd then, but after found it true,
 Much joy had dried away the balmy dew :
 Seas would be pools, without the brushing air, 30

Ver. 19. *Spring issues out,]* Lucretius was rather in his eye than his original.*"It Ver et Venus," &c.*

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 30.]

*"By ceaseless action all that is subsists.
 Constant rotation of th' unweary'd wheel,
 That Nature rides upon, maintains her health,
 Her beauty, her fertility. She dreads
 An instant's pause, and lives but while she moves.
 Its own revolvency upholds the world," &c.*

Cowper.

"The heavens themselves run continually round, the sun

To curl the waves; and sure some little care
Should weary nature so, to make her want repair.

When Chanticleer the second watch had sung,
Scorning the scorned sleep, from bed I sprung,
And dressing, by the moon, in loose array,
Pass'd out in open air, preventing day,
And sought a goodly grove, as fancy led my way.
Straight as a line in beauteous order stood
Of oaks unshorn a venerable wood;
Fresh was the grass beneath, and every tree,
At distance planted in a due degree,
Their branching arms in air with equal space
Stretch'd to their neighbours with a long embrace:
And the new leaves on every bough were seen,
Some ruddy colour'd, some of lighter green.
The painted birds, companions of the spring,
Hopping from spray to spray, were heard to sing.
Both eyes and ears received a like delight,
Enchanting music, and a charming sight.
On Philomel I fix'd my whole desire;
And listen'd for the queen of all the quire;
Pain would I hear her heavenly voice to sing;
And wanted yet an omen to the spring.

Attending long in vain, I took the way,
Which through a path, but scarcely printed, lay;
In narrow mazes oft it seem'd to meet,
And look'd, as lightly press'd by fairy feet.
Wand'ring I walk'd alone, for still methought
To some strange and so strange a path was wrought:
At last it led me where an arbour stood,
The sacred receptacle of the wood:
This place unmark'd, though oft I walk'd the green,
In all my progress I had never seen.

riseth and sets, the moon increaseth and decreaseth, stars
and planets keep their constant motions, the air is still
tossed by the winds, the waters ebb and flow to their con-
servation no doubt, to teach us that we should ever be in
action."—Burlton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 265, ed. 1651
JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 40. — every tree,

At distance planted in a due degree,

"In which were oaks great, straight as a line,
Under the which the grasses so fresh of hew
Was newly sprung, and an eight foot or nine
Every tree well from his fellow grew,
With branches brode, lade with leaves new,
That sprongen out eyen the sunne shene,
Some very red, and some, a glad light grene."

Chaucer, FL and L. st. 5.

"Omnia sint paribus numeris dimensa viarum,
Non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanis:
Sed quia non aliter vires dabit omnibus aquas
Terra, neque in vacuum poterunt se extendere rami."

Georg. II. 234.

"Quid enim illo quinque speciosus est, qui in
quamcumque partem spectaveris rectus est?"

Cic. de Senect. 17.

"Not distant far, a length of colonnade
Invites us. Monument of ancient taste,
Now sound, but worthy of a better fate.
Our fathers knew the value of a screen
From sultry suns; and in their shaded walks
And long protracted bowers, enjoy'd at noon
The gloom and coolness of declining day.

Ye fallen avenues! once more I mourn
Your fate unmerited, once more rejoice,
That yet a remnant of your race survives.
How airy and how light the graceful arch,
Yet awful as the consecrated roof
Re-echoing pious anthems' while beneath
The chequer'd earth seems restless as a fixed
Brush'd by the wind. So sportive is the light
Shot through the boughs, it dances as they dance,
Shadow and sunshine intermingling quick,
And darkening and enlightening, as the leaves
Play wanton, every moment every spot."—Cowper
JOHN WARTON.

And seized at once with wonder and delight,
Gazed all around me, new to the transporting sight.
'Twas bench'd with turf, and goodly to be seen;
The thick young grass arose in fresher green:
The mound was newly made, no sight could pass
Betwixt the nice partitions of the grass;
The well-united sods so closely lay;
And all around the shades defended it from day,
For sycamores with eglantine were spread,
A hedge about the sides, a covering over head.
And so the fragrant briar was wove between,
The sycamore and flowers were mix'd with green.
That nature seem'd to vary the delight,
And satisfied at once the smell and sight.
The master workman of the bower was known
Through fairy-lands, and built for Oberon;
Who twining leaves with such proportion drew,
They rose by measure, and by rule they grew;
No mortal tongue can half the beauty tell.
For none but hands divine could work so well.
Both roof and sides were like a parlour made,
A soft recess, and a cool summer shade;
The hedge was set so thick, no foreign eye
The persons placed within it could espy:
But all that pass'd without with ease was seen,
As if nor fence nor tree was placed between.
'Twas border'd with a field; and some was plain
With grass, and some was sow'd with rising grain.
That (now the dew with spangles deck'd the
ground)

A sweeter spot of earth was never found.
I look'd and look'd, and still with new delight;
Such joy my soul, such pleasures fill'd my sight;
And the fresh eglantine exhaled a breath,
Whose odours were of power to raise from death.
Nor sullen discontent, nor anxious care,
Even though brought thither, could inhabit there:
But thence they fled as from their mortal foe;
For this sweet place could only pleasure know.

Thus as I mused, I cast aside my eye,
And saw a medlar-tree was planted nigh.
The spreading branches made a goodly show,
And full of opening blooms was every bough:
A goldfinch there I saw with gaudy pride
Of painted plumes, that hopp'd from side to side,
Still pecking as she pass'd; and still she drew
The sweets from every flower, and suck'd the dew:
Sufficed at length, she warbled in her throat,
And tuned her voice to many a merry note,
But indistinct, and neither sweet nor clear,
Yet such as sooth'd my soul, and pleased my
ear.

Her short performance was no sooner tried,
When she I sought, the nightingale, replied:
So sweet, so shrill, so variously she sung,
That the grove echoed, and the valleys rung:
And I so ravish'd with her heavenly note,
I stood intranced, and had no room for thought,
But all o'erpower'd with ecstasy of bliss,
Was in a pleasing dream of paradise;
At length I waked, and looking round the bower
Search'd every tree, and pried on every flower,
If any where by chance I might espy
The rural poet of the melody:
For still methought she sung not far away:
At last I found her on a laurel spray.

Ver. 79. — built for Oberon; Perhaps this anti-
cipation, which is a deviation from the original, is not so
judicious. JOHN WARTON.

Close by my side she sat, and fair in sight,
Full in a line, against her opposite ;
Where stood with elegantine the laurel twined ; 130
And both their native sweets were well conjoin'd.

On the green bank I sat, and listen'd long ;
(Sitting was more convenient for the song :)
Nor till her lay was ended could I move,
But wish'd to dwell for ever in the grove. 135
Only methought the time too swiftly pass'd,
And every note I fear'd would be the last.
My sight, and smell, and hearing were employ'd,
And all three senses in full gust enjoy'd.
And what alone did all the rest surpass, 140
The sweet possession of the fairy place ;
Single, and conscious to myself alone
Of pleasures to the excluded world unknown ;
Pleasures which no where else were to be found, 145
And all Elysium in a spot of ground.

Thus while I sat intent to see and hear,
And drew perfumes of more than vital air,
All suddenly I heard the approaching sound
Of vocal music on the enchanted ground :
An host of saints it seem'd so full the quire ; 150
As if the bless'd above did all conspire
To join their voices, and neglect the lyre.
At length there issued from the grove behind
A fair assembly of the female kind .
A train less fair, as ancient fathers tell, 155
Seduced the sons of heaven to rebel.
I pass their form, and every charming grace,
Less than an angel would their worth debase :
But their attire, like liveries of a kind,
All rich and rare, is fresh within my mind. 160
In velvet, white as snow, the troop was gown'd,
The seams with sparkling emeralds set around :
Their hoods and sleeves the same ; and purf'd o'er
With diamonds, pearls, and all the shining store
Of eastern pomp : their long descending train, 165
With rubies edged, and sapphires, swept the plain :
High on their heads, with jewels richly set,
Each lady wore a radiant coronet.
Beneath the circles, all the quire was graced
With chaplets green on their fair foreheads placed.

Ver. 132. *On the green bank I sat, and listen'd long ;
(Sitting was more convenient for the song :)*

A deviation from the original, arising from the want of a rhyme, or his habitual carelessness. The original lines are—

" ——— for as for mine intent,
The birds song was more convenient,
And more pleasant to me by many fold
Than mete or drink, or any other thing."

The design of her walking in the grove was to hear the nightingale, according to the notion expressed in Milton's elegant sonnet :

" O nightingale, that on yon bloomy spray
Warblest at eve, when all the woods are still,
Thou with fresh hope the lover's heart dost fill,
While the jolly Hours lead on propitious May.
Thy liquid notes that close the eye of day,
First heard before the shallow cuckoo's bill,
Portend success in love." JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 142. *Single, and conscious to myself alone
Of pleasures to the excluded world unknown ;]*

This is an improvement on the original. So Burton :

" By a brook side or wood so Greene,
Unheard, unsought-for, and unseene."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 148. *All suddenly I heard the approaching sound
Of vocal music on the enchanted ground :]*

" Till, suddenly awaked, I hear
Strange whisper'd music in my ear."

JOHN WARTON.

Of laurel some, of woodbine many more ; 171
And wreaths of Agnus castus others bore ;
These last, who with those virgin crowns were
dress'd,

Appear'd in higher honour than the rest.
They danced around ; but in the midst was seen 175
A lady of a more majestic mien ;
By stature, and by beauty, mark'd their sovereign
queen.

She in the midst began with sober grace ;
Her servants' eyes were fix'd upon her face,
And as she moved or turn'd, her motions view'd,
Her measures kept, and step by step pursued. 181
Methought she trod the ground with greater grace,
With more of godhead shining in her face ;
And as in beauty she surpass'd the quire,
So, nobler than the rest was her attire. 185
A crown of ruddy gold inclosed her brow,
Plain without pomp, and rich without a show ;
A branch of Agnus castus in her hand
She bore aloft (her sceptre of command) ;
Admired, adored by all the circling crowd, 190
For wheresoe'er she turn'd her face, they bow'd :
And as she danced, a roundelay she sung,
In honour of the laurel, ever young :
She raised her voice on high, and sung so clear,
The fawns came scudding from the groves to hear :
And all the bending forest lent an ear.

At every close she made, the attending thrug
Replied, and bore the burden of the song :
So just, so small, yet in so sweet a note,
It seem'd the music melted in the throat. 200

Thus dancing on, and singing as they danced,
They to the middle of the mead advanced,
Till round my arbour a new ring they made,
And footed it about the secret shade.

O'erjoy'd to see the jolly troop so near, 206
But somewhat awed, I shook with holy fear ;
Yet not so much, but that I noted well
Who did the most in song or dance excel.

Not long I had observed, when from afar
I heard a sudden symphony of war ; 210
The neighing coursers, and the soldiers' cry,
And sounding trumps that seem'd to tear the sky :
I saw soon after this, behind the grove
From whence the ladies did in order move,

Come issuing out in arms a warrior train, 215
That like a deluge pour'd upon the plain :
On barbed steeds they rode in proud array,
Thick as the college of the bees in May,
When swarming o'er the dusky fields they fly,
New to the flowers, and intercept the sky. 220
So fierce they drove, their coursers were so fleet,
That the turf trembled underneath their feet.

To tell their costly furniture were long,
The summer's day would end before the song :
To purchase but the tenth of all their store, 225
Would make the mighty Persian monarch poor.
Yet what I can, I will ; before the rest
The trumpets issued in white mantles dress'd :

Ver. 195. *The fawns came scudding]*

" Jam vero in numerum faunosque, ferasque videres
Ludere, jam rigidas motare cacumina quercus."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 226. ——— *Persian monarch poor.* A judicious improvement from

" ——— I trow the large wonis
Of Preter John, ne all his treasury
Might not unneth have bought the tenth party."

JOHN WARTON.

A numerous troop, and all their heads around
 With chaplets green of cerial oak were crown'd,²³⁰
 And at each trumpet was a banner bound :
 Which waving in the wind display'd at large
 Their masters' coat of arms, and knightly charge.
 Broad were the banners, and of snowy hue,
 A purer web the silk-worm never drew.²³⁵
 The chief about their necks the scutcheons wore,
 With orient pearls and jewels powder'd o'er :
 Broad were their collars too, and every one
 Was set about with many a costly stone.
 Next these, of kings at arms a goodly train²⁴⁰
 In proud array came prancing o'er the plain :
 Their cloaks were cloth of silver mix'd with gold,
 And garlands green around their temples roll'd :
 Rich crowns were on their royal scutcheons placed,
 With sapphires, diamonds, and with rubies graced :
 And as the trumpets their appearance made,²⁴⁵
 So these in habits were alike array'd ;
 But with a pace more sober, and more slow ;
 And twenty, rank in rank, they rode a-row.
 The pursuivants came next, in number more ;²⁵⁰
 And like the heralds each his scutcheon bore :
 Clad in white velvet all their troop they led,
 With each an oaken chaplet on his head.
 Nine royal knights in equal rank succeed,
 Each warrior mounted on a fiery steed ;²⁵⁵
 In golden armour glorious to behold ;
 The rivets of their arms were nail'd with gold.
 Their surcoats of white ermine fur were made ;
 With cloth of gold between, that cast a glittering
 shade.

The trappings of their steeds were of the same ;²⁶⁰
 The golden fringe even set the ground on flame,
 And drew a precious trail : a crown divine
 Of laurel did about their temples twine.

Three henchmen were for every knight assign'd,
 All in rich livery clad, and of a kind ;²⁶⁵
 White velvet, but unshorn, for cloaks they wore,
 And each within his hand a truncheon bore :
 The foremost held a helm of rare device ;
 A prince's ransom would not pay the price.
 The second bore the buckler of his knight,²⁷⁰
 The third of cornel-wood a spear upright,
 Headed with piercing steel, and polish'd bright.
 Like to their lords their equipage was seen,
 And all their foreheads crown'd with garlands
 green.

And after these came arm'd with spear and shield
 An host so great as cover'd all the field :²⁷⁵
 And all their foreheads, like the knights before,
 With laurels evergreen were shaded o'er,
 Or oak, or other leaves of lasting kind,
 Tenacious of the stem, and firm against the wind.²⁸⁰
 Some in their hands, beside the lance and shield,
 The boughs of woodbine or of hawthorn held,
 Or branches for their mystic emblems took,
 Of palm, of laurel, or of cerial oak.
 Thus marching to the trumpet's lofty sound,²⁸⁵
 Drawn in two lines adverse they wheel'd around,
 And in the middle meadow took their ground.

Ver. 261. *The golden fringe even set the ground on flame,*
 He imitates himself, in *Palamon* and *Arctite*. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 279. ——— *leaves of lasting kind,*
Tenacious of the stem.
 "Flos apprima tenax."—Virg.

Judiciously and with reference to the moral. JOHN WARTON.

Among themselves the tourney they divide,
 In equal squadrons ranged on either side.
 Then turn'd their horses' heads, and man to man,
 And steed to steed opposed, the jousts began.²⁹¹
 They lightly set their lances in the rest,
 And, at the sign, against each other press'd :
 They met. I sitting at my ease beheld
 The mix'd events, and fortunes of the field.²⁹⁵
 Some broke their spears, some tumbled horse
 and man,
 And round the field the lighten'd coursers ran.
 An hour and more, like tides, in equal sway
 They rush'd, and won by turns, and lost the day :
 At length the nine (who still together held)³⁰⁰
 Their fainting foes to shameful flight compell'd,
 And with resistless force o'er-ran the field.
 Thus, to their fame, when finish'd was the fight,
 The victors from their lofty steeds alight :
 Like them dismounted all the warlike train,³⁰⁵
 And two by two proceeded o'er the plain :
 Till to the fair assembly they advanced,
 Who near the secret arbour sung and danced.

The ladies left their measures at the sight,
 To meet the chiefs returning from the fight,³¹⁰
 And each with open arms embraced her chosen
 knight.

Amid the plain a spreading laurel stood,
 The grace and ornament of all the wood :
 That pleasing shade they sought, a soft retreat
 From sudden April showers, a shelter from the heat :
 Her leafy arms with such extent were spread,³¹⁵
 So near the clouds was her aspiring head,
 That hosts of birds, that wing the liquid air,
 Perch'd in the boughs, had nightly lodging there :
 And flocks of sheep beneath the shade from far³²⁰
 Might hear the rattling hail, and wintry war ;
 From heaven's inclemency here found retreat,
 Enjoy'd the cool, and shun'd the scorching heat :
 A hundred knights might there at ease abide ;
 And every knight a lady by his side :³²⁵
 The trunk itself such odours did bequeath,
 That a Moluccan breeze to these was common
 breath.

The lords and ladies here, approaching, paid
 Their homage, with a low obeisance made ;
 And seem'd to venerate the sacred shade.³³⁰
 These rites perform'd, their pleasures they pursue,
 With songs of love, and mix with measures new ;
 Around the holy tree their dance they frame,
 And every champion leads his chosen dame.³³⁵

I cast my sight upon the farther field,
 And a fresh object of delight beheld :
 For from the region of the West I heard
 New music sound, and a new troop appear'd ;³⁴⁰
 Of knights and ladies mix'd a jolly band,
 But all on foot they march'd, and hand in hand.

Ver. 316. *Her leafy arms with such extent were spread,*

" ——— Such as at this day to Indians known,
 In Malabar and Decan spreads her arms
 Branching so broad and long, that in the ground
 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
 About the mother tree, a pillar'd shade
 High over-arch'd, and echoing walks between :
 There oft the Indian herdsman, *shunning heat*,
 Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds
 At loop-holes cut through thickest shade."

That our author had this passage of Milton in view is, I presume, evident. The circumstance of the sheep is not in Chaucer; nor the notion of the odoriferous Moluccan breeze, which was suggested to him by Milton's passage. JOHN WARTON.

The ladies dress'd in rich symars were seen
Of Florence satin, flower'd with white and green,
And for a shade betwixt the bloomy gridelin.
The borders of their petticoats below
Were guarded thick with rubies on a row; 345
And every damsel wore upon her head
Of flowers a garland blended white and red.
Attired in mantles all the knights were seen,
That gratified the view with cheerful green :
Their chaplets of their ladies' colours were, 350
Composed of white and red, to shade their
shining hair.

Before the merry troop the minstrels play'd ;
All in their masters' liveries were array'd,
And clad in green, and on their temples wore
The chaplets white and red their ladies bore. 355
Their instruments were various in their kind,
Some for the bow, and some for breathing wind :
The sawtry, pipe, and hautboy's noisy band,
And the soft lute trembling beneath the touching
hand.

A tuft of daisies on a flowery lay 360
They saw, and thitherward they bent their way ;
To this both knights and dames their homage
made,

And due obeisance to the daisy paid.
And then the band of flutes began to play,
To which a lady sung a virelay : 365
And still at every close she would repeat
The burden of the song, The daisy is so sweet.
The daisy is so sweet, when she begun,
The troop of knights and dames continued on.
The consort and the voice so charmed my ear,
And soothed my soul, that it was heaven to
hear. 371

But soon their pleasure pass'd : at noon of day,
The sun with sultry beams began to play :
Not Sirius shoots a fiercer flame from high,
When with his poisonous breath he blasts the
sky ; 375

Then droop'd the fading flow'rs (their beauty fled)
And closed their sickly eyes, and hung the head,
And rivell'd up with heat, lay dying in their
bed.

The ladies gasp'd, and scarcely could respire ;
The breath they drew, no longer air, but fire ; 380
The fainty knights were scorcht'd, and knew not
where

To run for shelter, for no shade was near ;
And after this the gathering clouds amain
Pour'd down a storm of rattling hail and rain :
And lightning flash'd betwixt the field and
flowers. 385

Burnt up before, were buried in the showers.
The ladies and the knights, no shelter nigh,
Bare to the weather and the wintry sky,
Were dropping wet, disconsolate, and wan,
And through their thin array received the rain ;
While those in white, protected by the tree, 391
Saw pass in vain the assault, and stood from
danger free,

But as compassion moved their gentle minds,
When ceased the storm, and silent were the winds,

Ver. 378.] Dryden uses the expression *riac'd* ; as Pope
does in the Rape of the Lock, c. ii. 132. Some editions read
shred'd : but Pope follows Dryden, as Mr. Wakefield has
observed. Topp.

Ver. 380. The breath they drew, no longer air, but fire ;]
A conceit introduced for the sake of the rhyme JOHN
WARTON.

Displeased at what, not suffering they had seen,
They went to cheer the faction of the green : 396
The queen in white array, before her band,
Saluting, took her rival by the hand ;
So did the knights and dames, with courtly
grace,

And with behaviour sweet their foes embrace. 400
Then thus the queen with laurel on her brow,
Fair sister, I have suffer'd in your woe ;
Nor shall be wanting aught within my power
For your relief in my refreshing bower.
That other answer'd with a lowly look, 405
And soon the gracious invitation took :
For ill at ease both she and all her train
The scorching sun had borne, and beating rain.
Like courtesy was used by all in white,
Each dame a dame received, and every knight 410
a knight.

The laurel champions with their swords invade
The neighbouring forests, where the jousts were
made,

And serewood from the rotten hedges took,
And seeds of latent fire from flints provoke :
A cheerful blaze arose, and by the fire 415
They warm'd their frozen feet, and dried their
wet attire.

Refresh'd with heat, the ladies sought around
For virtuous herbs, which gather'd from the ground
They squeezed the juice, and cooling ointment
made,

Which on their sun-burnt cheeks, and their chapt
skins they laid : 420

Then sought green salads, which they bade them
eat,

A sovereign remedy for inward heat.
The Lady of the Leaf ordain'd a feast,
And made the Lady of the Flower her guest :
When, lo ! a bower ascended on the plain, 425
With sudden seats ordain'd, and large for either
train.

This bower was near my pleasant arbour placed,
That I could hear and see whatever pass'd :
The ladies sat with each a knight between,
Distinguish'd by their colours, white and green ;
The vanquish'd party with the victors join'd, 431
Nor wanted sweet discourse, the banquet of the
mind.

Meantime the minstrels play'd on either side,
Vain of their art, and for the mastery vied :
The sweet contention lasted for an hour, 435
And reach'd my secret arbour from the bower.

The sun was set ; and Vesper, to supply
His absent beams, had lighted up the sky.
When Philomel, officious all the day 440
To sing the service of the ensuing May,
Fled from her laurel shade, and wing'd her flight
Directly to the queen array'd in white ;

Ver. 414. And seeds of latent fire from flints provoke :] A
circumstance, his own, founded on the line of Virgil —
" — primus silicii scintillam exorudit Achates."

The verb *provoke* is his own, and simple, strong, and ex-
pressive. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 425.] Here I must, agreeably to my plan, note a
small deviation from the original, in which there is no
mention of the bower or the banquet. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 437. The sun was set ; and Vesper, to supply
His absent beams, had lighted up the sky.]
"The sun was sunk, and after him the star of Hesperus."
Milton, ix. 40.
JOHN WARTON.

And hopping sat familiar on her hand,
A new musician, and increased the band.

The goldfinch, who, to shun the scalding heat, ⁴⁴⁵
Had changed the medlar for a safer seat,
And hid in bushes 'scaped the bitter shower,
Now perch'd upon the Lady of the Flower;
And either songster holding out their throats,
And folding up their wings, renew'd their notes :
As if all day, preluding to the fight, ⁴⁵¹
They only had rehearsed, to sing by night.
The banquet ended, and the battle done,
They danced by star-light and the friendly moon :
And when they were to part, the laureate queen
Supplied with steeds the lady of the green, ⁴⁵⁶
Her and her train conducting on the way,
The moon to follow, and avoid the day.

This when I saw, inquisitive to know ⁴⁶⁰
The secret moral of the mystic show,
I started from my shade, in hopes to find
Some nymph to satisfy my longing mind :
And as my fair adventure fell, I found
A lady all in white, with laurel crown'd,
Who closed the rear, and softly paced along, ⁴⁶⁵
Repeating to herself the former song.
With due respect my body I inclined,
As to some being of superior kind,
And made my court according to the day,
Wishing her queen and her a happy May. ⁴⁷⁰
Great thanks, my daughter, with a gracious bow,
She said ; and I, who much desired to know
Of whence she was, yet fearful how to break
My mind, adventured humbly thus to speak :
Madam, might I presume and not offend, ⁴⁷⁵
So may the stars and shining moon attend
Your nightly sports, as you vouchsafe to tell,
What nymphs they were who mortal forms excel,
And what the knights who fought in listed fields
so well.

To this the dame replied : Fair daughter, know,
That what you saw was all a fairy show : ⁴⁸¹
And all those airy shapes you now behold
Were human bodies once, and clothed with
earthly mould,

Our souls, not yet prepared for upper light,
Till doomsday wander in the shades of night ; ⁴⁸⁵
This only holiday of all the year,
We privileged in sunshine may appear :
With songs and dance we celebrate the day,
And with due honours usher in the May.
At other times we reign by night alone, ⁴⁹⁰
And posting through the skies pursue the moon :
But when the moon arises, none are found ;
For cruel Demogorgon walks the round,
And if he finds a fairy lag in light,
He drives the wretch before, and lashes into night.

All courteous are by kind ; and ever proud ⁴⁹⁵
With friendly offices to help the good.
In every land we have a larger space
Than what is known to you of mortal race :

Ver. 491. And posting through the skies pursue the moon :]
My reader will not be displeased at the following citation
from a writer whose chief excellence does not consist in
imagery ; but who shows from the following passage much
of the genuine and real poet or maker.

"Ludite, jam Nox jungit equos, currumque sequuntur
Matris lascivo sidera fulva cluro,
Postque venit tacitus fuscis circumdatus alis
Somnus, et incoerto somnia nigra pede."

Tibullus, lib. II. Eleg. 1. line 87.

JOHN WATSON.

Where we with green adorn our fairy bowers, ⁵⁰⁰
And even this grove, unseen before, is ours.
Know farther, every lady clothed in white,
And, crown'd with oak and laurel every knight,
Are servants to the Leaf, by liveries known
Of innocence ; and I myself am one. ⁵⁰⁵

Saw you not her so graceful to behold,
In white attire, and crown'd with radiant gold ?
The sovereign lady of our land is she,
Diana call'd, the queen of chastity :
And, for the spotless name of maid she bears, ⁵¹¹
That Agnus castus in her hand appears ;
And all her train, with leafy chaplets crown'd,
Were for unblamed virginity renown'd ;
But those the chief and highest in command
Who bear those holy branches in their hand : ⁵¹⁵
The knights adorn'd with laurel crowns are they,
Whom death nor danger ever could dismay,
Victorious names, who made the world obey :
Who, while they lived, in deeds of arms excell'd,
And after death for deities were held. ⁵²⁰
But those who wear the woodbine on their brow,
Were knights of love, who never broke their vow ;
Firm to their plighted faith, and ever free
From fears, and fickle chance, and jealousy.
The lords and ladies, who the woodbine bear, ⁵²⁵
As true as Tristram and Isotta were.
But what are those, said I, the unconquer'd nine,
Who crown'd with laurel wreaths in golden ar-
mour shine ?

And who the knights in green, and what the train
Of ladies dress'd with daisies on the plain ? ⁵³⁰
Why both the bands in worship disagree,
And some adore the flower, and some the tree ?
Just is your suit, fair daughter, said the dame :
Those laurel'd chiefs were men of mighty fame ;
Nine worthies were they call'd of different rites, ⁵³⁵
Three Jews, three Pagans, and three Christian
knights.

These, as you see, ride foremost in the field,
As they the foremost rank of honour held,
And all in deeds of chivalry excell'd :
Their temples wreath'd with leaves, that still renew ;
For deathless laurel is the victor's due : ⁵⁴¹
Who bear the bows were knights in Arthur's reign,
Twelve they, and twelve the peers of Charlemagne :
For bows the strength of brawny arms imply,
Emblems of valour and of victory. ⁵⁴⁵
Behold an order yet of newer date,
Doubling their number, equal in their state ;
Our England's ornament, the crown's defence,
In battle brave, protectors of their prince :
Unchanged by fortune, to their sovereign true, ⁵⁵⁰
For which their manly legs are bound with blue.
These, of the Garter call'd, of faith unstain'd
In fighting fields the laurel have obtain'd,
And well repaid the honours which they gain'd.
The laurel wreaths were first by Cæsar worn, ⁵⁵⁵
And still they Cæsar's successors adorn :
One leaf of this is immortality,
And more of worth than all the world can buy.

One doubt remains, said I, the dames in green,
What were their qualities, and who their queen ? ⁵⁶⁰
Flora commands, said she, those nymphs and
knights,

Who lived in slothful ease and loose delights ;
Who never acts of honour durst pursue,
The men inglorious knights, the ladies all untrue :
Who, nursed in idleness, and train'd in courts, ⁵⁶⁵
Pass'd all their precious hours in plays and sports

Till death behind came stalking on unseen,
And wither'd (like the storm) the freshness of
their green.

These, and their mates, enjoy their present hour,
And therefore pay their homage to the Flower.⁵⁷⁰
But knights in knightly deeds should persevere,
And still continue what at first they were;
Continue, and proceed in honour's fair career.
No room for cowardice, or dull delay;
From good to better they should urge their way.⁵⁷⁵
For this with golden spurs the chiefs are graced,
With pointed rowels arm'd to mend their haste.
For this with lasting leaves their brows are bound,
For laurel is the sign of labour crown'd,
Which bears the bitter blast, nor shaken falls to
ground:⁵⁸⁰

From winter winds it suffers no decay,
For ever fresh and fair, and every month is May.
Even when the vital sap retreats below,
Even when the hoary head is hid in snow,
The life is in the leaf, and still between⁵⁸⁵
The fits of falling snow appears the streaky green.
Not so the flower, which lasts for little space,
A short-lived good, and an uncertain grace;
This way and that the feeble stem is driven,
Weak to sustain the storms, and injuries of heaven.
Propp'd by the spring, it lifts aloft the head,⁵⁹¹
But of a sickly beauty, soon to shed;

In summer living, and in winter dead.
For things of tender kind, for pleasure made,
Shoot up with swift increase, and sudden are
decay'd.⁵⁹⁵

With humble words, the wisest I could frame,
And proffer'd service, I repaid the dame;
That, of her grace, she gave her maid to know
The secret meaning of this moral show.
And she, to prove what profit I had made⁶⁰⁰
Of mystic truth, in fables first convey'd,
Demanded, till the next returning May,
Whether the Leaf or Flower I would obey?
I chose the Leaf; she smiled with sober cheer,⁶⁰⁵
And wish'd me fair adventure for the year,
And gave me charms and sigils, for defence
Against ill tongues that scandal innocence:
But I, said she, my fellows must pursue,
Already past the plain, and out of view.
We parted thus: I homeward sped my way,⁶¹⁰
Bewilder'd in the wood till dawn of day:
And met the merry crew who danced about the
May.

Then late refresh'd with sleep, I rose to write
The visionary vigils of the night.

Blush, as thou may'st, my little book with shame,
Nor hope with homely verse to purchase fame;⁶¹⁵
For such thy maker chose; and so design'd
Thy simple style to suit thy lowly kind.

THE WIFE OF BATH.

HER TALE.

In days of old, when Arthur fill'd the throne,
Whose acts and fame to foreign lands were blown;
The king of elfs and little fairy queen'
Gamboll'd on heaths, and danced on every green;
And where the jolly troop had led the round,⁵
The grass unbidden rose, and mark'd the ground:
Nor darkling did they dance, the silver light
Of Phoebus served to guide their steps aright,
And with their tripping pleased, prolong the night.
Her beams they follow'd, where at full she¹⁰
play'd,
No longer than she shed her horns they staid,
From thence with airy flight to foreign lands
convey'd.
Above the rest our Britain held they dear,
More solemnly they kept their sabbaths here,
And made more spacious rings, and revell'd half¹⁵
the year.

I speak of ancient times, for now the swain
Returning late may pass the woods in vain,
And never hope to see the nightly train:
In vain the dairy now with mints is dress'd,
The dairy-maid expects no fairy guest,²⁰
To skim the bowls, and after pay the feast.
She sighs, and shakes her empty shoes in vain,
No silver penny to reward her pain:

For priests with prayers, and other godly gear,
Have made the merry goblins disappear;²⁵
And where they play'd their merry pranks be-
fore,

Have sprinkled holy water on the floor:
And friars that through the wealthy regions run,
Thick as the motes that twinkle in the sun,
Resort to farmers rich, and bless their halls,³⁰
And exorcise the beds, and cross the walls:
This makes the fairy quires forsake the place,
When once 'tis hallow'd with the rites of grace:
But in the walks where wicked elves have been,
The learning of the parish now is soon,³⁵
The midnight parson, posting o'er the green,
With gown tuck'd up, to wakes, for Sunday next,
With humming ale encouraging his text;
Nor wants the holy leer to country-girl betwixt.
From fiends and imps he sets the village free,⁴⁰
There haunts not any incubus but he.

The maids and women need no danger fear
To walk by night, and sanctity so near:
For by some haycock, or some shady thorn,
He bids his beads both even-song and morn.⁴⁵
It so befel in this king Arthur's reign,
A lusty knight was pricking o'er the plain;
A bachelor he was, and of the courtly train.

It happen'd as he rode, a damsel gay
 In russet robes to market took her way :
 Soon on the girl he cast an amorous eye,
 So straight she walk'd, and on her pasterns high :
 If seeing her behind he lik'd her pace,
 Now turning short, he better lik'd her face.
 He lights in haste, and, full of youthful fire,
 By force accomplish'd his obscene desire :
 This done, away he rode, not unespied,
 For swarming at his back the country cried :
 And once in view they never lost the sight
 But seized, and pinion'd brought to court the knight.

Then courts of kings were held in high renown,
 Ere made the common brothels of the town :
 There, virgins honourable vows received,
 But chaste as maids in monasteries lived ;
 The king himself, to nuptial ties a slave,
 No bad example to his poets gave :
 And they, not bad, but in a vicious age,
 Had not, to please the prince, debauch'd the stage.

Now what should Arthur do ? He loved the knight,

But sovereign monarchs are the source of right :
 Moved by the damsel's tears and common cry,
 He doom'd the brutal ravisher to die.
 But fair Geneura rose in his defence,
 And pray'd so hard for mercy from the prince,
 That to his queen the king the offender gave,
 And left it in her power to kill or save :
 This gracious act the ladies all approve,
 Who thought it much a man should die for love ;
 And with their mistress join'd in close debate,
 (Covering their kindness with dissembled hate) :
 If not to free him, to prolong his fate.
 At last agreed, they call'd him by consent
 Before the queen and female parliament ;
 And the fair speaker, rising from the chair,
 Did thus the judgment of the house declare.

Sir knight, though I have ask'd thy life, yet still
 Thy destiny depends upon my will :
 Nor hast thou other surety than the grace
 Not due to thee from our offended race.
 But as our kind is of a softer mould,
 And cannot blood without a sigh behold,
 I grant thee life ; reserving still the power
 To take the forfeit when I see my hour :
 Unless thy answer to my next demand
 Shall set thee free from our avenging hand.
 The question, whose solution I require,
 Is, What the sex of women most desire ?
 In this dispute thy judges are at strife ;
 Beware ; for on thy wit depends thy life.
 Yet (lest, surprised, unknowing what to say,
 Thou damn thyself) we give thee further day :
 A year is thine to wander at thy will ;
 And learn from others, if thou want'st the skill.
 But, not to hold our proffer'd turn in scorn,
 Good sureties will we have for thy return ;
 That at the time prefix'd thou shalt obey,
 And at thy pledge's peril keep thy day.

Woe was the knight at this severe command ;
 But well he knew 'twas bootless to withstand :
 The terms accepted, as the fair ordain,
 He put in bail for his return again,
 And promised answer at the day assign'd,
 The best, with Heaven's assistance, he could find.
 His leave thus taken, on his way he went
 With heavy heart, and full of discontent,
 Misdoubting much, and fearful of the event.

'Twas hard the truth of such a point to find,
 As was not yet agreed among the kind.
 Thus on he went ; still anxious more and more,
 Ask'd all he met, and knock'd at every door ;
 Inquired of men ; but made his chief request
 To learn from women what they loved the best.
 They answer'd each according to her mind
 To please herself, not all the female kind.
 One was for wealth, another was for place ;
 Cronos, old and ugly, wish'd a better face.
 The widow's wish was oftentimes to wed ;
 The wanton maids were all for sport a-bed.
 Some said the sex were pleased with handsome lies,

And some gross flattery loved without disguise :
 Truth is, says one, he seldom fails to win,
 Who flatters well ; for that's our darling sin.
 But long attendance, and a duteous mind,
 Will work even with the wisest of the kind.
 One thought the sex's prime felicity
 Was from the bonds of wedlock to be free :
 Their pleasures, hours, and actions all their own,
 And uncontrol'd to give account to none.
 Some with a husband-fool ; but such are curst,
 For fools perverse of husbands are the worst :
 All women would be counted chaste and wise,
 Nor should our spouses see, but with our eyes ;
 For fools will prate ; and though they want the wit
 To find close faults, yet open blots will hit ;
 Though better for their ease to hold their tongue,

For woman-kind was never in the wrong.
 So noise ensues, and quarrels last for life ;
 The wife abhors the fool, the fool the wife.
 And some men say, that great delight have we,
 To be for truth extoll'd, and secrecy :
 And constant in one purpose still to dwell ;
 And not our husband's counsels to reveal.
 But that's a fable : for our sex is frail,
 Inventing rather than not tell a tale.
 Like leaky sieves no secrets we can hold :
 Witness the famous tale that Ovid told.

Midas the king, as in his book appears,
 By Phœbus was endow'd with asses' ears,
 Which under his long locks he well conceal'd,
 (As monarchs' vices must not be reveal'd)
 For fear the people have 'em in the wind,
 Who long ago were neither dumb nor blind :
 Nor apt to think from heaven their title springs,
 Since Jove and Mars left off begetting kings.
 This Midas knew ; and durst communicate
 To none but to his wife his ears of state :
 One must be trusted, and he thought her fit,
 As passing prudent, and a parlous wit.
 To this sagacious confessor he went,
 And told her what a gift the gods had sent :
 But told it under matrimonial seal,
 With strict injunction never to reveal.
 The secret heard, she plighted him her troth,
 (And sacred sure is every woman's oath)
 The royal malady should rest unknown,
 Both for her husband's honour and her own.
 But ne'ertheless she pined with discontent ;
 The counsel rumbl'd till it found a vent.
 The thing she knew she was obliged to hide ;
 By interest and by oath the wife was tied ;
 But, if she told it not, the woman died.
 Loth to betray a husband and a prince,
 But she must burst, or blab, and no pretence
 Of honour tied her tongue from self-defence.

A marshy ground commodiously was near,
 Thither she ran, and held her breath for fear,
 Lest if a word she spoke of any thing,
 That word might be the secret of the king.
 Thus full of counsel to the fen she went,
 Gripped all the way, and longing for a vent;
 Arrived, by pure necessity compell'd,
 On her majestic marrow-bones she kneel'd:
 Then to the water's brink she laid her head,
 And, as a bittour bumps within a reed,
 To thee alone, O lake, she said, I tell,
 (And, as thy queen, command thee to conceal,)
 Beneath his locks the king my husband wears
 A goodly royal pair of asses' ears:
 Now I have eased my bosom of the pain,
 Till the next longing fit return again.

Thus through a woman was the secret known;
 Tell us, and in effect you tell the town.
 But to my tale: the knight with heavy cheer,
 Wand'ring in vain, had now consumed the year:
 One day was only left to solve the doubt,
 Yet knew no more than when he first set out.
 But home he must, and as the award had been,
 Yield up his body captive to the queen.
 In this despairing state he happ'd to ride,
 As fortune led him, by a forest side:
 Lonely the vale, and full of horror stood,
 Brown with the shade of a religious wood:
 When full before him at the noon of night,
 (The moon was up, and shot a gleamy light)
 He saw a quire of ladies in a round
 That featly footing seem'd to skim the ground:
 Thus dancing hand in hand, so light they were,
 He knew not where they trod, on earth or air.
 At speed he drove, and came a sudden guest,
 In hope where many women were, at least
 Some one by chance might answer his request.
 But faster than his horse the ladies flew,
 And in a trice were vanish'd out of view.

One only hag remain'd; but fouler far
 Than grandame apes in Indian forests are;
 Against a wither'd oak she lean'd her weight,
 Propp'd on her trusty staff, not half upright,
 And dropp'd an awkward court'sy to the knight.
 Then said, What makes you, Sir, so late abroad
 Without a guide, and this no beaten road?
 Or want you aught that here you hope to find,
 Or travel for some trouble in your mind?
 The last I guess; and if I read aright,
 Those of our sex are bound to serve a knight;

Ver 194. *And, as a bittour bumps, &c.* The mugient noise of the bittour, (to use the words of Sir Thomas Brown) by putting its bill into a reed, as most believe, which we term bumping, is not so easily made out. See *Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, b. iii., ch. 37. The paraphrase of an old commentator on the passage in Chaucer, to which the lines before us correspond, is, for the sake of an harmless laugh, worth citing:—"She, (the wife of Midas) who had solemnly vowed never to disclose what he had recommended to her trust; both to keep her oath, and yet disgorge her stomach of that secret which lay so petting and frying on her, as she must needs be delivered of it; reserved one day to go down to a marish near adjoining, far remote from the sight or search of man; where, just like as a bittour puts his beak in a reed, and through the hollowness of the cane makes a shrill and sharp sound, so lay Midas' wife with her mouth to the water, using these words:—*Doest thou hear, thou marish? my husband has a pair of asses' ears.* This is a secret; none but myself know of it; I would not for a world impart it. So, now my heart is eased; my lace would have broke, if I had not disclosed it!" Comment upon two Tales of Chaucer, &c., 12mo. London, 1665, p. 161. Todd.

Perhaps good counsel may your grief assuage,
 Then tell your pain; for wisdom is in age.
 To this the knight: Good mother, would you know

The secret cause and spring of all my woe?
 My life must with to-morrow's light expire,
 Unless I tell what women most desire.
 Now could you help me at this hard essay,
 Or for your inborn goodness, or for pay;
 Yours is my life, redeem'd by your advice,
 Ask what you please, and I will pay the price:
 The proudest kerchief of the court shall rest
 Well satisfied of what they love the best.
 Plight me thy faith, quoth she, that what I ask,
 Thy danger over, and perform'd thy task,
 That thou shalt give for hire of thy demand;
 Here take thy oath, and seal it on my hand;
 I warrant thee, on peril of my life,
 Thy words shall please both widow, maid, and wife.
 More words there needed not to move the knight,

To take her offer, and his truth to plight.
 With that she spread a mantle on the ground,
 And, first inquiring whither he was bound,
 Bade him not fear, though long and rough the way,
 At court he should arrive ere break of day;
 His horse should find the way without a guide.
 She said: with fury they began to ride,
 He on the midst, the beldam at his side.
 The horse, what devil drove I cannot tell,
 But only this, they sped their journey well:
 And all the way the crone inform'd the knight,
 How he should answer the demand aright.

To court they came; the news was quickly spread
 Of his returning to redeem his head.
 The female senate was assembled soon,
 With all the mob of women in the town:
 The queen sat lord chief justice of the hall,
 And bade the crone cite the criminal.
 The knight appear'd; and silence they proclaim:
 Then first the culprit answer'd to his name:
 And, after forms of law, was last required
 To name the thing that women most desired.

The offender, taught his lesson by the way,
 And by his counsel order'd what to say,
 Thus bold began: My lady liege, said he,
 What all your sex desire is, Sovereignty.
 The wife affects her husband to command;
 All must be hers, both money, house, and land.
 The maids are mistresses even in their name;
 And of their servants full dominion claim.

This, at the peril of my head, I say,
 A blunt plain truth, the sex aspires to sway,
 You to rule all, while we, like slaves, obey.
 There was not one, or widow, maid or wife,
 But said the knight had well deserved his life.
 Even fair Genevra, with a blush, confess'd
 The man had found what women love the best.
 Up starts the beldam, who was there unseen,
 And, reverence made, accosted thus the queen:
 My liege, said she, before the court arise,
 May I, poor wretch, find favour in your eyes,
 To grant my just request: 'twas I who taught
 The knight this answer, and inspired his thought;
 None but a woman could a man direct
 To tell us women, what we most affect.
 But first I swore him on his knightly troth
 (And here demand performance of his oath),
 To grant the boon that next I should desire;
 He gave his faith, and I expect my hire:

My promise is fulfill'd : I saved his life,
And clam his debt, to take me for his wife.
The knight was ask'd, nor could his oath deny, 305
But hoped they would not force him to comply.
The women, who would rather wrest the laws,
Than let a sister-plaintiff lose the cause,
(As judges on the bench more gracious are,
And more attent to brothers of the bar) 310
Cried, one and all, the suppliant should have right,
And to the grandame hag adjudged the knight.

In vain he sigh'd, and oft with tears desired.
Some reasonable suit might be required.
But still the crone was constant to her note ; 315
The more he spoke, the more she stretch'd her throat.

In vain he proffer'd all his goods, to save
His body destined to that living grave.
The liquorish hag rejects the pelf with scorn ;
And nothing but the man would serve her turn. 320
Not all the wealth of eastern kings, said she,
Have power to part my plighted love, and me :
And, old and ugly as I am, and poor,
Yet never will I break the faith I swore ;
For mine thou art by promise, during life, 325
And I thy loving and obedient wife.

My love ! nay rather my damnation thou,
Said he : nor am I bound to keep my vow ;
The fiend thy sire hath sent thee from below,
Else, how couldst thou my secret sorrows know ?
Avaunt, old witch, for I renounce thy bed : 331
The queen may take the forfeit of my head,
Ere any of my race so foul a crone shall wed.
Both heard, the judge pronounced against the knight ;

So was he married in his own despite : 335
And all day after hid him as an owl,
Not able to sustain a sight so foul.
Perhaps the reader thinks I do him wrong,
To pass the marriage feast, and nuptial song :
Mirth there was none, the man was à-la-mort, 340
And little courage had to make his court.
To bed they went, the bridegroom and the bride :
Was never such an ill-pair'd couple tied :
Restless he toss'd, and tumbled to and fro,
And roll'd, and wriggled further off, for woe. 345
The good old wife lay smiling by his side,
And caught him in her quivering arms, and cried,
When you my ravish'd predecessor saw,
You were not then become this man of straw ;
Had you been such, you might have 'scaped the law.
Is this the custom of King Arthur's court ? 351
Are all round-table knights of such a sort ?
Remember I am she who saved your life,
Your loving, lawful, and complying wife :
Not thus you swore in your unhappy hour, 355
Nor I for this return employ'd my power.
In time of need I was your faithful friend ;
Nor did I since, nor ever will offend.
Believe me, my loved lord, 'tis much unkind ;
What fury has possess'd your alter'd mind ? 360
Thus on my wedding night—without pretence—
Come, turn this way, or tell me my offence.
If not your wife, let reason's rule persuade ;
Name but my fault, amends shall soon be made.

Amends ! nay, that's impossible, said he, 365
What change of age or ugliness can be ?
Or could Medea's magic mend thy face,
Thou art descended from so mean a race,
That never knight was match'd with such disgrace.

What wonder, madam, if I move my side, 370
When, if I turn, I turn to such a bride ?
And is this all that troubles you so sore ?
And what the devil couldst thou wish me more ?

Ah, Benedicite ! replied the crone :
Then cause of just complaining have you none. 375
The remedy to this were soon applied,
Would you be like the bridegroom to the bride :
But, for you say a long descended race,
And wealth, and dignity, and power, and place,
Make gentlemen, and that your high degree 380
Is much disparaged to be match'd with me ;
Know this, my lord, nobility of blood
Is but a glittering and fallacious good :
The nobleman is he, whose noble mind
Is fill'd with inborn worth, unborrow'd from his 385
kind.

The King of Heaven was in a manger laid,
And took his earth but from an humble Maid ;
Then what can birth, or mortal men, bestow !
Since floods no higher than their fountains flow.
We, who for name and empty honour strive, 390
Our true nobility from him derive.

Your ancestors, who puff your mind with pride,
And vast estates to mighty titles tied,
Did not your honour, but their own, advance ;
For virtue comes not by inheritance. 395

If you trineate from your father's mind,
What are you else but of a bastard kind !
Do as your great progenitors have done,
And, by their virtues, prove yourself their son.

No father can infuse or wit or grace ; 400
A mother comes across, and mars the race.
A grandsire or a grandame taints the blood
And seldom three descents continue good.

Were virtue by descent, a noble name
Could never villanise his father's fame : 405
But, as the first, the last of all the line,
Would, like the sun, even in descending, shine.

Take fire, and bear it to the darkest house
Betwixt King Arthur's court and Caucasus ;
If you depart, the flame shall still remain, 410
And the bright blaze enlighten all the plain :
Nor, till the fuel perish, can decay,
By nature form'd on things combustible to prey.

Such is not man, who, mixing better seed
With worse, begets a base degenerate breed : 415

The bad corrupts the good, and leaves behind
No trace of all the great begetter's mind.
The father sinks within his son, we see,
And often rises in the third degree ;

If better luck a better mother give, 420
Chance gave us being, and by chance we live.
Such as our atoms were, even such are we,
Or call it chance, or strong necessity :
Thus loaded with dead weight, the will is free.

And thus it needs must be : for seed conjoin'd 425
Lets into nature's work the imperfect kind ;
But fire, the enlivener of the general frame,
Is one, its operation still the same.

Its principle is in itself : while ours
Works, as confederates war, with mingled powers :
Or man or woman, which soever fails : 431

And, oft, the vigour of the worse prevails.
Æther with sulphur blended alters hue,
And casts a dusky gleam of Sodom blue.
Thus, in a brute, their ancient honour ends, 435
And the fair mermaid in a fish descends :

The line is gone; no longer duke or earl;
 But, by himself degraded, turns a churl.
 Nobility of blood is but renown
 Of thy great fathers by their virtue known, 440
 And a long trail of light, to thee descending down.
 If in thy smoke it ends, their glories shine;
 But infamy and villanage are thine.
 Then what I said before is plainly show'd,
 The true nobility proceeds from God: 445
 Nor left us by inheritance, but given
 By bounty of our stars, and grace of Heaven.
 Thus from a captive Servius Tullius rose,
 Whom for his virtues the first Romans chose:
 Fabricius from their walls repell'd the foe, 450
 Whose noble hands had exercised the plough.
 From hence, my lord, and love, I thus conclude,
 That though my homely ancestors were rude,
 Mean as I am, yet I may have the grace 455
 To make you father of a generous race:
 And noble then am I, when I begin,
 In virtue clothed, to cast the rags of sin.
 If poverty be my upbraided crime,
 And you believe in Heaven, there was a time 460
 When he, the great controller of our fate,
 Deign'd to be man, and lived in low estate;
 Which he who had the world at his dispose,
 If poverty were vice, would never choose.
 Philosophers have said, and poets sing, 465
 That a glad poverty's an honest thing.
 Content is wealth, the riches of the mind;
 And happy he who can that treasure find.
 But the base miser starves amidst his store,
 Broods on his gold, and, gripping still at more, 470
 Sits sadly pining, and believes he's poor.
 The ragged beggar, though he want relief,
 Has not to lose, and sings before the thief.
 Want is a bitter and a hateful good,
 Because its virtues are not understood: 475
 Yet many things, impossible to thought,
 Have been by need to full perfection brought:
 The daring of the soul proceeds from thence,
 Sharpness of wit, and active diligence;
 Prudence at once, and fortitude, it gives,
 And, if in patience taken, mends our lives; 480

Ver. 439. *Nobility of blood is but renown*

*Of thy great fathers by their virtue known,
 And a long trail of light, to thee descending down.]*

A great deal of this reasoning is copied from Boethius de Consol. l. iii. p. 6. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 473. *Want is a bitter and a hateful good.* * In this commendation of poverty, our author seems plainly to have had in view the following passage of a fabulous conference between the Emperor Adrian and Secundus the philosopher, reported by Vincent of Beauvais, Spec. His. l. x., c. 71. "Quid est Paupertas? Odibile bonum; sanitatis mater; remotio curarum; sapientie reperitrix; negotium sine damno; possessio absque calumnia; sine sollicitudine felicitas."—Tyrwhitt.

To which I beg to add, that Savage seems to have had this passage in his mind:

"By woe, the soul to daring action swells;
 By woe, in pliant patience it excels;
 From patience, prudent dear experience springs,
 And traces knowledge through the course of things!
 Thence hope is form'd, thence fortitude, success,
 Renown; what'er men covet and caress."

The last couplet is inferior to the original.

"Poverty a spectacle is, as thinketh me,
 Though which he may his very friends see."

Down to "friend" the lines are nervous and simple.

JOHN WARTON.

For even that indigence, that brings me low,
 Makes me myself, and Him above, to know.
 A good which none would challenge, few would
 choose,

A fair possession, which mankind refuse. 485
 If we from wealth to poverty descend
 Want gives to know the flatterer from the friend.
 If I am old and ugly, well for you,
 No lewd adulterer will my love pursue.
 Nor jealousy, the bane of married life, 490
 Shall haunt you for a wither'd homely wife.
 For age and ugliness, as all agree,
 Are the best guards of female chastity.

Yet since I see your mind is worldly bent,
 I'll do my best to further your content.
 And therefore of two gifts in my dispose, 495
 Think ere you speak, I grant you leave to choose:
 Would you I should be still deform'd and old,
 Nauseous to touch, and loathsome to behold;
 On this condition to remain for life
 A careful, tender, and obedient wife, 500
 In all I can contribute to your ease,
 And not in deed, or word, or thought displease;
 Or would you rather have me young and fair,
 And take the chance that happens to your share?
 Temptations are in beauty, and in youth, 505
 And how can you depend upon my truth?
 Now weigh the danger with the doubtful bliss,
 And thank yourself, if aught should fall amiss.

Sore sigh'd the knight, who this long sermon
 heard;

At length considering all, his heart he cheer'd;
 And thus replied: My lady, and my wife, 511
 To your wise conduct I resign my life;
 Choose you for me, for well you understand
 The future good and ill, on either hand:
 But if an humble husband may request, 515
 Provide, and order all things for the best;
 Yours be the care to profit, and to please:
 And let your subject servant take his ease.

Then thus in peace, quoth she, concludes the
 strife,

Since I am turn'd the husband, you the wife: 520

The matrimonial victory is mine,
 Which, having fairly gain'd, I will resign;
 Forgive if I have said or done amiss,
 And seal the bargain with a friendly kiss:
 I promised you but one content to share, 525
 But now I will become both good and fair.
 No nuptial quarrel shall disturb your ease;
 The business of my life shall be to please:
 And for my beauty, that, as time shall try,
 But draw the curtain first, and cast your eye. 530
 He look'd, and saw a creature heavenly fair,
 In bloom of youth, and of a charming air.
 With joy he turn'd, and seized her ivory arm,
 And, like Pygmalion, found the statue warm.
 Small arguments there needed to prevail, 535
 A storm of kisses pour'd as thick as hail.
 Thus long in mutual bliss they lay embraced,
 And their first love continued to the last:
 One sunshine was their life, no cloud between;
 Nor ever was a kinder couple seen. 540

And so may all our lives like theirs be led;
 Heaven send the maids young husbands fresh in
 bed:

May widows wed as often as they can,
 And ever for the better change their man. 544
 And some devouring plague pursue their lives,
 Who will not well be govern'd by their wives.

THE CHARACTER OF A GOOD PARSON.

A PARISH priest was of the pilgrim train ;
 An awful, reverend, and religious man.
 His eyes diffused a venerable grace,
 And charity itself was in his face.
 Rich was his soul, though his attire was poor ;
 (As God had clothed his own ambassador ;) 5
 For such, on earth, his bless'd Redeemer bore.
 Of sixty years he seem'd ; and well might last
 To sixty more, but that he lived too fast ;
 Refined himself to soul, to curb the sense ; 10
 And made almost a sin of abstinence.
 Yet, had his aspect nothing of severe,
 But such a face as promised him sincere.
 Nothing reserved or sullen was to see :
 But sweet regards ; and pleasing sanctity : 15
 Mild was his accent, and his action free.
 With eloquence innate his tongue was arm'd ;
 Though harsh the precept, yet the preacher charm'd.
 For letting down the golden chain from high,
 He drew his audience upward to the sky ; 20
 And oft, with holy hymns, he charm'd their ears :
 (A music more melodious than the spheres.)
 For David left him, when he went to rest,
 His lyre ; and after him he sung the best.
 He bore his great commission in his look : 25
 But sweetly temper'd awe ; and soften'd all he
 spoke.
 He preach'd the joys of heaven, and pains of hell ;
 And warn'd the sinner with becoming zeal ;
 But on eternal mercy loved to dwell.
 He taught the gospel rather than the law ; 30
 And forced himself to drive ; but loved to draw.
 For fear but freezes minds ; but love, like heat,
 Exhales the soul sublime, to seek her native seat.

Ver. 19. *For letting down the golden chain from high,
 He drew his audience upward to the sky :*

An evident allusion to the allegory of the golden chain in the exordium of Homer's eighth book of the *Iliad*, which Pope, with a penetration, which is commended by the acute Dr. Clarke, explains as descriptive of the superior attractive force of the sun, whereby he continues unmoved, and draws all the rest of the planets towards him. JOHN WATSON.

Ver. 34—37.

"Sol quondam et Aquilo, uter foret valentior,
 Delitigebant: domum iter qui carperet,
 Bonitatem videntes: in eam vires, inquit,
 Vicissim nostras experiri quid vetat?
 Sciscunt, ut, ipsi pallium qui excusserit,
 Is jure merito sese victorem ferat.
 Tum primus Aquilo flatibus horronis furit:
 At se viator contra vim venti acrius
 Involvit: ergo, postquam profecti nihil
 Aquilo, calentem Sol emoluit facem,
 Sensimque radios, insinuando per otem
 Vistoris agit. Ille mox exarsit:
 Mox et gravi humeros pallio sponte exiit.
 Vim vi repellunt homines plerumque; ast eos,
 Quo vult, volentes pertrahit benignitas."

Fab. Æsop. Desb. Fab. 1, lib. III.

JOHN WATSON.

To threats the stubborn sinner oft is hard,
 Wrapp'd in his crimes, against the storm pre-
 pared ; 35
 But, when the milder beams of mercy play,
 He melts, and throws his cumbrous cloak away.
 Lightning and thunder (heaven's artillery)
 As harbingers before the Almighty fly :
 Those but proclaim his style, and disappear ; 40
 The stiller sound succeeds, and God is there.
 The tithes, his parish freely paid, he took ;
 But never sued, or cursed with bell and book.
 With patience bearing wrong ; but offering none :
 Since every man is free to lose his own. 45
 The country churls, according to their kind,
 (Who grudge their dues, and love to be behind.)
 The less he sought his offerings, pinch'd the more,
 And praised a priest contented to be poor.
 Yet of his little he had some to spare, 50
 To feed the famish'd, and to clothe the bare :
 For mortified he was to that degree,
 A poorer than himself he would not see.
 True priests, he said, and preachers of the word,
 Were only stewards of their sovereign Lord ; 55
 Nothing was theirs ; but all the public store :
 Intrusted riches, to relieve the poor.
 Who, should they steal, for want of his relief,
 He judg'd himself accomplice with the thief.
 Wide was his parish ; not contracted close 60
 In streets, but here and there a straggling house ;
 Yet still he was at hand, without request,
 To serve the sick ; to succour the distress'd :
 Tempting, on foot, alone, without affright,
 The dangers of a dark tempestuous night. 65
 All this the good old man perform'd alone,
 Nor spared his pains ; for curate he had none.
 Nor durst he trust another with his care ;
 Nor rode himself to Paul's, the public fair,
 To chaffer for preferment with his gold, 70
 Where bishoprics and sinecures are sold.
 But duly watch'd his flock, by night and day ;
 And from the prowling wolf redeem'd the prey ;
 And hungry sent the wily fox away.
 The proud he tamed, the penitent he cheer'd :
 Nor to rebuke the rich offender fear'd. 75
 His preaching much, but more his practice
 wrought ;
 (A living sermon of the truths he taught ;)
 For this by rules severe his life he squared :
 That all might see the doctrine which they 80
 heard.
 For priests, he said, are patterns for the rest :
 (The gold of heaven, who bear the God impress'd :)
 But when the precious coin is kept unclean,
 The sovereign's image is no longer seen.
 If they be foul on whom the people trust, 85
 Well may the baser brass contract a rust.
 The prelate, for his holy life he prized ;
 The worldly pomp of prelacy despised,

His Saviour came not with a gaudy show ;
 Nor was his kingdom of the world below. 90
 Patience in want, and poverty of mind,
 These marks of Church and Churchmen he
 design'd,
 And living taught, and dying left behind.
 The crown he wore was of the pointed thorn :
 In purple he was crucified, not born. 95
 They who contend for place and high degree,
 Are not his sons, but those of Zebedee.
 Not but he knew the signs of earthly power
 Might well become Saint Peter's successor ;
 The holy father holds a double reign, 100
 The prince may keep his pomp, the fisher must
 be plain.

Such was the saint ; who shone with every grace,
 Reflecting, Moses like, his Maker's face.
 God saw his image lively was express'd ;
 And his own work, as in creation, bless'd. 105

The tempter saw him too with envious eye ;
 And, as on Job, demanded leave to try.
 He took the time when Richard was deposed,
 And high and low with happy Harry closed.
 This prince, though great in arms, the priest 110
 withstood :

Near though he was, yet not the next of blood.
 Had Richard, unconstrain'd, resign'd the throne,
 A king can give no more than is his own :
 The title stood entail'd had Richard had a son.

Conquest, an odious name, was laid aside, 115
 Where all submitted, none the battle tried.
 The senseless plea of right by providence
 Was, by a flattering priest, invented since ;
 And lasts no longer than the present sway ; 120
 But justifies the next who comes in play.
 The people's right remains ; let those who dare
 Dispute their power, when they the judges are.
 He join'd not in their choice, because he knew
 Worse might, and often did from change ensue.
 Much to himself he thought ; but little spoke ; 125
 And, undeprived, his benefice forsook.

Now, through the land, his cure of souls he
 stretch'd ;
 And like a primitive apostle preach'd.
 Still cheerful ; ever constant to his call ;
 By many follow'd ; loved by most ; admired by 130
 all.

With what he begg'd, his brethren he relieved ;
 And gave the charities himself received.
 Gave while he taught ; and edified the more,
 Because he show'd, by proof, 'twas easy to be poor.

He went not with the crowd to see a shrine ; 135
 But fed us, by the way, with food divine.
 In deference to his virtues, I forbear
 To show you what the rest in orders were :
 This brilliant is so spotless and so bright,
 He needs no foil, but shines by his own proper 140
 light.

TRANSLATIONS FROM BOCCACE.

SIGISMONDA AND GUISCARDO.*

WHILE Norman Tancred in Salerno reign'd,
 The title of a gracious prince he gain'd ;

* This story was translated into Latin by one of the first restorers of literature, and entitled, *Libellus de Duobus Amantibus Guiscardo et Sigismunda, Tancredi Filii*, in *Latium ex Boccacio convertit Leonardus Aretinus*, 1475. Dryden says he would not have translated the story of Sigismunda if he had recollected the resemblance it bore to the argument of the Wife of Bath's tale, the preferring virtue to nobility of blood and titles. Surely he could not think this ludicrous tale of Chaucer equal to the striking and pathetic story of Sigismunda. Dr. J. Warton.

The story of these lovers has often employed the pens of poets and narrators. Witness the following productions :
 " *Esopi Fabellæ translate à greco à Laurentio Vallensi*, Subnectitur Boccatii Hist. de *Guiscardi et Sigismundæ* Amore,

Ver. 1. *While Norman*] Barretti, in his positive and dogmatical manner, has the assurance to attack the style of Boccaccio, against the established opinion of all his countrymen, in his *View of Italy*, a book daringly full of weak justifications of all the absurdities of Popery. I wonder he did not applaud Sextus V. for the speech he made in defending the murder of Henry III. by Jacques Clement, a Dominican friar ; which speech was printed at Paris in 1589, and there is a copy of it in Lord Somers's Tracts. Dr. J. Warton.

Till turn'd a tyrant in his latter days,
 He lost the lustre of his former praise ;

à Leon. Aretino in latinum sermonem conversa an. 1488. s. l. aut a. 4to.

Le Livre des deux Amans, *Guiscard et Sigismunde*, fille de Tancredus ; trad. du latin de Léonard Aretin en rime françoise, par Jehan Fleury, dit Floridus. Paris s. d. 4to.

La pitieuse et lamentable Histoires du vaillant et vertueux chevalier Guiscard, et Sigismunde Princesses de Salerne. m. 1620, 16mo.

Fabula Tancredi, ex Boccacio in Latinum versa à Philippo Beroldo, in lib. intitul. De fide Concubinarum in suos *Fractos*, 4to. s. l. 1501. sign. G. 3.

See also *Mémoires Historiques sur la Maison de Coucy*, suite véritable aventure de la Dame de Tanet, &c. Par M. de Belloy, 8vo. Paris, 1770.

There is in Tancredi, Tragedia di Rinaldo Campeggi, 4to. Bologna, 1814. Sir Henry Wotton, as we are informed by Isaac Walton, wrote a tragedy entitled *Tancredi* ; but it does not appear to have been published. Thomson, we know, has given us a tragical drama of Tancred and Sigismunda ; founded, however, not on the story, which is the theme of Dryden's fable, but on an interesting narrative in Gil Bias.

See also Certaine worthy manuscript Poems of great

And, from the bright meridian where he stood
 Descending, dipp'd his hands in lovers' blood.
 This prince, of Fortune's favour long possess'd,
 Yet was with one fair daughter only bless'd;
 And bless'd he might have been with her alone :
 But oh ! how much more happy had he none !
 She was his care, his hope, and his delight,
 Most in his thought, and ever in his sight :
 Next, nay beyond his life, he held her dear ;
 She lived by him, and now he lived in her.
 For this, when ripe for marriage, he delay'd
 Her nuptial bands, and kept her long a maid,
 As envying any else should share a part
 Of what was his, and claiming all her heart.
 At length, as public decency required,
 And all his vassals eagerly desired,
 With mind averse, he rather underwont
 His people's will, than gave his own consent.
 So was she torn, as from a lover's side,
 And made almost in his despite a bride.

Short were her marriage joys ; for, in the
 prime
 Of youth, her lord expired before his time ;
 And to her father's court in little space
 Restored anew, she held a higher place ;
 More loved, and more exalted into grace.
 This princess, fresh and young, and fair and wise,
 The worshipp'd idol of her father's eyes,
 Did all her sex in every grace exceed,
 And had more wit beside than women need.

Youth, health, and ease, and most an amorous
 mind,
 To second nuptials had her thoughts inclined :
 And former joys had left a secret sting behind.
 But, prodigal in every other grant,
 Her sire left unsupplied her only want ;
 And she, betwixt her modesty and pride,
 Her wishes, which she could not help, would hide.

Resolved at last to lose no longer time,
 And yet to please herself without a crime,
 She cast her eyes around the court, to find
 A worthy subject suiting to her mind,
 To him in holy nuptials to be tied,
 A seeming widow, and a secret bride.
 Among the train of courtiers, one she found
 With all the gifts of bounteous nature crown'd,
 Of gentle blood ; but one whose niggard fate
 Had set him far below her high estate ;
 Guiscard his name was call'd, of blooming age,
 Now squire to Tancred, and before his page :
 To him, the choice of all the shining crowd,
 Her heart the noble Sigismonda vow'd.

Yet hitherto she kept her love conceal'd,
 And with those graces every day beheld
 The graceful youth ; and every day increased
 The raging fires that burn'd within her breast ;
 Some secret charm did all his acts attend,
 And what his fortune wanted, hers could mend ;

antiquitie, reserved long in the Studie of a Northfolke Gentleman, and now first published by J. S., containing, The Stately Tragedy of *Guiscard* and *Sigmond* ; the Northern Mother's Blessing, &c. 12mo. 1597. Todd.

Ver. 26. — *her lord expired before his time ;*] Mallet, by the same simple expression, gives considerable interest to his narration of Margaret's death, in his celebrated ballad :

"But love had, like the canker worm,
 Consumed her early prime :
 The rose grew pale, and left her cheek ;
 She died before her time."

Todd.

Till, as the fire will force its outward way,
 Or, in the prison pent, consume the prey ;
 So long her earnest eyes on his were set,
 At length their twisted rays together met ;
 And he, surprised with humble joy, survey'd
 One sweet regard, shot by the royal maid :
 Not well assured, while doubtful hopes he nurs'd,
 A second glance came gliding like the first ;
 And he, who saw the sharpness of the dart,
 Without defence received it in his heart.
 In public, though their passion wanted speech,
 Yet mutual looks interpreted for each ;
 Time, ways, and means of meeting were denied ;
 But all those wants ingenious love supplied.
 The inventive god, who never fails his part,
 Inspires the wit, when once he warms the heart.

When Guiscard next was in the circle seen,
 Where Sigismonda held the place of queen,
 A hollow cane within her hand she brought,
 But in the concave had enclosed a note ;
 With this she seem'd to play, and, as in sport,
 Toss'd to her love, in presence of the court ;
 Take it, she said ; and when your needs require,
 This little brand will serve to light your fire.
 He took it with a bow, and soon divined
 The seeming toy was not for nought design'd :
 But when retired, so long with curious eyes
 He view'd his present, that he found the prize.
 Much was in little writ ; and all convey'd
 With cautious care, for fear to be betray'd
 By some false confidant, or favourite maid.
 The time, the place, the manner how to meet,
 Were all in punctual order plainly writ :
 But since a trust must be, she thought it best
 To put it out of laymen's power at least ;
 And for their solemn vows prepared a priest.

Guiscard (her secret purpose understood)
 With joy prepared to meet the coming good ;
 Nor pains nor danger was resolved to spare,
 But use the means appointed by the fair.

Next the proud palace of Salerno stood
 A mount of rough ascent, and thick with wood.
 Through this a cave was dug with vast expense :
 The work it seem'd of some suspicious prince,
 Who, when abusing power with lawless might,
 From public justice would secure his flight.
 The passage made by many a winding way,
 Reach'd ev'n the room in which the tyrant lay.
 Fit for his purpose, on a lower floor.
 He lodged, whose issue was an iron door ;
 From whence, by stairs descending to the ground,
 In the blind grot a safe retreat he found.
 Its outlet ended in a brake o'ergrown
 With brambles, choked by time, and now unknown.

A rift there was, which from the mountain's
 height
 Convey'd a glimmering and malignant light,
 A breathing-place to draw the damps away,
 A twilight of an intercepted day.

The tyrant's den, whose use, though lost to fame,
 Was now the apartment of the royal dame ;
 The cavern only to her father known,
 By him was to his darling daughter shown.

Neglected long she let the secret rest,
 Till love recall'd it to her labouring breast,
 And hinted as the way by heaven design'd
 The teacher, by the means he taught, to blind.
 What will not women do, when need inspires
 Their wit, or love their inclination fires !

Though jealousy of state the invention found,
Yet love refined upon the former ground. 130
That way, the tyrant had reserved, to fly
Pursuing hate, now served to bring two lovers
nigh.

The dame, who long in vain had kept the key,
Bolt by desire, explored the secret way;
Now tried the stairs, and, wading through the
night 135

Search'd all the deep recess, and issued into
light.

All this her letter had so well explain'd,
The instructed youth might compass what re-
main'd;

The cavern's mouth alone was hard to find,
Because the path, disused, was out of mind: 140
But in what quarter of the coope it lay,
His eye by certain level could survey:
Yet (for the wood perplex'd with thorns he knew)
A frock of leather o'er his limbs he drew;
And thus provided, search'd the brake around,
Till the choked entry of the cave he found. 145

Thus, all prepared, the promised hour arrived,
So long expected, and so well contrived:
With love to friend, the impatient lover went,
Fenced from the thorns, and trod the deep de-
scent. 150

The conscious priest, who was suborn'd before,
Stood ready posted at the postern door;
The maids in distant rooms were sent to rest,
And nothing wanted but the invited guest. 155
He came, and knocking thrice without delay,
The longing lady heard, and turn'd the key;
At once invaded him with all her charms,
And the first step he made was in her arms:
The leathern outside, boisterous as it was,
Gave way, and bent beneath her strict em-
brace: 160

On either side the kisses flew so thick,
That neither he nor she had breath to speak.
The holy man, amazed at what he saw,
Made haste to sanctify the bliss by law;
And mutter'd fast the matrimony o'er, 165
For fear committed sin should get before.
His work perform'd, he left the pair alone,
Because he knew he could not go too soon;
His presence odious, when his task was done.
What thoughts he had bessems me not to say; 170
Though some surmise he went to fast and pray,
And needed both to drive the tempting thoughts
away.

The foe once gone, they took their full delight;
'Twas restless rage, and tempest all the night;
For greedy love each moment would employ, 175
And grudged the shortest pauses of their joy.
Thus were their loves auspiciously begun,
And thus with secret care were carried on.
The stealth itself did appetite restore,
And look'd so like a sin, it pleased the more. 180

The cave was now become a common way,
The wicket, often open'd, knew the key:
Love rioted secure, and long enjoy'd,
Was ever eager, and was never cloy'd.

But as extremes are short, of ill and good, 185
And tides at highest mark regorge their flood;

So fate, that could no more improve their joy,
Took a malicious pleasure to destroy.

Tancred, who fondly loved, and whose Delight
Was placed in his fair daughter's daily sight, 190
Of custom, when his state affairs were done,
Would pass his pleasing hours with her alone;
And, as a father's privilege allow'd,
Without attendance of the officious crowd.

It happen'd once, that when in heat of day 195
He tried to sleep, as was his usual way,
The balmy slumber fled his wakeful eyes,
And forced him, in his own despite, to rise:
Of sleep forsaken, to relieve his care,
He sought the conversation of the fair; 200
But with her train of damsels she was gone,
In shady walks the scorching heat to shun:
He would not violate that sweet recess,
And found besides a welcome heaviness,
That seized his eyes; and slumber, which for-
got, 205

When call'd before, to come, now came unsought.
From light retired, behind his daughter's bed,
He for approaching sleep composed his head;
A chair was ready, for that use design'd,
So quilted, that he lay at ease reclined; 210
The curtains closely drawn, the light to screen,
As if he had contrived to lie unseen:
Thus cover'd with an artificial night,
Sleep did his office soon, and seal'd his sight.

With Heaven averse, in this ill-omen'd hour 215
Was Guiscard summon'd to the secret bower,
And the fair nymph, with expectation fired,
From her attending damsels was retired:
For, true to love, she measured time so right,
As not to miss one moment of delight. 220

The garden, seated on the level floor,
She left behind, and locking every door,
Thought all secure; but little did she know,
Blind to her fate, she had enclosed her foe. 225
Attending Guiscard, in his leathern frock,
Stood ready, with his thrice-repeated knock:
Thrice with a doleful sound the jarring grate
Rung deaf and hollow, and presaged their fate.
The door unlock'd, to known delight they haste,
And, panting in each other's arms embraced, 230
Rush to the conscious bed, a mutual freight,
And heedless press it with their wonted weight.

The sudden bound awaked the sleeping sire,
And show'd a sight no parent can desire;
His opening eyes at once with odious view 235
The love discover'd, and the lover knew:
He would have cried; but hoping that he dreamt,
Amazement tied his tongue, and stopp'd the at-
tempt.

The ensuing moment all the truth declared,
But now he stood collected, and prepared, 240
For malice and revenge had put him on his guard.
So like a lion that unheeded lay,
Dissembling sleep, and watchful to betray,
With inward rage he meditates his prey.
The thoughtless pair, indulging their desires, 245
Alternate, kindled, and then quench'd their
fires;

Nor thinking in the shades of death they play'd,
Full of themselves, themselves alone betray'd,
And, too secure, were by themselves betray'd.
Long time dissolved in pleasure thus they lay, 250
Till nature could no more suffice their play;
Then rose the youth, and through the cave again
Return'd; the princess mingled with her train.

Ver. 149. *With love to friend.* An expression from
Spenser, Faer. Qn. iii. iii. 14.

"Untill the hardy Mayd (with Love to friend)
First entering," &c. Todd.

Resolved his unripe vengeance to defer,
The royal spy, when now the coast was clear, 355
Sought not the garden, but retired unseen,
To brood in secret on his gather'd spleen,
And methodise revenge : to death he grieved ;
And, but he saw the crime, had scarce believed.
The appointment for the ensuing night he heard ;
And therefore in the cavern had prepared 261
Two brawny yeomen of his trusty guard.

Scarce had unwary Guiscard set his foot
Within the foremost entrance of the grot,
When these in secret ambush ready lay, 255
And rushing on the sudden seized the prey :
Encumber'd with his frock, without defence,
An easy prize, they led the prisoner thence,
And, as commanded, brought before the prince.
The gloomy sire, too sensible of wrong, 270
To vent his rage in words, restrain'd his tongue,
And only said, Thus servants are preferr'd,
And, trusted, thus their sovereigns they reward.
Had I not seen, had not these eyes received
Too clear a proof, I could not have believed. 275

He paused and choked the rest. The youth
who saw
His forfeit life abandon'd to the law,
The judge the accuser, and the offence to him
Who had both power and will to avenge the
crime,

No vain defence prepared ; but thus replied : 280
The faults of love by love are justified :
With unresisted might the monarch reigns,
He levels mountains, and he raises plains ;
And, not regarding difference of degree,
Abased your daughter, and exalted me. 285

This bold return with seeming patience heard,
The prisoner was remitted to the guard.
The sullen tyrant slept not all the night,
But, lonely walking by a winking light,
Sobbd'g, wept, and groan'd, and beat his wither'd
breast, 290

But would not violate his daughter's rest ;
Who long expecting lay, for bliss prepared,
Listening for noise, and grieved that none she
heard ;

Of rose, and oft in vain employ'd the key,
And oft accused her lover of delay ; 295
And pass'd the tedious hours in anxious thoughts
away.

The morrow came ; and at his usual hour
Old Tancred visited his daughter's bower ;
Her cheek (for such his custom was) he kiss'd,
Then bless'd her kneeling, and her maids dis-
miss'd. 300

The royal dignity thus far maintain'd,
Now left in private, he no longer feign'd ;
But all at once his grief and rage appear'd,
And floods of tears ran trickling down his beard. 305

O Sigismonda, he began to say :
Thrice he began, and thrice was forced to stay,
Till words, with often trying, found their way :
I thought, O Sigismonda (but how blind
Are parents' eyes, their children's faults to find !)

Ver. 306.

*Thrice he began, and thrice was forced to stay,
Till words with often trying found their way :]*

This is a feeble imitation of Milton's fallen archangel,
Par. L. B. i. 619.

"Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as angels weep, burst forth : at last
Words, interwove with sighs, found out their way."

Tonn

Thy virtue, birth, and breeding were above 310
A mean desire, and vulgar sense of love :
Nor less than sight and hearing could convince
So fond a father, and so just a prince,
Of such an unforeseen, and unbeliev'd offence.
Then what indignant sorrow must I have, 315
To see thee lie subjected to my slave !
A man so smelling of the people's lee,
The court received him first for charity ;
And since with no degree of honour graced,
But only suffer'd, where he first was placed : 320
A grovelling insect still ; and so design'd
By nature's hand, nor born of noble kind :
A thing, by neither man nor woman prized,
And scarcely known enough to be despised.
To what has Heaven reserved my age ? Ah ! why
Should man, when nature calls, not choose to die,
Rather than stretch the span of life, to find
Such ills as fate has wisely cast behind,
For those to feel, whom fond desire to live
Makes covetous of more than life can give ! 330
Each has his share of good ; and when 'tis gone,
The guest, though hungry, cannot rise too soon.
But I, expecting more, in my own wrong
Protracting life, have lived a day too long.
If yesterday could be recall'd again, 335
Even now would I conclude my happy reign :

But 'tis too late, my glorious race is run,
And a dark cloud o'ertakes my setting sun.
Hadst thou not loved, or loving saved the shame,
If not the sin, by some illustrious name, 340
This little comfort had relieved my mind,
'Twas frailty, not unusual to thy kind :
But thy low fall beneath thy royal blood,
Shows downward appetite to mix with mud :
Thus not the least excuse is left for thee, 345
Nor the least refuge for unhappy me.

For him I have resolved : whom by surprise
I took, and scarce can call it, in disguise ;
For such was his attire, as, with intent
Of nature, suited to his mean descent : 350
The harder question yet remains behind,
What pains a parent and a prince can find
To punish an offence of this degenerate kind.

As I have loved, and yet I love thee, more
Than ever father loved a child before ; 355
So that indulgence draws me to forgive :
Nature, that gave thee life, would have thee live.
But, as a public parent of the state,
My justice, and thy crime, requires thy fate.
Fain would I choose a middle course to steer ; 360
Nature's too kind, and justice too severe :
Speak for us both, and to the balance bring
On either side the father and the king.
Heaven knows, my heart is bent to favour thee ;
Make it but scanty weight, and leave the rest to me.

Here stopping with a sigh, he pour'd a flood 365
Of tears, to make his last expression good.
She, who had heard him speak, nor saw alone
The secret conduct of her love was known,
But he was taken who her soul possess'd, 370
Felt all the pangs of sorrow in her breast :
And little wanted, but a woman's heart,
With cries and tears, had testified her smart ;
But inborn worth, that fortune can control,
New strung, and stiffer bent her softer soul ; 375
The heroine assumed the woman's place,
Confirm'd her mind, and fortified her face :
Why should she beg, or what could she pretend,
When her stern father had condemn'd her friend ?

Her life she might have had ; but her despair 380
Of saving his, had put it past her care ;
Resolved on fate, she would not lose her breath,
But, rather than not die, solicit death.
Fix'd on this thought, she not, as women use,
Her fault by common frailty would excuse ; 385
But boldly justified her innocence,
And, while the fact was own'd, denied the offence :
Then with dry eyes, and with an open look,
She met his glance mid-way, and thus undaunted
spoke :

Tancred, I neither am disposed to make 390
Request for life, nor offer'd life to take ;
Much less deny the deed ; but least of all
Beneath pretended justice weakly fall.
My words to sacred truth shall be confined,
My deeds shall show the greatness of my mind. 395
That I have loved, I own ; that still I love,
I call to witness all the powers above :
Yet more I own : to Guiscard's love I give
The small remaining time I have to live ;
And if beyond this life desire can be, 400
Not fate itself shall set my passion free.
This first avow'd ; nor folly warp'd my mind,
Nor the frail texture of the female kind
Betray'd my virtue : for, too well I knew
What honour was, and honour had his due : 405
Before the holy priest my vows were tied,
So came I not a strumpet, but a bride.
This for my fame, and for the public voice :
Yet more, his merits justified my choice :
Which had they not, the first election thine, 410
That bond dissolved, the next is freely mine ;
Or grant I err'd, (which yet I must deny)
Had parents power even second vows to tie,
Thy little care to mend my widow'd nights,
Has forced me to recourse of marriage rites, 415
To fill an empty side, and follow known delights.
What have I done in this, deserving blame ?
State-laws may alter : nature's are the same ;
Those are usurp'd on helpless woman-kind,
Made without our consent, and wanting power to
bind. 420

Thou, Tancred, better shouldst have understood,
That as thy father gave thee flesh and blood,
So gavest thou me : not from the quarry hew'd,
But of a softer mould, with sense endued ;
Even softer than thy own, of suppler kind, 425
More exquisite of taste, and more than man refined.
Nor need'st thou by thy daughter to be told,
Though now thy sprightly blood with age be cold.
Thou hast been young : and canst remember
still,
That when thou hadst the power, thou hadst the
will ; 430

And from the past experience of thy fires,
Canst tell with what a tide our strong desires
Come rushing on in youth, and what their rage
requires.

And grant thy youth was exercised in arms,
When love no leisure found for softer charms, 435
My tender age in luxury was train'd,
With idle ease and pageants entertain'd ;
My hours my own, my pleasures unrestrain'd.
So bred, no wonder if I took the bent
That seem'd even warranted by thy consent, 440
For, when the father is too fondly kind,
Such seed he sows, such harvest shall he find.
Blame then thyself, as reason's law requires,
(Since nature gave, and thou foment'st my fires ;)

If still those appetites continue strong, 445
Thou may'st consider I am yet but young :
Consider too that, having been a wife,
I must have tasted of a better life,
And am not to be blamed, if I renew
By lawful means the joys which then I knew. 450
Where was the crime, if pleasure I procur'd,
Young, and a woman, and to bliss inured !
That was my case, and this is my defence :
I pleased myself, I shunn'd incontinence, 454
And, urged by strong desires, indulg'd my sense.
Left to myself, I must avow, I strove,
From public shame to screen my secret love,
And, well acquainted with thy native pride,
Endeavour'd, what I could not help, to hide ;
For which a woman's wit an easy way supplied. 460
How this, so well contriv'd, so closely laid,
Was known to thee, or by what chance betray'd,
Is not my care ; to please thy pride alone,
I could have wish'd it had been still unknown.

Nor took I Guiscard by blind fancy led, 465
Or hasty choice, as many women wed ;
But with deliberate care, and ripen'd thought,
At leisure first design'd, before I wrought :
On him I rested, after long debate,
And not without considering, fix'd my fate : 470
His flame was equal, though by mine inspired ;
(For so the difference of our birth required,)
Had he been born like me, like me his love
Had first begun, what mine was forced to move :
But thus beginning, thus we persevere ; 475
Our passions yet continue what they were,
Nor length of trial makes our joys the less sincere.
At this my choice, though not by thine allow'd,
(Thy judgment herding with the common crowd)
Thou takest unjust offence ; and, led by them, 480
Dost less the merit, than the man esteem.
Too sharply, Tancred, by thy pride betray'd,
Hast thou against the laws of kind inveigh'd :
For all the offence is in opinion placed,
Which deems high birth by lowly choice de-
based. 485

This thought alone with fury fires thy breast,
(For holy marriage justifies the rest)
That I have sunk the glories of the state,
And mix'd my blood with a plebeian mate ;
In which I wonder thou shouldst oversee 490
Superior causes, or impute to me
The fault of fortune, or the fates' decree.
Or call it Heaven's imperial power alone,
Which moves on springs of justice, though un-
known.

Yet this we see, though order'd for the best, 495
The bad exalted, and the good oppress'd ;
Permitted laurels grace the lawless brow,
The unworthy raised, the worthy cast below.

But leaving that : search we the secret springs,
And backward trace the principles of things ;
There shall we find, that when the world began,
One common mass composed the mould of man ;
One paste of flesh on all degrees bestow'd,
And kneaded up alike with moist'ning blood. 505
The same almighty power inspir'd the frame
With kindled life, and form'd the souls the same :
The faculties of intellect and will
Dispensed with equal hand, disposed with equal
skill,

Like liberty indulg'd, with choice of good or ill :
Thus born alike, from virtue first began 510
The difference that distinguish'd man from man :

He claim'd no title from descent of blood,
But that, which made him noble, made him good:
Warm'd with more particles of heavenly flame,
He wing'd his upward flight, and soar'd to
fame;

The rest remain'd below, a tribe without a name.

This law, though custom now diverts the course,
As nature's institute, is yet in force;
Uncancell'd, though disused; and he, whose mind
Is virtuous, is alone of noble kind;
Though poor in fortune, of celestial race;
And he commits the crime who calls him base.

Now lay the line; and measure all thy court
By inward virtue, not external port;
And find whom justly to prefer above

The man on whom my judgment placed my love:
So shalt thou see his parts and person shine;
And thus compared, the rest a base degenerate line.

Nor took I, when I first survey'd thy court,
His valour, or his virtues, on report;

But trusted what I ought to trust alone
Relying on thy eyes, and not my own;
Thy praise (and thine was then the public voice)
First recommended Guiscard to my choice:

Directed thus by thee, I look'd, and found
A man I thought deserving to be crown'd;

First by my father pointed to my sight,
Nor less conspicuous by his native light;

His mind, his mien, the features of his face,
Excelling all the rest of human race:

These were thy thoughts, and thou could'st judge
aright,

Till interest made a jaundice in thy sight;
Or should I grant thou didst not rightly see,
Then thou wert first deceived, and I deceived by
these.

But if thou shalt allege, through pride of mind,
Thy blood with one of base condition join'd,

'Tis false; for 'tis not baseness to be poor;
His poverty augments thy crime the more;

Uprights thy justice with the scant regard
Of worth; whom princes praise, they should
reward.

Are these the kings entrusted by the crowd
With wealth, to be dispensed for common good?

The people sweat not for their king's delight,
To enrich a pimp, or raise a parasite;

Theirs is the toil; and he, who well has served
His country, has his country's wealth deserved.

Ev'n mighty monarchs oft are meanly born,
And kings by birth to lowest rank return;

All subject to the power of giddy chance,
For fortune can depress, or can advance:

But true nobility is of the mind,
Not given by chance, and not to chance resign'd.

For the remaining doubt of thy decree,
What to resolve, and how dispose of me,

Be warn'd to cast that useless care aside,
Myself alone will for myself provide.

If in thy doting and decrepit age,
Thy soul, a stranger in thy youth to rage,

Begins in cruel deeds to take delight,
Gorge with my blood thy barbarous appetite;

For I so little am disposed to pray
For life, I would not cast a wish away.

Such as it is, the offence is all my own;
And what to Guiscard is already done,

Or to be done, is doom'd by thy decree,
That, if not executed first by thee,

Shall on my person be perform'd by me.

Away, with women weep, and leave me here,
Fix'd, like a man, to die without a tear;

Or save, or slay us both this present hour;
'Tis all that fate has left within thy power.

She said; nor did her father fail to find,
In all she spoke, the greatness of her mind;

Yet thought she was not obstinate to die,
Nor deem'd the death she promised was
nigh;

Secure in this belief, he left the dame,
Resolved to spare her life, and save her shame;

But that detested object to remove,
To wreak his vengeance, and to cure her love.

Intent on this, a secret order sign'd
The death of Guiscard to his guards enjoin'd;

Strangling was chosen, and the night the time,
A mute revenge, and blind as was the crime:

His faithful heart, a bloody sacrifice,
Torn from his breast, to glut the tyrant's eyes,

Closed the severe command: for (slaves to pay)
What kings decree, the soldier must obey:

Waged against foes; and when the wars are o'er,
Fit only to maintain despotic power:

Dangerous to freedom, and desired alone
By kings who seek an arbitrary throne.

Such were these guards; as ready to have slain
The prince himself, allured with greater gain;

So was the charge perform'd with better will,
By men inured to blood, and exercised in ill.

Now, though the sullen sire had eased his mind,
The pomp of his revenge was yet behind,

A pomp prepared to grace the present he design'd.
A goblet rich with gems, and rough with gold,

Of depth, and breadth, the precious pledge to
hold,

With cruel care he chose: the hollow part
Enclosed, the lid conceal'd, the lover's heart:

Then of his trusted mischiefs one he sent,
And bade him with these words the gift present:

Thy father sends thee this to cheer thy breast,
And glad thy sight with what thou lov'st the
best;

As thou hast pleased his eyes, and joy'd his mind,
With what he loved the most of human kind.

Ere this the royal dame, who well had weigh'd
The consequence of what her sire had said,

Fix'd on her fate, against the expected hour,
Procured the means to have it in her power;

For this, she had distill'd with early care
The juice of simples friendly to despair,

A magazine of death, and thus prepared,
Secure to die, the fatal message heard:

Then smiled severe; nor with a troubled look,
Or trembling hand the funeral present took:

Ev'n kept her countenance, when the lid removed
Disclosed the heart, unfortunately loved;

She needed not be told, within whose breast
It lodged; the message had explain'd the rest.

Or not amazed, or hiding her surprise,
She sternly on the bearer fix'd her eyes:

Then thus: Tell Tancred, on his daughter's part,
The gold, though precious, equals not the heart:

But he did well to give his best; and I,
Who wish'd a worthier urn, forgive his poverty.

At this she curb'd a groan, that else had come,
And, pausing, view'd the present in the tomb;

Then to the heart adored devoutly glued
Her lips, and raising it, her speech renew'd:

Ev'n from my day of birth, to this, the bound
Of my unhappy being, I have found

My father's care and tenderness express'd; 645
But this last act of love excels the rest:
For this so dear a present, bear him back
The best return that I can live to make.

The messenger despatch'd, again she view'd
The loved remains, and sighing thus pursued: 650
Source of my life, and lord of my desires,
In whom I lived, with whom my soul expires,
Poor heart, no more the spring of vital heat,
Curs'd be the hands that tore thee from thy seat!
The course is finish'd which thy fates decreed, 655
And thou from thy corporeal prison freed:
Soon hast thou reach'd the goal with mended pace,
A world of woes despatch'd in little space.

Forced by thy worth, thy foe, in death become
Thy friend, has lodged thee in a costly tomb. 660
There yet remain'd thy funeral exequies,
The weeping tribute of thy widow's eyes,
And those, indulgent Heaven has found the way
That I, before my death, have leave to pay.

My father ev'n in cruelty is kind, 665
Or Heaven has turn'd the malice of his mind
To better uses than his hate design'd;
And made th' insult, which in his gift appears,
The means to mourn thee with my pious tears;
Which I will pay thee down, before I go, 670
And save myself the pains to weep below,
If souls can weep. Though once I meant to meet
My fate with face unmoved, and eyes unwet,
Yet since I have thee here in narrow room,
My tears shall set thee first afloat within thy
tomb: 675

Then (as I know thy spirit hovers nigh)
Under thy friendly conduct will I fly
To regions unexplored, secure to share
Thy state; nor hell shall punishment appear;
And heaven is double heaven, if thou art there.

She said: Her brimful eyes, that ready stood, 681
And only wanted will to keep a flood,
Released their watery store, and pour'd amain,
Like clouds low hung, a sober shower of rain,
Mute solemn sorrow, free from female noise, 685
Such as the majesty of grief destroys;
For, bending o'er the cup, the tears she shed
Seem'd by the posture to discharge her head,
O'er-fill'd before; and (oft her mouth applied
To the cold heart,) she kiss'd at once, and cried.
Her maids, who stood amazed, nor knew the
cause 691

Of her complaining, nor whose heart it was;
Yet all due measures of her mourning kept,
Did office at the dirge, and by infection wept;
And oft enquired the occasion of her grief, 695
(Unanswer'd but by sighs) and offer'd vain relief.
At length, her stock of tears already shed,
She wiped her eyes, she raised her drooping head,
And thus pursued: Oh ever faithful heart,
I have perform'd the ceremonial part, 700

The decencies of grief; it rests behind,
That, as our bodies were, our souls be join'd;
To thy whate'er abode my shade convey,
And as an elder ghost, direct the way.
She said; and bade the vial to be brought, 705
Where she before had brew'd the deadly draught:
First pouring out the med'cinable bane,
The heart, her tears had rinsed, she bathed again;
Then down her throat the death securely throws,
And quaffs a long oblivion of her woes. 710

This done, she mounts the genial bed, and there
(Her body first composed with honest care)
Attends the welcome rest; her hands yet hold
Close to her heart the monumental gold;
Nor farther word she spoke, but closed her sight,
And quiet sought the covert of the night. 715
The damsels, who the while in silence mourn'd,
Not knowing, nor suspecting death suborn'd,
Yet, as their duty was, to Tancred sent:

Who, conscious of the occasion, fear'd the event.
Alarm'd, and with presaging heart, he came, 721
And drew the curtains, and exposed the dame
To loathsome light: then with a late relief
Made vain efforts to mitigate her grief.
She, what she could, excluding day, her eyes 725
Kept firmly seal'd, and sternly thus replies:
Tancred, restrain thy tears, unsought by me,
And sorrow unavailing now to thee:

Did ever man before afflict his mind
To see the effect of what himself design'd? 730
Yet, if thou hast remaining in thy heart
Some sense of love, some unextinguish'd part
Of former kindness, largely once profess'd,
Let me by that adjure thy harden'd breast
Not to deny thy daughter's last request: 735

The secret love which I so long enjoy'd,
And still conceal'd to gratify thy pride,
Thou hast disjoin'd; but, with my dying breath,
Seek not, I beg thee, to disjoin our death;
Where'er his corpse by thy command is laid, 740
Thither let mine in public be convey'd;
Exposed in open view, and side by side,
Acknowledged as a bridegroom and a bride.

The prince's anguish hinder'd his reply:
And she, who felt her fate approaching nigh, 745
Seized the cold heart, and heaving to her breast,
Here, precious pledge, she said, securely rest:
These accents were her last; the creeping death
Benumb'd her senses first, then stopp'd her
breath.

Thus she for disobedience justly died: 750
The sire was justly punish'd for his pride:
The youth, least guilty, suffer'd for the offence
Of duty violated to his prince;
Who, late repenting of his cruel deed,
One common sepulchre for both decreed; 755
Intomb'd the wretched pair in royal state,
And on their monument inscribed their fate.

THEODORE AND HONORIA.*

Of all the cities in Romanian lands,
The chief, and most renown'd, Ravenna stands,
Adorn'd in ancient times with arms and arts,
And rich inhabitants, with generous hearts.
But Theodore the brave, above the rest,
With gifts of fortune and of nature bless'd,
The foremost place for wealth and honour held,
And all in feats of chivalry excell'd.

This noble youth to madness loved a dame,
Of high degree, Honoria was her name,
Fair as the fairest, but of haughty mind,
And fiercer than became so soft a kind;
Proud of her birth; (for equal she had none;) ¹⁰
The rest she scorn'd; but hated him alone;
His gifts, his constant courtship, nothing gain'd; ¹⁵
For she, the more he loved, the more disdain'd.
He lived with all the pomp he could devise,
At tilts and tournaments obtain'd the prize;
But found no favour in his lady's eyes: ²⁰
Relentless as a rock, the lofty maid
Turn'd all to poison that he did or said:
Nor prayers, nor tears, nor offer'd vows, could
move;

The work went backward; and, the more he strove
To advance his suit, the farther from her love.

Wearied at length, and wanting remedy, ²⁵
He doubted oft, and oft resolved to die.
But pride stood ready to prevent the blow,
For who would die to gratify a foe?
His generous mind disdain'd so mean a fate;
That pass'd, his next endeavour was to hate. ³⁰
But vainer that relief than all the rest,
The less he hoped, with more desire possess'd;
Love stood the siege, and would not yield his
breast.

Change was the next, but change deceived his
care;

He sought a fairer, but found none so fair. ³⁵
He would have worn her out by slow degrees,
As men by fasting starve the untamed disease:
But present love required a present ease.
Looking he feeds alone his famish'd eyes,
Feeds lingering death, but looking not he dies. ⁴⁰
Yet still he chose the longest way to fate,
Wasting at once his life and his estate.

His friends beheld, and pitied him in vain,
For what advice can ease a lover's pain?
Absence, the best expedient they could find, ⁴⁵
Might save the fortune, if not cure the mind:
Thus means they long proposed, but little gain'd,
Yet after much pursuit, at length obtain'd.

Hard you may think it was to give consent, ⁵⁰
But struggling with his own desires he went,

With large expense, and with a pompous train,
Provided as to visit France and Spain,
Or for some distant voyage o'er the main.
But love had clipp'd his wings, and cut him short,
Confined within the purlieus of the court. ⁵⁵
Three miles he went, nor farther could retreat;
His travels ended at his country-seat:
To Chassis' pleasing plains he took his way,
There pitch'd his tents, and there resolved to
stay.

The spring was in the prime; the neighbouring ⁶⁰
grove

Supplied with birds, the choristers of love,
Music unbought, that minister'd delight
To morning walks, and lull'd his cares by night;
There he discharged his friends; but not the
expense

Of frequent treats, and proud magnificence. ⁶⁵
He lived as kings retire, though more at large
From public business, yet with equal charge;
With house and heart still open to receive;
As well content as love would give him leave:
He would have lived more free; but many a ⁷⁰
guest,

Who could forsake the friend, pursued the feast.

It happ'd one morning, as his fancy led,
Before his usual hour he left his bed,
To walk within a lonely lawn, that stood
On every side surrounded by a wood: ⁷⁵

Alone he walk'd, to please his pensive mind,
And sought the deepest solitude to find;
'Twas in a grove of spreading pines he stray'd;
The winds within the quivering branches play'd,
And dancing trees a mournful music made. ⁸⁰

The place itself was suiting to his care,
Uncouth and savage, as the cruel fair.

He wander'd on, unknowing where he went,
Lost in the wood, and all on love intent: ⁸⁵
The day already half his race had run,
And summon'd him to due repast at noon;
But love could feel no hunger but his own.

Whilst listening to the murmuring leaves he
stood,

More than a mile immersed within the wood,

Ver. 88. *Whilst listening*] The next fifteen lines, which so strongly paint the sensations of a man upon the sudden approach of some strange, mysterious, and supernatural danger, may be produced, among many others, as a specimen of the high poetical improvements our author has given to the original story; for the passage that furnished this animated picture is only this in Boccaccio, literally translated. "In this forest Theodore, walking on solitary, and missing all alone, had now wandered a mile's distance from his tents and company, entered into a grove of pine-trees, not regarding the time of the repeat that was prepared for him, or any thing else but the unkind requital of his love. Suddenly he heard the voice of a woman seeming to make most mournful complaints, which breaking off his silent meditations, made him lift up his head, to discover the reason of this noise."—Boccaccio, Nov. 8, First Day. Dr. J. WATSON

* A drama, entitled Theodore and Honoria, was acted in the wood of Chissel, a word corrupted and altered from Chassis, the naval station, which, with the intermediate road or suburb, constituted the triple city of Ravenna. Dr. J. WATSON

At once the wind was laid; the whispering sound⁹⁰
Was dumb; a rising earthquake rock'd the
ground;

With deeper brown the grove was overspread;
A sudden horror seized his giddy head,
And his ears tinkled, and his colour fled;
Nature was in alarm; some danger nigh⁹⁵
Seem'd threaten'd, though unseen to mortal eye.
Unused to fear, he summon'd all his soul,
And stood collected in himself, and whole;
Not long: for soon a whirlwind rose around,
And from afar he heard a screaming sound,¹⁰⁰
As of a dame distress'd, who cried for aid,
And fill'd with loud laments the secret shade.

A thicket close beside the grove there stood,
With briars and brambles choked, and dwarfish
wood;
From thence the noise, which now approaching¹⁰⁵
near,

With more distinguish'd notes invades his ear;
He raised his head, and saw a beauteous maid,
With hair dishevell'd, issuing through the shade;
Stripp'd of her clothes, and e'en those parts¹¹⁰
reveal'd,

Which modest nature keeps from sight con-
ceal'd.

Her face, her hands, her naked limbs were torn,
With passing through the brakes and prickly
thorn;

Two mastiffs gaunt and grim her flight pursued,
And oft their fasten'd fangs in blood imbrued;
Oft they came up, and pinch'd her tender side,¹¹⁵
Mercy, O mercy, Heaven! she ran, and cried;
When Heaven was named, they loosed their hold
again,

Then sprung she forth, they follow'd her amain.

Not far behind, a knight of swarthy face,
High on a coal-black steed pursued the chase;¹²⁰
With flashing flames his ardent eyes were fill'd,
And in his hand a naked sword he held:
He cheer'd the dogs to follow her who fled,
And vow'd revenge on her devoted head.

As Theodore was born of noble kind,¹²⁵
The brutal action roused his manly mind;
Moved with unworthy usage of the maid,
He, though unarm'd, resolved to give her aid.
A sapling pine he wrench'd from out the ground,
The readiest weapon that his fury found.¹³⁰
Thus furnish'd for offence, he cross'd the way
Betwixt the graceless villain and his prey.

The knight came thundering on, but, from afar,
Thus in imperious tone forbade the war:
Cease, Theodore, to proffer vain relief,¹³⁵
Nor stop the vengeance of so just a grief;
But give me leave to seize my destined prey
And let eternal justice take the way:

I but revenge my fate, disdain'd, betray'd,
And suffering death for this ungrateful maid.¹⁴⁰

He said, at once dismounting from the steed;
For now the hell-hounds, with superior speed,
Had reach'd the dame, and fastening on her side,
The ground with issuing streams of purple died.
Stood Theodore surprised in deadly fright,¹⁴⁵
With chattering teeth, and bristling hair upright;
Yet arm'd with inborn worth, What'er, said he,
Thou art, who know'st me better than I thee;
Or prove thy rightful cause, or be defied.
The spectre, fiercely staring, thus replied:¹⁵⁰

Know, Theodore, thy ancestry I claim,
And Guido Caralcanti was my name.

One common sire our fathers did beget,
My name and story some remember yet:
Thee, then a boy, within my arms I laid,¹⁵⁵
When for my sins I loved this haughty maid;
Not less adored in life, nor served by me,
Than proud Honoria now is loved by thee.

What did I not her stubborn heart to gain?
But all my vows were answer'd with disdain:¹⁶⁰
She scorn'd my sorrows, and despised my pain.
Long time I dragg'd my days in fruitless care;
Then loathing life, and plunged in deep despair,¹⁶⁴
To finish my unhappy life, I fell
On this sharp sword, and now am damn'd in hell.

Short was her joy; for soon the insulting maid
By Heaven's decree in the cold grave was laid.
And, as in unrepented sin she died,
Doom'd to the same bad place, is punish'd for her
pride;

Because she deem'd I well deserved to die,¹⁷⁰
And made a merit of her cruelty.
There, then, we met; both tried, and both were
cast,

And this irrevocable sentence pass'd:
That she, whom I so long pursued in vain,
Should suffer from my hands a lingering pain:¹⁷⁵
Renew'd to life that she might daily die,
I daily doom'd to follow, she to fly;

No more a lover, but a mortal foe,
I seek her life (for love is none below):
As often as my dogs with better speed¹⁸⁰
Arrest her flight, is she to death decreed:

Then with this fatal sword, on which I died,
I pierce her open back, or tender side,
And tear that harden'd heart from out her
breast,

Which, with her entrails, makes my hungry¹⁸⁵
hounds a feast.

Nor lies she long, but as her fates ordain,
Springs up to life, and fresh to second pain,
Is saved to-day, to-morrow to be slain.

This, versed in death, the infernal knight
relates,

And then for proof fulfill'd the common fates;¹⁹⁰
Her heart and bowels through her back he drew,
And fed the hounds that help'd him to pursue.
Stern look'd the fiend, as frustrate of his will,
Not half sufficed, and greedy yet to kill.

And now the soul, expiring through the wound,
Had left the body breathless on the ground,¹⁹⁵
When thus the grisly spectre spoke again:

Behold the fruit of ill-rewarded pain:

As many months as I sustain'd her hate,
So many years is she condemn'd by fate²⁰⁰
To daily death; and every several place
Conscious of her disdain, and my disgrace,

Must witness her just punishment; and be
A scene of triumph and revenge to me.

As in this grove I took my last farewell,²⁰⁵
As on this very spot of earth I fell,
As Friday saw me die, so she my prey
Becomes ev'n here, on this revolving day.

Thus while he spoke, the virgin from the
ground

Upstart'd fresh, already closed the wound,²¹⁰
And, unconcern'd for all she felt before,
Precipitates her flight along the shore:

The hell-hounds, as ungorged with flesh and blood,
Pursue their prey, and seek their wonted food:
The fiend remounts his courser, mends his pace,
And all the vision vanish'd from the place.²¹⁵

Long stood the noble youth oppress'd with awe,
And stupid at the wondrous things he saw,
Surpassing common faith, transgressing nature's
law :

He would have been asleep, and wish'd to wake ;
But dreams, he knew, no long impression make,
Though strong at first ; if vision, to what end,
But such as must his future state portend ?
His love the damsel, and himself the fiend. 225
But yet reflecting that it could not be
From Heaven, which cannot impious acts decree,
Resolved within himself to shun the snare,
Which hell for his destruction did prepare ;
And as his better genius should direct,
From an ill cause to draw a good effect. 230

Inspired from Heaven, he homeward took his
way,
Nor pall'd his new design with long delay :
But of his train a trusty servant sent,
To call his friends together at his tent.
They came, and usual salutations paid, 235
With words premeditated thus he said :
What you have often counsell'd, to remove
My vain pursuit of unregarded love,
By thrift my sinking fortune to repair,
Though late, yet is at last become my care : 240
My heart shall be my own ; my vast expense
Reduced to bounds, by timely providence ;
This only I require ; invite for me
Honoria, with her father's family, 244
Her friends, and mine ; the cause I shall display,
On Friday next ; for that's the appointed day.
Well pleased were all his friends ; the task was
light ;

The father, mother, daughter, they invite ;
Hardly the dame was drawn to this repast ;
But yet resolved, because it was the last. 250
The day was come, the guests invited came,
And, with the rest, the inexorable dame :
A feast prepared with riotous expense,
Much cost, more care, and most magnificence.
The place ordain'd was in that haunted grove, 255
Where the revenging ghost pursued his love :
The tables in a proud pavilion spread,
With flowers below, and tissue overhead :
The rest in rank, Honoria chief in place,
Was artfully contrived to set her face 260
To front the thicket, and behold the chase.
The feast was served, the time so well forecast,
That just when the dessert and fruits were
placed,
The fiend's alarm began ; the hollow sound
Sung in the leaves, the forest shook around, 265
Air blacken'd, roll'd the thunder, groan'd the
ground.

Nor long before the loud laments arise
Of one distress'd, and mastiffs' mingled cries ;
And first the dame came rushing through the
wood,
And next the famish'd hounds that sought their
food, 270
And griped her flanks, and oft essay'd their jaws
in blood.
Last came the felon, on his sable steed,
Arm'd with his naked sword, and urged his dogs
to speed.
She ran, and cried, her flight directly bent,
(A guest unbidden) to the fatal tent, 275
The scene of death, and place ordain'd for
punishment.

Loud was the noise, aglast was every guest,
The women shriek'd, the men forsook the feast ;
The hounds at nearer distance hoarsely bay'd ;
The hunter close pursued the visionary maid ; 280
She rent the heaven with loud laments, im-
ploring aid.

The gallants, to protect the lady's right,
Their cautious brandish'd at the grisly sight ;
High on his stirrups he provoked the fight.
Then on the crowd he cast a furious look, 285
And wither'd all their strength before he strook :
Back, on your lives, let be, said he, my prey,
And let my vengeance take the destined way :
Vain are your arms, and vainer your defence,
Against the eternal doom of Providence : 290
Mine is the ungrateful maid by Heaven design'd :
Mercy she would not give, nor mercy shall she find.
At this the former tale again he told
With thundering tone, and dreadful to behold :
Sunk were their hearts with horror of the crime, 295
Nor needed to be warn'd a second time,
But bore each other back : some knew the face,
And all had heard the much-lamented case
Of him who fell for love, and this the fatal
place.

And now the infernal minister advanced, 300
Seized the due victim, and with fury lanced
Her back, and piercing through her inmost heart,
Drew backward as before the offending part.
The reeking entrails next he tore away,
And to his meagre mastiffs made a prey. 305
The pale assistants on each other stared,
With gaping mouths for issuing words prepared ;
The still-born sounds upon the palate hung,
And died imperfect on the faltering tongue.
The fright was general ; but the female band 310
(A helpless train) in more confusion stand :
With horror shuddering, on a heap they run,
Sick at the sight of hateful justice done ;
For conscience rung the alarm, and made the
case their own.

So spread upon a lake, with upward eye, 315
A plump of fowl behold their foe on high ;
They close their trembling troop ; and all attend
On whom the sousing eagle will descend.

But most the proud Honoria fear'd the
event,
And thought to her alone the vision sent. 320
Her guilt presents to her distracted mind
Heaven's justice, Theodore's revengeful kind,
And the same fate to the same sin assign'd ;
Already sees herself the monster's prey,
And feels her heart and entrails torn away. 325
'Twas a mute scene of sorrow, mix'd with fear ;
Still on the table lay the unfinish'd cheer :
The knight and hungry mastiffs stood around,
The mangled dame lay breathless on the
ground ;

When on a sudden, re-inspired with breath, 330
Again she rose, again to suffer death ;
Nor staid the hell-hounds, nor the hunter staid,
But follow'd, as before, the flying maid :
The avenger took from earth the avenging
sword,
And mounting light as air his sable steed he
spurr'd : 335

The clouds dispell'd, the sky resumed her light,
And Nature stood recover'd of her fright.
But fear, the last of ills, remain'd behind,
And horror heavy sat on every mind.

Nor Theodore encouraged more the feast, ³⁴⁰
 But sternly look'd, as hatching in his breast
 Some deep designs ; which when Honoria view'd,
 The fresh impulse her former fright renew'd :
 She thought herself the trembling dam[^] who

fled,
 And him the grisly ghost that spur'd the infer-
 nal steed : ³⁴⁵

The more dismay'd, for when the guests withdrew,
 Their courteous host saluting all the crew,
 Regardless pass'd her o'er, nor graced with kind
 adieu.

That sting infix'd within her haughty mind,
 The downfall of her empire she divin'd ; ³⁵⁰
 And her proud heart with secret sorrow pined.
 Home as they went, the sad discourse renew'd,
 Of the relentless dame to death pursued,
 And of the sight obscene so lately view'd. ³⁵⁴
 None durst arraign the righteous doom she bore ;
 Ev'n they who pitied most, yet blamed her more :
 The parallel they needed not to name,
 But in the dead they damn'd the living dame.

At every little noise she look'd behind,
 For still the knight was present to her mind : ³⁶⁰
 And anxious oft she started on the way,
 And thought the horseman-ghost came thunder-
 ing for his prey.

Return'd she took her bed with little rest,
 But in short slumbers dreamt the funeral feast :
 Awaked, she turn'd her side, and slept again ; ³⁶⁵
 The same black vapours mounted in her brain,
 And the same dreams return'd with double pain.

Now forced to wake, because afraid to sleep,
 Her blood all fever'd, with a furious leap
 She sprung from bed, distracted in her mind, ³⁷⁰
 And fear'd, at every step, atwirlingspright behind.
 Darkling and desperate, with a staggering pace,
 Of death afraid, and conscious of disgrace ;
 Fear, pride, remorse, at once her heart assail'd,
 Pride put remorse to flight, but fear prevail'd. ³⁷⁵
 Friday, the fatal day, when next it came,
 Her soul forethought the fiend would change his
 game,

And her pursue, or Theodore be slain,
 And two ghosts join their packs to hunt her o'er
 the plain.

This dreadful image so possess'd her mind, ³⁸⁰
 That desperate any succour else to find,

She ceased all farther hope ; and now began
 To make reflection on the unhappy man.
 Rich, brave, and young, who past expression loved,
 Proof to disdain, and not to be removed : ³⁸⁵
 Of all the men respected and admired,
 Of all the dames, except herself, desired :
 Why not of her ? prefer'd above the rest
 By him with knightly deeds, and open love pro-
 fess'd ? ³⁸⁹

So had another been, where he his vows address'd.
 This quell'd her pride, yet other doubts remain'd,
 That once disdaining, she might be disdain'd.
 The fear was just, but greater fear prevail'd,
 Fear of her life by hellish hounds assail'd :
 He took a lowering leave ; but who can tell ³⁹⁵
 What outward hate might inward love conceal ?
 Her sex's arts she knew, and why not, then,
 Might deep dissembling have a place in men ?
 Here hope began to dawn ; resolved to try,
 She fix'd on this her utmost remedy ; ⁴⁰⁰
 Death was behind, but hard it was to die.
 'Twas time enough at last on death to call,
 The precipice in sight . a shrub was all
 That kindly stood betwixt to break the fatal fall.

One maid she had beloved above the rest ; ⁴⁰⁵
 Secure of her, the secret she confess'd ;
 And now the cheerful light her fears dispell'd,
 She with no winding turns the truth conceal'd,
 But put the woman off, and stood reveal'd :
 With faults confess'd commission'd her to go, ⁴¹⁰
 If pity yet had place, and reconcile her foe ;
 The welcome message made, was soon received ;
 'Twas to be wish'd, and hoped, but scarce believed ;
 Fate seem'd a fair occasion to present,
 He knew the sex, and fear'd she might repent, ⁴¹⁵
 Should he delay the moment of consent.
 There yet remain'd to gain her friends (a care
 The modesty of maidens well might spare) ;
 But she with such a zeal the cause embraced,
 (As women, where they will, are all in haste,) ⁴²⁰
 The father, mother, and the kin beside,
 Were overborne by fury of the tide ;
 With full consent of all, she changed her state ;
 Resistless in her love, as in her hate.
 By her example warn'd, the rest beware ; ⁴²⁵
 More easy, less imperious, were the far ;
 And that one hunting, which the devil design'd
 For one fair female, lost him half the kind.

CYMON AND IPHIGENIA.

POETA LOQUITUR.

OLD as I am, for ladies' love unfit,
 The power of beauty I remember yet,
 Which once inflamed my soul, and still inspires
 my wit.

If love be folly, the severe divine
 Has felt that folly, though he censures mine ; ⁵
 Pollutes the pleasures of a chaste embrace,
 Acts what I write, and propagates in grace,
 With riotous excess, a priestly race.

Suppose him free, and that I forge the offence,
 He show'd the way, perverting first my sense : ¹⁰
 In malice witty, and with venom fraught,
 He makes me speak the things I never thought.
 Compute the gains of his ungovern'd zeal ;
 Ill suits his cloth the praise of railing well.
 The world will think that what we loosely write, ¹⁵
 Though now arraign'd, he read with some delight ;
 Because he seems to chew the cud again,
 When his broad comment makes the text too plain .

And teaches more in one explaining page,
Than all the double meanings of the stage. 20

What needs he paraphrase on what we mean?
We were at worst but wanton; he's obscene.
I, nor my fellows, nor myself excuse;
But love's the subject of the comic muse:
Nor can we write without it, nor would you 25
A tale of only dry instruction view.
Nor love is always of a vicious kind,
But oft to virtuous acts inflames the mind,
Awakes the sleepy vigour of the soul,
And, brushing o'er, adds motion to the pool. 30
Love, studious how to please, improves our parts
With polish'd manners, and adorns with arts.
Love first invented verse, and form'd the rhyme,
The motion measured, harmonised the chime;
To liberal acts enlarged the narrow-soul'd, 35
Softened the fierce, and made the coward bold:
The world, when waste, he peopled with increase,
And warring nations reconciled in peace.
Ormond, the first, and all the fair may find,
In this one legend, to their fame design'd, 40
When beauty fires the blood, how love exalts the
mind.

In that sweet isle where Venus keeps her court,
And every grace, and all the loves, resort;
Where either sex is form'd of softer earth,
And takes the bent of pleasure from their birth; 45
There lived a Cyprian lord, above the rest
Wise, wealthy, with a numerous issue bless'd;
But, as no gift of fortune is sincere,
Was only wanting in a worthy heir:
His eldest born, a goodly youth to view, 50
Excell'd the rest in shape and outward show,
Fair, tall, his limbs with due proportion join'd,
But of a heavy, dull, degenerate mind.
His soul belied the features of his face;
Beauty was there, but beauty in disgrace. 55
A clownish mien, a voice with rustic sound,
And stupid eyes that ever loved the ground.
He look'd like nature's error, as the mind
And body were not of a piece design'd,
But made for two, and by mistake in one were join'd. 61

The ruling rod, the father's forming care,
Were exercised in vain on wit's despair;
The more inform'd, the less he understood,
And deeper sunk by floundering in the mud.
Now scorn'd of all, and grown the public shame, 65
The people from Galesus changed his name,
And Cymon call'd, which signifies a brute;
So well his name did with his nature suit.

His father, when he found his labour lost,
And care employ'd, that answer'd not the cost, 70
Chose an ungrateful object to remove,
And loathed to see what nature made him love;
So to his country farm the fool confined;
Rude work well suited with a rustic mind.
Thus to the wilds the sturdy Cymon went, 75
A squire among the swains, and pleased with
banishment.

Ver. 44. *Where either sex is form'd of softer earth,*

"E meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan."

JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 57. *And stupid eyes that ever loved the ground.*

"With leaden eye that loves the ground."—Milton.

JOHN WARTON.

His corn and cattle were his only care,
And his supreme delight, a country fair.

It happen'd on a summer's holiday,
That to the green-wood shade he took his 80
way;

For Cymon shunn'd the church, and used not
much to pray.

His quarter-staff, which he could ne'er forsake,
Hung half before, and half behind his back.
He trudged along, unknowing what he sought,
And whistled as he went, for want of thought. 85

By chance conducted, or by thirst constrain'd,
The deep recesses of the grove he gain'd;
Where in a plain defended by the wood,
Crept through the matted grass a crystal flood,
By which an alabaster fountain stood: 90
And on the margin of the fount was laid
(Attended by her slaves) a sleeping maid.
Like Dian and her nymphs, when, tired with
sport,

To rest by cool Eurotas they resort:
The dame herself the goddess well express'd, 95
Not more distinguish'd by her purple vest,
Than by the charming features of her face,
And, ev'n in slumber, a superior grace:
Her comely limbs composed with decent care,
Her body shaded with a slight cymar; 100
Her bosom to the view was only bare:
Where two beginning paps were scarcely spied,
For yet their places were but signified:
The fanning wind upon her bosom blows,
To meet the fanning wind the bosom rose; 105
The fanning wind, and purling streams, continue
her repose.

The fool of nature stood with stupid eyes,
And gaping mouth, that testified surprise,
Fix'd on her face, nor could remove his sight,
New as he was to love, and novice to delight: 110
Long mute he stood, and leaning on his staff,
His wonder witness'd with an idiot laugh;
Then would have spoke, but by his glimmering
sense

First found his want of words, and fear'd offence:
Doubted for what he was he should be known, 115
By his clown accent, and his country tone.
Through the rude chaos thus the running light
Shot the first ray that pierced the native night:
Then day and darkness in the mass were mix'd,
Till gather'd in a globe the beams were fix'd: 120
Last shone the sun, who, radiant in his sphere,
Illumed heaven and earth, and roll'd around the
year.

So reason in this brutal soul began:
Love made him first suspect he was a man;
Love made him doubt his broad barbarian sound;
By love his want of words, and wit, he found; 125
That sense of want prepared the future way
To knowledge, and disclosed the promise of a
day.

What not his father's care, nor tutor's art,
Could plant with pains in his unpolish'd heart, 130
The best instructor, Love, at once inspired,
As barren grounds to fruitfulness are fired:

Ver. 132. *As barren grounds to fruitfulness are fired:* An
allusion to Virgil's Georgics.

"Sæpe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros
Atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis:
Sive inde occultas vires, et pinguis terræ
Fæbula conspiciunt."—Virg. Georg. JOHN WARTON

Love taught him shame, and shame, with love at strife,

Soon taught the sweet civilities of life ;
His gross material soul at once could find
Somewhat in her excelling all her kind ;
Exciting a desire till then unknown,
Somewhat unfound, or found in her alone.
This made the first impression on his mind,
Above, but just above, the brutal kind.
For beasts can like, but not distinguish too,
Nor their own liking by reflection know ;
Nor why they like or this or t'other face,
Or judge of this or that peculiar grace ;
But love in gross, and stupidly admire :
As flies, allured by light, approach the fire.
Thus our man-beast, advancing by degrees,
First likes the whole, then separates what he
sees ;

On several parts a several praise bestows,
The ruby lips, the well-proportion'd nose,
The snowy skin, and raven-glossy hair,
The dimpled cheek, and forehead rising fair,
And ev'n in sleep itself, a smiling air.
From thence his eyes descending view'd the rest,
Her plump round arms, white hands, and heaving
breast.

Long on the last he dwelt, though every part
A pointed arrow sped to pierce his heart.

Thus in a trice a judge of beauty grown,
(A judge erected from a country clown)
He long'd to see her eyes, in slumber hid,
And wish'd his own could pierce within the
lid :

He would have waked her, but restrain'd his
thought,

And love new-born the first good manners taught.
An awful fear his ardent wish withstood,
Nor durst disturb the goddess of the wood.
For such she seem'd by her celestial face,
Excelling all the rest of human race :

And things divine, by common sense he knew,
Must be devoutly seen, at distant view :
So checking his desire, with trembling heart
Gazing he stood, nor would nor could depart ;
Fix'd as a pilgrim wilder'd in his way,
Who dares not stir by night, for fear to stray,
But stands with awful eyes to watch the dawn of
day.

At length awaking, Iphigene the fair,
(So was the beauty call'd, who caused his care,)
Unclosed her eyes, and double day reveal'd,
While those of all her slaves in sleep were seal'd.
The slaving cudden, propp'd upon his staff,
Stood ready gaping with a grinning laugh,
To welcome her awake, nor durst begin
To speak, but wisely kept the fool within.
Then she : What make you, Cymon, here alone ?
(For Cymon's name was round the country
known,

Because descended of a noble race,
And for a soul ill sorted with his face.)

But still the sot stood silent with surprise,
With fix'd regard on her new-open'd eyes,
And in his breast received the envenom'd dart,
A tickling pain that pleased amid the smart.
But conscious of her form, with quick distrust
She saw his sparkling eyes, and fear'd his brutal
lust.

This to prevent, she waked her sleepy crew,
And rising hasty, took a short adieu.

Then Cymon first his rustic voice essay'd,
With proffer'd service to the parting maid
To see her safe ; his hand she long denied,
But took at length, ashamed of such a guide.
So Cymon led her home, and leaving there,
No more would to his country clowns repair,
But sought his father's house, with better mind,
Refusing in the farm to be confined.

The father wonder'd at the son's return,
And knew not whether to rejoice or mourn ;
But doubtfully received, expecting still
To learn the secret causes of his alter'd will.
Nor was he long delay'd : the first request
He made, was like his brothers to be dress'd,
And, as his birth required, above the rest.

With ease his suit was granted by his sire,
Distinguishing his heir by rich attire ;
His body thus adorn'd, he next design'd
With liberal arts to cultivate his mind :
He sought a tutor of his own accord,
And studied lessons he before abhorr'd.

Thus the man-child advanced, and learn'd so fast,
That in short time his equals he surpass'd :
His brutal manners from his breast exiled,
His mien he fashion'd, and his tongue he filed ;
In every exercise of all admired,
He seem'd, nor only seem'd, but was inspired ;
Inspired by love, whose business is to please ;
He rode, he fenced, he moved with graceful ease,
More fam'd for sense, for courtly carriage more,
Than for his brutal folly known before.

What then of alter'd Cymon shall we say,
But that the fire which choked in ashes lay,
A load too heavy for his soul to move,
Was upward blown below, and brush'd away by
love.

Love made an active progress through his mind,
The dusky parts he clear'd, the gross refined,
The drowsy waked ; and, as he went, impress'd
The Maker's image on the human breast.
Thus was the man amended by desire,
And though he loved perhaps with too much fire,
His father all his faults with reason scan'd,
And lik'd an error of the better hand ;
Excused the excess of passion in his mind,
By flames too fierce, perhaps too much refined :
So Cymon, since his sire indulged his will,
Impetuous loved, and would be Cymon still ;
Galesus he disown'd, and chose to bear
The name of fool, confirm'd, and bishop'd by the
fair.

To Cipseus by his friends his suit he moved,
Cipseus the father of the fair he loved :
But he was pre-engaged by former ties,
While Cymon was endeavouring to be wise :
And Iphigene, obliged by former vows,
Had given her faith to wed a foreign spouse :
Her sire and she to Rhodian Pasimond,
Though both repenting, were by promise bound,
Nor could retract ; and thus, as fate decreed,
Though better loved, he spoke too late to speed.

The doom was past, the ship already sent
Did all his tardy diligence prevent :
Sigh'd to herself the fair unhappy maid,
While stormy Cymon thus in secret said :
The time is come for Iphigene to find
The miracle she wrought upon my mind :
Her charms have made me man, her ravish'd
love

In rank shall place me with the bless'd above.

For mine by love, by force she shall be mine,
Or death, if force should fail, shall finish my
design.

Resolved he said; and rigg'd with speedy cars
A vessel strong, and well equip'd for war. 255
The secret ship with chosen friends he stor'd;
And bent to die, or conquer, went aboard.
Ambush'd he lay behind the Cyprian shore
Waiting the sail that all his wishes bore;
Nor long expected, for the following tide 270
Sent out the hostile ship and beauteous bride.

To Rhodes the rival bark directly steer'd,
When Cymon sudden at her back appear'd,
And stopp'd her flight: then standing on his
prow,

In haughty terms he thus defied the foe: 275
Or strike your sails at summons, or prepare
To prove the last extremities of war.

Thus warn'd, the Rhodians for the fight provide;
Already were the vessels side by side,
These obstinate to save, and those to seize the 280
bride.

But Cymon soon his crooked grapples cast,
Which with tenacious hold his foes embraced,
And, arm'd with sword and shield, amid the
press he pass'd.

Fierce was the fight, but hastening to his prey,
By force the furious lover freed his way: 285
Himself alone dispersed the Rhodian crew,
The weak disdain'd, the valiant overthrew;
Cheap conquest for his following friends remain'd,
He reap'd the field, and they but only glean'd.

His victory confess'd, the foes retreat, 290
And cast their weapons at the victor's feet.
Whom thus he cheer'd: O Rhodian youth, I
fought

For love alone, nor other booty sought:
Your lives are safe; your vessel I resign,
Yours be your own, restoring what is mine: 295
In Iphigene I claim my rightful due,
Robb'd by my rival, and detain'd by you:
Your Pasimond a lawless bargain drove;
The parent could not sell the daughter's love;
Or if he could, my love disdains the laws, 300
And like a king by conquest gains his cause:
Where arms take place, all other pleas are vain;
Love taught me force, and force shall love main-
tain.

You, what by strength you could not keep, release,
And at an easy ransom buy your peace. 305

Fear on the conquer'd side soon sign'd the
accord,

And Iphigene to Cymon was restored:
While to his arms the blushing bride he took,
To seeming sadness she composed her look;
As if by force subjected to his will, 310
Though pleased, dissembling, and a woman still.
And, for she wept, he wiped her falling tears,
And pray'd her to dismiss her empty fears;
For yours I am, he said, and have deserved
Your love much better whom so long I served, 315
Than he to whom your formal father tied
Your vows, and sold a slave, not sent a bride.
Thus while he spoke, he seized the willing prey,
As Paris bore the Spartan spouse away. 319
Faintly she scream'd, and ev'n her eyes confess'd
She rather would be thought, than was distress'd.

Who now exults but Cymon in his mind!
Vain hopes and empty joys of human kind,
Proud of the present, to the future blind!

Secure of fate, while Cymon ploughs the sea, 325
And steers to Candy with his conquer'd prey,
Scarce the third glass of measured hours was run,
When like a fiery meteor sunk the sun;
The promise of a storm; the shifting gales
Forsake, by fits, and fill, the flagging sails; 330
Hoarse murmurs of the main from far were heard,
And night came on, not by degrees prepared,
But all at once; at once the winds arise,
The thunders roll, the fork lightning flies.
In vain the master issues out commands, 335
In vain the trembling sailors ply their hands;
The tempest unforeseen prevents their care,
And from the first they labour in despair.
The giddy ship betwixt the winds and tides,
Forced back and forwards, in a circle rides, 340
Stunn'd with the different blows; then shoots
amain,

Till counterbuff'd, she stops, and sleeps again.
Not more aghast the proud archangel fell,
Plunged from the height of heaven to deepest
hell,

Than stood the lover of his love possess'd, 345
Now cursed the more, the more he had been
bless'd;

More anxious for her danger, than his own,
Death he defies; but would be lost alone.

Sad Iphigene to womanish complaints
Adds pious prayers, and wearies all the saints; 350
Ev'n, if she could, her love she would repent,
But since she cannot, dreads the punishment:
Her forfeit faith, and Pasimond betray'd,
Are ever present, and her crime upbraid.

She blames herself, nor blames her lover less, 355
Augments her anger, as her fears increase:
From her own back the burden would remove,
And lays the load on his ungodn'd love,

Which interposing durst, in Heaven's despite, 360
Invade and violate another's right:
The Powers incensed a while deferr'd his pain,
And made him master of his vows in vain;

But soon they punish'd his presumptuous pride;
That for his daring enterprise she died;
Who rather not resisted than complied. 365

Then impotent of mind, with alter'd sense,
She hugg'd the offender, and forgave the offence,
Sex to the last. Meantime with sails declined
The wandering vessel drove before the wind;

Toss'd and retoss'd, aloft, and then alow, 370
Nor port they seek, nor certain course they know,
But every moment wait the coming blow.
Thus blindly driven, by breaking day they view'd
The land before them, and their fears renew'd;
The land was welcome, but the tempest bore 375
The threaten'd ship against a rocky shore.

A winding bay was near; to this they bent,
And just escaped; their force already spent:
Secure from storms, and panting from the sea, 380
The land unknown at leisure they survey;
And saw (but soon their sickly sight withdrew)
The rising towers of Rhodes at distant view;
And cursed the hostile shore of Pasimond,
Saved from the seas, and shipwreck'd on the
ground.

The frightened sailors tried their strength in vain,
To turn the stern, and tempt the stormy main; 385
But the stiff wind withstood the labouring oar,
And forced them forward on the fatal shore!
The crooked keel now bites the Rhodian strand,
And the ship moor'd constrains the crew to land

Yet still they might be safe, because unknown; 361
But as ill fortune seldom comes alone,
The vessel they dismiss'd was driven before,
Already shelter'd on their native shore;
Known each, they know; but each with change 365
of cheer;

The vanquish'd side exults; the victors fear;
Not them but theirs, made prisoners ere they fight,
Despairing conquest, and deprived of flight.

The country rings around with loud alarms, 400
And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
Mouths without hands; maintain'd at vast ex-
pense,

In peace a charge, in war a weak defence:
Stout once a month they march, a blustering
band,

And ever, but in times of need, at hand;
This was the morn, when, issuing on the guard, 405
Drawn up in rank and file they stood prepared
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the
day.

The cowards would have fled, but that they knew
Themselves so many, and their foes so few; 410
But crowding on, the last the first impel,
Till overborne with weight the Cyprians fell.
Cymon enslaved, who first the war begun,
And Iphigene once more is lost and won.

Deep in a dungeon was the captive cast, 415
Deprived of day, and held in fetters fast:
His life was only spared at their request,
Whom taken he so nobly had released:
But Iphigene was the ladies' care,
Each in their turn address'd to treat the fair; 420
While Pasimond and his the nuptial feast prepare.

Her secret soul to Cymon was inclined,
But she must suffer what her fates assign'd;
So passive is the church of womankind.
What worse to Cymon could his fortune deal, 425
Roll'd to the lowest spoke of all her wheel?
It rested to dismiss the downward weight,
Or raise him upward to his former height;
The latter pleased; and love (concern'd the most)
Prepared the amends, for what by love he lost. 430

The sire of Pasimond had left a son,
Though younger, yet for courage early known,
Ornisdia call'd, to whom, by promise tied,
A Rhodian beauty was the destined bride;
Cassandra was her name, above the rest 435
Renown'd for birth, with fortune amply bless'd.
Lysimachus, who ruled the Rhodian state,
Was then by choice their annual magistrate:
He loved Cassandra too with equal fire,
But fortune had not favour'd his desire; 440
Cross'd by her friends, by her not disapproved,
Nor yet prefer'd, or like Ornisdia loved:
So stood the affair: some little hope remain'd,
That should his rival chance to lose, he gain'd.

Meantime young Pasimond his marriage 445
press'd,

Ordain'd the nuptial day, prepared the feast;
And frugally resolved (the charge to shun,
Which would be double should he wed alone)
To join his brother's bridal with his own.

Lysimachus, oppress'd with mortal grief, 450
Received the news, and studied quick relief:
The fatal day approach'd; if force were used,
The magistrate his public trust abused;
To justice liable, as law required;
For when his office ceased, his power expired: 455

While power remain'd, the means were in his
hand

By force to seize, and then forsake the land:
Betwixt extremes he knew not how to move,
A slave to fame, but more a slave to love: 460
Restraining others, yet himself not free,
Made impotent by power, debased by dignity.
Both sides he weigh'd: but after much debate,
The man prevail'd above the magistrate.

Love never fails to master what he finds, 465
But works a different way in different minds,
The fool enlightens, and the wise he blinds.
This youth proposing to possess and 'scape,
Began in murder, to conclude in rape:
Unprais'd by me, though Heaven sometimes may
bless

An impious act with undeserved success: 470
The great, it seems, are privileged alone
To punish all injustice but their own.
But here I stop, not daring to proceed,
Yet blush to flatter an unrighteous deed:
For crimes are but permitted, not decreed. 475

Resolved on force, his wit the prator bent
To find the means that might secure the event;
Nor long he labour'd, for his lucky thought
In captive Cymon found the friend he sought.
The example pleased: the cause and crime the
same; 480

An injured lover, and a ravish'd dame.
How much he durst he knew by what he dared,
The less he had to lose, the less he cared
To manage loathsome life when love was the
reward.

This ponder'd well, and fix'd on his intent, 485
In depth of night he for the prisoner sent;
In secret sent the public view to shun,
Then with a sober smile he thus begun:
The Powers above, who bounteously bestow
Their gifts and graces on mankind below, 490
Yet prove our merit first, nor blindly give
To such as are not worthy to receive:
For valour and for virtue they provide
Their due reward, but first they must be tried:
These fruitful seeds within your mind they
sow'd; 495

'Twas yours to improve the talent they bestow'd;
They gave you to be born of noble kind,
They gave you love to lighten up your mind,
And purge the grosser parts, they gave you care
To please, and courage to deserve the fair. 500

Thus far they tried you, and by proof they
found

The grain entrusted in a grateful ground:
But still the great experiment remain'd,
They suffer'd you to lose the prize you gain'd;
That you might learn the gift was theirs alone: 505
And when restored, to them the blessing own.
Restored it soon will be, the means prepared,
The difficulty smooth'd, the danger shared:

Be but yourself, the care to me resign,
Then Iphigene is yours, Cassandra mine. 510

Your rival Pasimond pursues your life,
Impatient to revenge his ravish'd wife,
But yet not his; to-morrow is behind,
And love our fortunes in one band has join'd:
Two brothers are our foes, Ornisdia mine, 515
As much declared as Pasimond is thine:
To-morrow must their common vows be tied:
With love to friend, and fortune for our guide,
Let both resolve to die, or each redeem a bride.

Right I have none, nor hast thou much to
plead; 520
'Tis force, when done, must justify the deed :
Our task perform'd, we next prepare for flight :
And let the losers talk in vain of right :
We with the fair will sail before the wind,
If they are grieved, I leave the laws behind. 525
Speak thy resolves : if now thy courage droop,
Despair in prison, and abandon hope ;
But if thou dar'st in arms thy love regain,
(For liberty without thy love were vain ;)
Then second my design to seize the prey, 530
Or lead to second rape, for well thou know'st
the way.

Said Cymon overjoy'd, Do thou propose
The means to fight, and only show the foes :
For from the first, when love had fired my
mind,

Resolved I left the care of life behind. 535
To this the bold Lysimachus replied,
Let Heaven be neuter, and the sword decide ;
The spousals are prepared, already play
The minstrels, and provoke the tardy day :
By this the brides are waked, their grooms are
dress'd ; 540

All Rhodes is summon'd to the nuptial feast,
All but myself, the sole unbidden guest.
Unbidden though I am, I will be there,
And, join'd by thee, intend to joy the fair.

Now hear the rest ; when day resigns the
light, 545

And cheerful torches gild the jolly night,
Be ready at my call ; my chosen few
With arms administer'd shall aid thy crew.
Then entering unexpected will we seize
Our destined prey, from men dissolved in ease ; 550
By wine disabled, unprepared for fight :
And hastening to the seas, suborn our flight :
The seas are ours, for I command the fort,
A ship well mann'd expects us in the port :
If they, or if their friends, the prize contest, 555
Death shall attend the man who dares resist.

It pleased : the prisoner to his hold retired,
His troop with equal emulation fired,
All fix'd to fight, and all their wonted work
required. 559

The sun arose ; the streets were throng'd around,
The palace open'd, and the posts were crown'd.
The double bridegroom at the door attends
The expected spouse, and entertains the friends ;
They meet, they lead to church, the priests in-
voke 560
The Powers, and feed the flames with fragrant
smoke. 565

This done, they feast, and at the close of night
By kindled torches vary their delight,
These lead the lively dance, and those the
brimming bowls invite.

Now, at the appointed place and hour assign'd,
With souls resolved the ravishers were join'd : 570
Three bands are form'd ; the first is sent before
To favour the retreat, and guard the shore ;
The second at the palace-gate is placed,
And up the lofty stairs ascend the last :
A peaceful troop they seem with shining vests, 575
But coats of mail beneath secure their breasts.

Dauntless they enter, Cymon at their head,
And find the feast renew'd, the table spread :

Sweet voices, mix'd with instrumental sounds,
Ascend the vaulted roof, the vaulted roof re-
bounds. 580

When, like the harpies, rushing through the hall
The sudden troop appears, the tables fall,
Their smoking load is on the pavement thrown ;
Each ravisher prepares to seize his own :
The brides, invaded with a rude embrace, 585
Shriek out for aid, confusion fills the place.
Quick to redeem the prey their plighted lords
Advance, the palace gleams with shining swords.

But late is all defence, and succour vain ;
The rape is made, the ravishers remain : 590
Two sturdy slaves were only sent before
To bear the purchased prize in safety to the shore.
The troop retires, the lovers close the rear,
With forward faces not confessing fear :
Backward they move, but scorn their pace to
mend ; 595

Then seek the stairs, and with slow haste descend.
Fierce Pasimond, their passage to prevent,
Thrust full on Cymon's back in his descent,
The blade return'd unbathed, and to the handle
bent.

Stout Cymon soon remounts, and cleft in two 600
His rival's head with one descending blow :
And as the next in rank Ornisada stood,
He turn'd the point ; the sword, inured to blood,
Bored his unguarded breast, which pour'd a
purple flood.

With vow'd revenge the gathering crowd pur-
sues, 605

The ravishers turn head, the fight renews ;
The hall is heap'd with corpse ; the sprinkled gore
Besmears the walls, and floats the marble floor.
Dispersed at length the drunken squadron flies
The victors to their vessel bear the prize ; 610
And hear behind loud groans, and lamentable
cries.

The crew with merry shouts their anchors weigh,
Then ply their oars, and brush the buxom sea
While troops of gather'd Rhodians crowd the quay
What should the people do when left alone ? 615
The governor and government are gone.

The public wealth to foreign parts convey'd ;
Some troops disbanded, and the rest unpaid.
Rhodes is the sovereign of the sea no more ;
Their ships unrigg'd, and spent their naval store ; 620
They neither could defend, nor can pursue,
But grind their teeth, and cast a helpless view :
In vain with darts a distant war they try ;
Short, and more short, the missive weapons fly.
Meanwhile the ravishers their crimes enjoy, 625
And flying sails and sweeping oars employ :
The cliffs of Rhodes in little space are lost,
Jove's isle they seek, nor Jove denies his coast.

In safety landed on the Candian shore,
With generous wines their spirits they restore : 630
There Cymon with his Rhodian friend resides ;
Both court, and wed at once the willing brides.
A war ensues, the Cretans own their cause,
Stiff to defend their hospitable laws :
Both parties lose by turns ; and neither wins, 635
Till peace propounded by a truce begins.
The kindred of the slain forgive the deed,
But a short exile must for show precede :
The term expired, from Candia they remove,
And happy each, at home, enjoys his love. 640

TRANSLATIONS FROM OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD RADCLIFFE.*

MY LORD,

THESE Miscellany Poems are by many titles yours. The first they claim from your acceptance of my promise to present them to you, before some of them were yet in being. The rest are derived from your own merit, the exactness of your judgment in poetry, and the candour of your nature; easy to forgive some trivial faults, when they come accompanied with countervailing beauties. But, after all, though these are your equitable claims to a dedication from other poets, yet I must acknowledge a bribe in the case, which is your particular liking of my verses. It is a vanity common to all writers to overvalue their own productions; and it is better for me to own this failing in myself, than the world to do it for me. For what other reason have I spent my life in so unprofitable a study? why am I grown old in seeking so barren a reward as fame? The same pains and application, which have made me a poet, might have raised me to any honours of the gown, which are often given to men of as little learning and less honesty than myself. No government has ever been, or ever can be, wherein time-servers and blockheads will not be uppermost. The persons are only changed, but the same jugglings in state, the same hypocrisy in religion, the same self-interest, and mismanagement, will remain for ever. Blood and money will be lavished in all ages, only for the preferment of new faces, with old consciences. There is too often a jaundice in the eyes of great men; they see not those whom they raise in the same colours with other men. All whom they affect, look golden to them, when the gilding is only in their own distempered sight. These considerations have given me a kind of contempt for those who have risen by unworthy ways. I am not ashamed to be little, when I see them so infamously great; neither do I know why the name of poet should be dishonourable to me, if I am truly one, as I hope I am; for I will never do any thing that shall dishonour it. The notions of morality are known to all men: none can pretend ignorance of those ideas which are in-born in mankind: and if I see one thing, and practise the contrary, I must be disingenuous, not to acknowledge a clear truth, and base, to act against the light of my own conscience. For the reputation of my honesty, no man can question it, who has any of his own: for that of my poetry, it shall either stand by its own merit, or fall for want of it. Ill writers are usually the sharpest censors; for they (as the best poet and the best patron said)

"When in the full perfection of decay,
Turn vinegar, and come again in play."

Thus the corruption of a poet is the generation of a critic: I mean of a critic in the general acceptance of this age; for formerly they were quite another species of men. They were defenders of poets, and commentators on their works; to illustrate obscure beauties; to place some passages in a better light; to redeem others from malicious interpretations; to help out an author's modesty, who is not ostentatious of his wit; and, in short, to shield him from the ill-nature of those fellows, who were then called Zoili and Momi, and now take upon themselves the venerable name of censors.

* Prefixed to the Third Volume of Dryden's Miscellany Poems, printed in 1698.

But neither Zoilus, nor he who endeavoured to defame Virgil, were ever adopted into the name of critics by the ancients: what their reputation was then, we know; and their successors in this age deserve no better. Are our auxiliary forces turned our enemies? are they, who at best are but wits of the second order, and whose only credit amongst readers is what they obtained by being subservient to the fame of writers, are these become rebels of slaves, and usurpers of subjects? or, to speak in the most honourable terms of them, are they from our seconds become principals against us? Does the ivy undermine the oak, which supports its weakness? What labour would it cost them to put in a better line, than the worst of those which they expunge in a true poet? Petronius, the greatest wit perhaps of all the Romans, yet when his envy prevailed upon his judgment to fall on Lucan, he fell himself in his attempt: he performed worse in his *Essay of the Civil War*, than the author of the *Pharsalia*; and avoiding his errors, has made greater of his own. Julius Scaliger would needs turn down Homer, and abdicate him after the possession of three thousand years: has he succeeded in his attempt? He has indeed shown us some of those imperfections in him, which are incident to human kind; but who had not rather be that Homer than this Scaliger? You see the same hypercritic, when he endeavours to mend the beginning of Claudian (a faulty poet, and living in a barbarous age), yet how short he comes of him, and substitutes such verses of his own as deserve the ferula! What a censure has he made of Lucan, that he rather seems to bark than sing! Would any but a dog have made so snarling a comparison? One would have thought he had learned Latin as late as they tell us he did Greek. Yet he came off, with a *pace tuâ*, by your good leave, Lucan; he called him not by those outrageous names, of fool, booby, and blockhead: he had somewhat more of good manners than his successors, as he had much more knowledge. We have two sorts of those gentlemen in our nation: some of them proceeding with a seeming moderation and pretence of respect to the dramatic writers of the last age, only scorn and vilify the present poets, to set up their predecessors. But this is only in appearance; for their real design is nothing less than to do honour to any man, besides themselves. Horace took notice of such men in his age:

“—— Non Ingeniis favet ille sepultis;
Nostra sed impugnat; nos nostraque lividas odit.”

It is not with an ultimate intention to pay reverence to the manes of Shakspeare, Fletcher, and Ben Jonson, that they commend their writings, but to throw dirt on the writers of this age: their declaration is one thing, and their practice is another. By a seeming veneration to our fathers, they would thrust out us their lawful issue, and govern us themselves, under a specious pretence of reformation. If they could compass their intent, what would wit and learning get by such a change? If we are bad poets, they are worse; and when any of their woful pieces come abroad, the difference is so great betwixt them and good writers, that there need no criticisms on our part to decide it. When they describe the writers of this age, they draw such monstrous figures of them, as resemble none of us: our pretended pictures are so unlike, that it is evident we never sat to them: they are all grotesque; the products of their wild imaginations, things out of nature, so far from being copied from us, that they resemble nothing that ever was, or ever can be. But there is another sort of insects, more venomous than the former. Those who manifestly aim at the destruction of our poetical Church and State, who allow nothing to their countrymen, either of this or of the former age; these attack the living by raking up the ashes of the dead; well knowing that if they can subvert their original title to the stage, we who claim under them must fall of course. Peace be to the venerable shades of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson: none of the living will presume to have any competition with them: as they were our predecessors, so they were our masters. We urail our plays under them, but (as at the funerals of a Turkish emperor) our ensigns are furled or dragged upon the ground, in honour to the dead; so we may lawfully advance our own, afterwards, to show that we succeed: if less in dignity, yet on the same foot and title, which we think too we can maintain against the insolence of our own janizaries. If I am the man, as I have reason to believe, who am seemingly courted, and secretly undermined; I think I shall be able to defend myself, when I am openly attacked: and to show besides that the Greek writers only gave us the rudiments of a stage which they never finished: that many of the tragedies in the former age amongst us were without comparison beyond those of Sophocles and Euripides. But at present, I have neither the leisure nor the means for such an undertaking. It is ill going to law for an estate with him who is

in possession of it, and enjoys the present profits, to feed his cause. But the *quantum mutatus* may be remembered in due time. In the meanwhile, I leave the world to judge, who gave the provocation.

This, my Lord, is, I confess, a long digression, from Miscellany Poems to modern tragedies; but I have the ordinary excuse of an injured man, who will be telling his tale unseasonably to his betters; though at the same time I am certain you are so good a friend as to take a concern in all things which belong to one who so truly honours you. And besides, being yourself a critic of the genuine sort, who have read the best authors in their own languages, who perfectly distinguish of their several merits, and in general prefer them to the moderns, yet, I know, you judge for the English tragedies, against the Greek and Latin, as well as against the French, Italian, and Spanish, of these latter ages. Indeed there is a vast difference betwixt arguing like Perrault in behalf of the French poets, against Homer and Virgil, and betwixt giving the English poets their undoubted due of excelling Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles. For if we, or our greater fathers, have not yet brought the drama to an absolute perfection, yet at least we have carried it much farther than those ancient Greeks; who, beginning from a chorus, could never totally exclude it, as we have done; who find it an unprofitable incumbence, without any necessity of entertaining it amongst us; and without the possibility of establishing it here, unless it were supported by a public charge. Neither can we accept of those lay-bishops, as some call them, who, under pretence of reforming the stage, would intrude themselves upon us, as our superiors, being indeed incompetent judges of what is manners, what religion, and, least of all, what is poetry and good sense. I can tell them in behalf of all my fellows, that when they come to exercise a jurisdiction over us, they shall have the stage to themselves, as they have the laurel. As little can I grant that the French dramatic writers excel the English: our authors as far surpass them in genius, as our soldiers excel theirs in courage. It is true, in conduct they surpass us either way; yet that proceeds not so much from their greater knowledge, as from the difference of tastes in the two nations. They content themselves with a thin design, without episodes, and managed by few persons. Our audience will not be pleased but with variety of accidents, an underplot, and many actors. They follow the ancients too servilely in the mechanic rules, and we assume too much license to ourselves in keeping them only in view, at too great a distance. But if our audience had their tastes, our poets could more easily comply with them, than the French writers could come up to the sublimity of our thoughts, or to the difficult variety of our designs. However it be, I dare establish it for a rule of practice on the stage, that we are bound to please those whom we pretend to entertain, and that at any price, religion and good manners only excepted; and I care not much, if I give this handle to our bad illiterate poetasters, for the defence of their *SCRIPPTIONS*, as they call them. There is a sort of merit in delighting the spectators; which is a name more proper for them than that of auditors; or else Horace is in the wrong, when he commends Lucilius for it. But these common-places I mean to treat at greater leisure. In the meantime, submitting that little I have said to your Lordship's approbation, or your censure, and choosing rather to entertain you this way, as you are a judge of writing, than to oppress your modesty with other commendations; which, though they are your due, yet would not be equally received in this satirical and censorious age. That which cannot without injury be denied to you, is the easiness of your conversation, far from affectation or pride; not denying even to enemies their just praises. And this, if I would dwell on any theme of this nature, is no vulgar commendation to your Lordship. Without flattery, my Lord, you have it in your nature to be a patron and encourager of good poets, but your fortune has not yet put into your hands the opportunity of expressing it. What you will be hereafter, may be more than guessed by what you are at present. You maintain the character of a nobleman, without that haughtiness which generally attends too many of the nobility; and when you converse with gentlemen, you forget not that you have been of their order. You are married to the daughter of a king, who, amongst her other high perfections, has derived from him a charming behaviour, a winning goodness, and a majestic person. The Muses and the Graces are the ornaments of your family; while the Muse sings, the Grace accompanies her voice: even the servants of the Muses have sometimes had the happiness to hear her, and to receive their inspirations from her.

I will not give myself the liberty of going farther; for it is so sweet to wander in a pleasing way, that I should never arrive at my journey's end. To keep myself from being belated in my letter, and tiring your attention, I must return to the place where I was setting out. I humbly dedicate to your Lordship my own labours in this Miscellany; at the same time, not arrogating to myself the privilege

of inscribing to you the works of others who are joined with me in this undertaking, over which I can pretend no right. Your lady and you have done me the favour to hear me read my translations of Ovid, and you both seemed not to be displeased with them. Whether it be the partiality of an old man to his youngest child, I know not; but they appear to me the best of all my endeavours in this kind. Perhaps this poet is more easy to be translated than some others, whom I have lately attempted; perhaps, too, he was more according to my genius. He is certainly more palatable to the reader than any of the Roman wits, though some of them are more lofty, some more instructive, and others more correct. He had learning enough to make him equal to the best. But as his verse came easily, he wanted the toil of application to amend it. He is often luxuriant both in his fancy and expressions, and as it has lately been observed, not always natural. If wit be pleasantry, he has it to excess; but if it be propriety, Lucretius, Horace, and, above all, Virgil, are his superiors. I have said so much of him already in my preface to his Heroical Epistles, that there remains little to be added in this place. For my own part, I have endeavoured to copy his character what I could in this translation, even, perhaps, farther than I should have done; to his very faults. Mr. Chapman, in his translation of Homer, professes to have done it somewhat paraphrastically, and that on set purpose; his opinion being, that a good poet is to be translated in that manner. I remember not the reason which he gives for it; but I suppose it is for fear of omitting any of his excellencies; sure I am, that if it be a fault, it is much more pardonable than that of those who run into the other extreme of a literal and close translation, where the poet is confined so strictly to his author's words, that he wants elbow-room to express his elegancies. He leaves him obscure; he leaves him prose, where he found him verse: and no better than thus has Ovid been served by the so much admired Sandys. This is at least the idea which I have remaining of his translation; for I never read him since I was a boy. They who take him upon content, from the praises which their fathers gave him, may inform their judgment by reading him again, and see (if they understand the original) what is become of Ovid's poetry in his version; whether it be not all, or the greatest part of it, evaporated. But this proceeded from the wrong judgment of the age in which he lived. They neither knew good verse nor loved it; they were scholars, it is true, but they were pedants. And for a just reward of their pedantic pains, all their translations want to be translated into English.

If I flatter not myself, or if my friends have not flattered me, I have given my author's sense, for the most part, truly: for to mistake sometimes is incident to all men, and not to follow the Dutch commentators always, may be forgiven to a man who thinks them, in the general, heavy, gross-witted fellows, fit only to gloss on their own dull poets. But I leave a farther satire on their wit, till I have a better opportunity to show how much I love and honour them. I have likewise attempted to restore Ovid to his native sweetness, easiness, and smoothness; and to give my poetry a kind of cadence, and, as we call it, a run of verse, as like the original, as the English can come up to the Latin. As he seldom uses any Synalœphas, so I have endeavoured to avoid them, as often as I could: I have likewise given him his own turns, both on the words and on the thought, which I cannot say are inimitable, because I have copied them; and so may others, if they use the same diligence: but certainly they are wonderfully graceful in this poet. Since I have named the Synalœpha, which is the cutting off one vowel immediately before another, I will give an example of it from Chapman's Homer, which lies before me; for the benefit of those who understand not the Latin Prosodia. It is in the first line of the argument to the first Iliad:

"Apollo's priest to th' Argive fleet doth bring," &c.

There we see he makes it not *the Argive*, but *th' Argive*, to shun the shock of the two vowels, immediately following each other; but, in his second argument, in the same page, he gives a bad example of the quite contrary kind:

"Alpha the pray'r of Chryses sings:
The army's plague, the strife of kings."

In these words *the army's*, the ending with a vowel, and *army's* beginning with another vowel, without cutting off the first, which by it had been *th' army's*, there remains a most horrible ill-sounding gap betwixt those words. I cannot say that I have everywhere observed the rule of the Synalœpha in my translation; but wheresoever I have not, it is a fault in sound: the French and the Italians have made

it an inviolable precept in their versification ; therein following the severe example of the Latin poets. Our countrymen have not yet reformed their poetry so far, but content themselves with following the licentious practice of the Greeks ; who, though they sometimes use Synalcephas, yet make no difficulty very often, to sound one vowel upon another ; as Homer does, in the very first line of Alpha. *Μῆνιν ἔειδε Εὐδ, Πηληϊάδew 'Αχιλῆος*. It is true, indeed, that in the second line, in these words *μυρτ' Ἀχαιοί,* and *ἔλγε' ἔθηκε*, the Synalcepha in revenge is twice observed. But it becomes us, for the sake of Euphony, rather *Musas colere severiores*, with the Romans, than to give into the looseness of the Grecians.

I have tired myself, and have been summoned by the press to send away this Dedication, otherwise I had exposed some other faults, which are daily committed by our English poets ; which, with care and observation, might be amended. For, after all, our language is both copious, significant, and majestical, and might be reduced into a more harmonious sound. But, for want of public encouragement, in this iron age, we are so far from making any progress in the improvement of our tongue, that in few years, we shall speak and write as barbarously as our neighbours.

Notwithstanding my haste, I cannot forbear to tell your Lordship, that there are two fragments of Homer translated in this Miscellany ; one by Mr. Congreve (whom I cannot mention without the honour which is due to his excellent parts, and that entire affection which I bear him) and the other by myself. Both the subjects are pathetic, and I am sure my friend has added to the tenderness which he found in the original, and, without flattery, surpassed his author. Yet I must needs say this in reference to Homer, that he is much more capable of exciting the manly passions than those of grief and pity. To cause admiration, is indeed the proper and adequate design of an epic poem : and in that he has excelled even Virgil ; yet, without presuming to arraign our master, I may venture to affirm, that he is somewhat too talkative, and more than somewhat too digressive. This is so manifest, that it cannot be denied, in that little parcel which I have translated, perhaps too literally : there Andromache, in the midst of her concernment and fright for Hector, runs off her bias, to tell him a story of her pedigree, and of the lamentable death of her father, her mother, and her seven brothers. The devil was in Hector if he knew not all this matter, as well as she who told it him ; for she had been his bedfellow for many years together : and if he knew it, then it must be confessed, that Homer, in this long digression, has rather given us his own character, than that of the fair lady whom he paints. His dear friends, the commentators, who never fail him at a pinch, will needs excuse him, by making the present sorrow of Andromache to occasion the remembrance of all the past ; but others think that she had enough to do with that grief which now oppressed her, without running for assistance to her family. Virgil, I am confident, would have omitted such a work of supererogation. But Virgil had the gift of expressing much in little, and sometimes in silence : for though he yielded much to Homer in invention, he more excelled him in his admirable judgment. He drew the passion of Dido for Æneas in the most lively and most natural colours imaginable. Homer was ambitious enough of moving pity ; for he has attempted twice on the same subject of Hector's death : first, when Priam and Hecuba beheld his corpse, which was dragged after the chariot of Achilles ; and then in the lamentation which was made over him, when his body was redeemed by Priam ; and the same persons again bewail his death, with a chorus of others to help the cry. But if this last excite compassion in you, as I doubt not but it will, you are more obliged to the translator than the poet : for Homer, as I observed before, can move rage better than he can pity : he stirs up the irascible appetite, as our philosophers call it ; he provokes to murder, and the destruction of God's images ; he forms and equips those ungodly man-killers, whom we poets, when we flatter them, call heroes ; a race of men who can never enjoy quiet in themselves till they have taken it from all the world. This is Homer's commendation, and such as it is, the lovers of peace, or at least of more moderate heroism, will never envy him. But let Homer and Virgil contend for the prize of honour betwixt themselves, I am satisfied they will never have a third concurrent. I wish Mr. Congreve had the leisure to translate him, and the world the good nature and justice to encourage him in that noble design, of which he is more capable than any man I know. The Earl of Mulgrave and Mr. Waller, two of the best judges of our age, have assured me, that they could never read over the translation of Chapman without incredible pleasure and extreme transport. This admiration of theirs must needs proceed from the author himself : for the translator has thrown him down as low as harsh numbers, improper English, and a monstrous length of verse could carry him. What, then, would he appear in the harmonious version of one of the best writers, living in a much better age than was the last ? I mean for versification, and the art of numbers : for in the drama we

have not arrived to the pitch of Shakspeare and Ben Jonson. But here, my Lord, I am forced to break off abruptly, without endeavouring at a compliment in the close. This Miscellany is, without dispute, one of the best of the kind, which has hitherto been extant in our tongue. At least, as Sir Samuel Tuke has said before me, a modest man may praise what is not his own. My fellows have no need of any protection, but I humbly recommend my part of it, as much as it deserves, to your patronage and acceptance, and all the rest to your forgiveness.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

THE FIRST BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

OF bodies changed to various forms I sing:
Ye gods, from whence these miracles did spring,
Inspire my numbers with celestial heat;
Till I my long laborious work complete;
And add perpetual tenor to my rhymes,
Deduced from nature's birth to Caesar's times.

Before the seas, and this terrestrial ball,
And heaven's high canopy, that covers all,
One was the face of nature, if a face;
Rather a rude and indigested mass:
A lifeless lump, unfashion'd, and unframed,
Of jarring seeds, and justly Chaos named.
No sun was lighted up the world to view;
No moon did yet her blunted horns renew:
Nor yet was earth suspended in the sky;
Nor, poised, did on her own foundations lie:
Nor seas about the shores their arms had thrown;
But earth, and air, and water, were in one.
Thus air was void of light, and earth unstable,
And water's dark abyss un navigable.
No certain form on any was impress'd;
All were confused, and each disturb'd the rest.
For hot and cold were in one body fix'd,
And soft with hard, and light with heavy mix'd.

But God, or Nature, while they thus contend,
To these intestine discords put an end.
Then earth from air, and seas from earth were driven,

And grosser air sunk from ethereal heaven.
Thus disembranch'd, they take their proper place;
The next of kin contiguously embrace;
And foes are sunder'd by a larger space.
The force of fire ascended first on high,
And took its dwelling in the vaulted sky.
Then air succeeds, in lightness next to fire;
Whose atoms from unactive earth retire.
Earth sinks beneath, and draws a numerous throng
Of ponderous, thick, unwieldy seeds along.
About her coasts unruly waters roar,
And, rising on a ridge, insult the shore.
Thus when the God, whatever God was he,
Had form'd the whole, and made the parts agree,

That no unequal portions might be found,
He moulded earth into a spacious round:
Then, with a breath, he gave the winds to blow:
And bade the congregated waters flow.

He adds the running springs, and standing lakes
And bounding banks for winding rivers makes
Some part in earth are swallow'd up, the most
In ample oceans, disembogued, are lost.
He shades the woods, the valleys he restrains
With rocky mountains, and extends the plains.

And as five zones the ethereal regions bind,
Five, correspondent, are to earth assign'd:
The sun, with rays directly darting down,
Fires all beneath, and fries the middle zone:
The two beneath the distant poles complain
Of endless winter, and perpetual rain.

Betwixt the extremes, two happier climates hold
The temper that partakes of hot and cold.
The fields of liquid air, enclosing all,
Surround the compass of this earthly ball:

The lighter parts lie next the fires above;
The grosser near the watery surface move:
Thick clouds are spread, and storms engender there,

And thunder's voice, which wretched mortals fear,

And winds that on their wings cold winter bear.
Nor were those blustering brethren left at large,
On seas and shores their fury to discharge:
Bound as they are, and circumscribed in place,

They rend the world, resistless, where they pass;

And mighty marks of mischief leave behind,
Such is the rage of their tempestuous kind.
First Eurus to the rising morn is sent,
(The regions of the balmy continent)

And eastern realms, where early Persians run,
To greet the blest appearance of the sun.
Westward the wanton Zephyr wings his flight,
Pleased with the remnants of departing light:

Fierce Boreas with his offspring issues forth,
To invade the frozen waggon of the North;

While frowning Auster seeks the southern sphere,
And rots, with endless rain, the unwholesome year.

High o'er the clouds, and empty realms of wind,
The God a clearer space for heaven design'd;
Where fields of light, and liquid ether flow, ⁸⁵
Purged from the ponderous dregs of earth below.
Scarce had the Power distinguish'd these, when
straight

The stars, no longer overlaid with weight,
Exert their heads from underneath the mass,
And upward shoot, and kindle as they pass, ⁹⁰
And with diffusive light adorn the heavenly place.
Then, every void of nature to supply,
With forms of gods he fills the vacant sky:
New herds of beasts he sends, the plains to share;
New colonies of birds, to people air; ⁹⁵
And to their oozy beds the finny fish repair.
A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was Man design'd:
Conscious of thought, of more capacious breast,
For empire form'd, and fit to rule the rest: ¹⁰⁰
Whether with particles of heavenly fire
The God of nature did his soul inspire;
Or earth, but new divided from the sky,
And pliant still, retain'd the ethereal energy:
Which wise Prometheus temper'd into paste, ¹⁰⁵
And, mix'd with living streams, the godlike image
cast.

Thus, while the mute creation downward bend
Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,
Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary skies. ¹¹⁰
From such rude principles our form began,
And earth was metamorphosed into man.

THE GOLDEN AGE.

THE golden age was first; when man, yet new,
No rule but uncorrupted reason knew;
And, with a native bent, did good pursue. ¹¹⁵
Unforced by punishment, unaw'd by fear,
His words were simple, and his soul sincere:
Needless was written law, where none oppress'd;
The law of man was written in his breast:
No suppliant crowds before the judge appear'd; ¹²⁰
No court erected yet, nor cause was heard;
But all was safe, for conscience was their guard.
The mountain trees in distant prospect please,
Ere yet the pine descended to the seas;
Ere sails were spread, new oceans to explore; ¹²⁵
And happy mortals, unconcern'd for more,
Confined their wishes to their native shore.
No walls were yet, nor fence, nor moat, nor
mound;
Nor drum was heard, nor trumpet's angry sound:
Nor swords were forged; but, void of care and ¹³⁰
crime,
The soft creation slept away their time.
The teeming earth, yet guiltless of the plough,
And unprovoked, did fruitful stores allow:
Content with food, which nature freely bred,
On wildings and on strawberries they fed; ¹³⁵
Cornels and bramble-berries gave the rest,
And falling acorns furnish'd out a feast.
The flowers, unsworn, in fields and meadows
reign'd;
And western winds immortal spring maintain'd.

In following years the bearded corn ensued ¹⁴⁰
From earth unask'd, nor was that earth renew'd.
From veins of valleys milk and nectar broke,
And honey sweating through the pores of oak.

THE SILVER AGE.

BUT when good Saturn, banish'd from above,
Was driven to hell, the world was under Jove. ¹⁴⁵
Succeeding times a silver age behold,
Excelling brass, but more excell'd by gold.
Then Summer, Autumn, Winter did appear,
And Spring was but a season of the year.
The sun his annual course obliquely made, ¹⁵⁰
Good days contracted, and enlarged the bad.
Then air with sultry heats began to glow,
The wings of winds were clogg'd with ice and snow;
And shivering mortals, into houses driven,
Sought shelter from the inclemency of heaven. ¹⁵⁵
Those houses, then, were caves, or homely sheds,
With twining osiers fenced, and moss their beds.
Then ploughs, for seed, the fruitful furrows broke,
And oxen labour'd first beneath the yoke.

THE BRAZEN AGE.

To this next came in course the brazen age: ¹⁶⁰
A warlike offspring prompt to bloody rage,
Not impious yet ———

THE IRON AGE.

——— HARD steel succeeded then;
And stubborn as the metal were the men.
Truth, Modesty, and Shame, the world forsook: ¹⁶⁵
Fraud, Avarice, and Force, their places took.
Then sails were spread to every wind that blew;
Raw were the sailors, and the depths were new:
Trees, rudely hollow'd, did the waves sustain;
Ere ships in triumph plough'd the watery plain. ¹⁷⁰
Then landmarks limited to each his right:
For all before was common as the light.
Nor was the ground alone required to bear
Her annual income to the crooked share;
But greedy mortals, rummaging her store, ¹⁷⁵
Dig'd from her entrails first the precious ore;
Which next to hell the prudent gods had laid;
And that alluring ill to sight display'd;
Thus cursed steel, and more accursed gold,
Gave mischief birth, and made that mischief bold:
And double death did wretched man invade, ¹⁸⁰
By steel assaulted, and by gold betray'd.
Now (brandish'd weapons glittering in their hands)
Mankind is broken loose from moral bands;
No rights of hospitality remain: ¹⁸⁵
The guest, by him who harbour'd him, is slain:
The son-in-law pursues the father's life;
The wife her husband murders, he the wife.
The step-dame poison for the son prepares;
The son inquires into his father's years. ¹⁹⁰
Faith flies, and Piety in exile mourns;
And Justice here oppress'd, to heaven returns.

THE GIANTS' WAR.

Nor were the gods themselves more safe above ;
Against beleaguer'd heaven the giants move.
Hills piled on hills, on mountains mountains lie, 195
To make their mad approaches to the sky.
Till Jove, no longer patient, took his time
To avenge with thunder their audacious crime :
Red lightning play'd along the firmament,
And their demolish'd works to pieces rent. 200
Singed with the flames, and with the bolts trans-
fix'd,

With native earth their blood the monsters mix'd ;
The blood, indued with animating heat,
Did in the impregnate earth new sons beget :
They, like the seed from which they sprung,
accused, 205

Against the gods immortal hatred nursed :
An impious, arrogant, and cruel brood ;
Expressing their original from blood.
Which when the king of gods beheld from high
(Withal revolving in his memory, 210
What he himself had found on earth of late,
Lycæon's guilt, and his inhuman treat)
He sigh'd, nor longer with his pity strove ;
But kindled to a wrath becoming Jove ;
Then call'd a general council of the gods ; 215
Who, summon'd, issue from their blest abodes,
And fill the assembly with a shining train.
A way there is in heaven's expanded plain,
Which, when the skies are clear, is seen below,
And mortals by the name of milky know. 220
The groundwork is of stars, through which the road
Lies open to the thunderer's abode.
The gods of greater nations dwell around,
And on the right and left the palace bound ;
The commons where they can ; the nobler sort, 225
With winding doors wide open, front the court.
This place, as far as earth with heaven may vie,
I dare to call the Louvre of the sky.

When all were placed, in seats distinctly known,
And he, their father, had assumed the throne, 230
Upon his ivory sceptre first he leant,
Then shook his head, that shook the firmament :
Air, earth, and seas, obey'd the almighty nod ;
And, with a general fear, confess'd the god.
At length, with indignation, thus he broke 235
His awful silence, and the powers bespoke.

I was not more concern'd in that debate
Of empire, when our universal state
Was put to hazard, and the giant race
Our captive skies were ready to embrace : 240
For though the foe was fierce, the seeds of all
Rebellion sprung from one original ;
Now wheresoever ambient waters glide,
All are corrupt, and all must be destroy'd.
Let me this holy protestation make : 245
By hell, and hell's inviolable lake,
I tried whatever in the god-head lay ;
But gangrened members must he lopp'd away,
Before the nobler parts are tainted to decay. 250
There dwells below a race of demigods,
Of nymphs in waters, and of fauns in woods ;
Who, though not worthy yet in heaven to live,
Let 'em at least enjoy that earth we give.

Can these be thought securely lodged below,
When I myself, who no superior know, 255
I, who have heaven and earth at my command,
Have been attempted by Lycæon's hand ?

At this a murmur through the synod went,
And with one voice they vote his punishment.
Thus, when conspiring traitors dared to doom 260
The fall of Cæsar, and in him of Rome,
The nations trembled with a pious fear,
All anxious for their earthly thunderer ;
Nor was their care, O Cæsar, less esteem'd
By thee, than that of heaven for Jove was deem'd :
Who with his hand, and voice, did first restrain 265
Their murmurs, then resumed his speech again.
The gods to silence were compos'd, and sat
With reverence due to his superior state.

Cancel your pious cares ; already he 270
Has paid his debt to justice, and to me.
Yet what his crimes, and what my judgments were,
Remains for me thus briefly to declare.
The clamours of this vile degenerate age,
The cries of orphans, and the oppressor's rage, 275
Had reach'd the stars ; I will descend, said I,
In hope to prove this loud complaint a lie.
Disguised in human shape, I travell'd round
The world, and more than what I heard, I found.
O'er Mænalus I took my steepy way, 280
By caverns infamous for beasts of prey.
Then cross'd Cyllene, and the piny shade,
More infamous by cursed Lycæon made :
Dark night had cover'd heaven and earth, before
I enter'd his unhospitable door. 285
Just at my entrance, I display'd the sign
That somewhat was approaching of divine.
The prostrate people pray ; the tyrant grins.
And, adding profanation to his sins,
I 'll try, said he, and if a god appear, 290
To prove his deity shall cost him dear.
'Twas late ; the graceless wretch my death pre-
pares,

When I should soundly sleep, oppress'd with cares :
This dire experiment he chose, to prove
If I were mortal, or undoubted Jove : 295
But first he had resolved to taste my power :
Not long before, but in a luckless hour,
Some legates sent from the Molossian state,
Were on a peaceful errand come to treat :
Of these he murders one, he boils the flesh, 300
And lays the mangled morsels in a dish :
Some part he roasts ; then serves it up so dress'd,
And bids me welcome to this human feast.
Moved with disdain, the table I o'erturn'd,
And with avenging flames the palace burn'd. 305
The tyrant, in a fright, for shelter gains
The neighbouring fields, and scours along the plains.
Howling he fled, and vain he would have spoke,
But human voice his brutal tongue forsook.
About his lips the gather'd foam he churns, 310
And breathing slaughter, still with rage he burns,
But on the bleating flock his fury turns.
His mantle, now his hide, with rugged hairs
Cleaves to his back ; a famish'd fæce he bears ;
His arms descend, his shoulders sink away, 315
To multiply his legs for chase of prey.
He grows a wolf, his hoariness remains,
And the same rage in other members reigns.
His eyes still sparkle in a narrower space,
His jaws retain the grin, and violence of his face. 320

This was a single ruin, but not one
Deserves so just a punishment alone.

Man kind's a monster, and the ungodly times,
Confederate into guilt, are sworn to crimes.
All are alike involved in ill, and all
Must by the same relentless fury fall.

Thus ended he; the greater gods assent,
By clamours urging his severe intent;
The less fill up the cry for punishment.
Yet still with pity they remember man;
And mourn as much as heavenly spirits can.
They ask, when those were lost of human birth,
What he would do with all his waste of earth?
If his dispeopled world he would resign
To beasts, a mute, and more ignoble line?
Neglected altars must no longer smoke,
If none were left to worship and invoke.
To whom the father of the gods replied:
Lay that unnecessary fear aside:
Mine be the care new people to provide.
I will from wondrous principles ordain
A race unlike the first, and try my skill again.

Already had he toss'd the flaming brand,
And roll'd the thunder in his spacious hand;
Preparing to discharge on seas and land:
But stopp'd for fear, thus violently driven,
The sparks should catch his axletree of heaven.
Remembering, in the Fates, a time, when fire
Should to the battlements of heaven aspire,
And all his blazing worlds above should burn,
And all the inferior globe to cinders turn.
His dire artillery thus dismiss'd, he bent
His thoughts to some securer punishment:
Concludes to pour a watery deluge down;
And, what he durst not burn, resolves to drown.

The Northern breath, that freezes floods, he
binds;

With all the race of cloud-dispelling winds:
The South he loosed, who night and horror brings;
And fogs are haken from his flaggy wings.
From his divided beard two streams he pours;
His head and rheumy eyes distil in showers.
With rain his robe and heavy mantle flow:
And lazy mists are lowering on his brow.
Still as he swept along, with his clench'd fist,
He squeezed the clouds; the imprison'd clouds
resist:

The skies, from pole to pole, with peals resound;
And showers enlarged come pouring on the
ground.

Then clad in colours of a various die,
Junoian Iris breeds a new supply
To feed the clouds: impetuous rain descends;
The bearded corn beneath the burthen bends:
Defrauded clowns deplore their perish'd grain;
And the long labours of the year are vain.

Nor from his patrimonial heaven alone
Is Jove content to pour his vengeance down:
Aid from his brother of the seas he craves,
To help him with auxiliary waves.

The watery tyrant calls his brooks and floods,
Who roll from mossy caves, their moist abodes;
And with perpetual urns his palace fill:
To whom, in brief, he thus imparts his will.

Small exhortation needs; your powers employ;
And this bad world (so Jove requires) destroy.
Let loose the reins to all your watery store:
Bear down the dams, and open every door.

The floods by nature enemies to land,
And proudly swelling with their new command,
Remove the living stones that stopp'd their way,
And, gushing from their source, augment the sea.

Then, with his mace, their monarch struck the
ground:

With inward trembling earth received the wound;
And rising streams a ready passage found.
The expanded waters gather on the plain,
They float the fields, and overtop the grain;
Then rushing onwards, with a sweepy sway,
Bear flocks, and folds, and labouring hinds
away.

Nor safe their dwellings were; for, sapp'd by
floods,

Their houses fell upon their household gods.
The solid piles, too strongly built to fall,
High o'er their heads behold a watery wall.
Now seas and earth were in confusion lost;
A world of waters, and without a coast.

One climbs a cliff; one in his boat is borne,
And ploughs above, where late he sow'd his
corn.

Others o'er chimney-tops and turrets row,
And drop their anchors on the meads below:
Or downward driven, they bruise the tender
vine,

Or toss'd aloft, are knock'd against a pine
And where of late the kids had cropp'd the
grass,

The monsters of the deep now take their place.
Insulting Nereids on the cities ride,
And wondering dolphins o'er the palace glide.
On leaves, and masts of mighty oaks they browse,
And their broad fins entangle in the boughs.
The frightened wolf now swims among the sheep;
The yellow lion wanders in the deep:

His rapid force no longer helps the boar:
The stag swims faster than he ran before.
The fowls, long beating on their wings in vain,
Despair of land, and drop into the main.

Now hills and vales no more distinction know,
And level'd nature lies oppress'd below.
The most of mortals perish in the flood,
The small remainder dies for want of food.
A mountain of stupendous height there stands
Betwixt the Athenian and Boeotian lands,
The bound of fruitful fields, while fields they
were,

But then a field of waters did appear:
Parnassus is its name; whose forky rise
Mounts through the clouds, and mates the lofty
skies.

High on the summit of this dubious cliff,
Deucalion waiting moor'd his little cliff
He with his wife were only left behind
Of perish'd man; they two were human kind.
The mountain-nymphs and Themis they adore,
And from her oracles relief implore.

The most upright of mortal men was he;
The most sincere and holy woman, she.

When Jupiter, surveying earth from high,
Beheld it in a lake of water lie,
That, where so many millions lately lived,
But two, the best of either sex, survived,

He loosed the northern wind; fierce Boreas flies
To puff away the clouds, and purge the skies:
Serenely, while he blows, the vapours driven
Discover heaven to earth, and earth to heaven.

The billows fall, while Neptune lays his mace
On the rough sea, and smooths its furrow'd face.
Already Triton, at his call, appears
Above the waves; a Tyrian robe he wears;
And in his hand a crooked trumpet bears.

The sovereign bids him peaceful sounds inspire,
 And give the waves the signal to retire.
 His withren shell he takes, whose narrow vent
 Grows by degrees into a large extent; 455
 Then gives it breath; the blast, with doubling
 sound,
 Runs the wide circuit of the world around.
 The sun first heard it, in his early East,
 And met the rattling echoes in the West.
 The waters, listening to the trumpet's roar, 460
 Obey the summons, and forsake the shore.
 A thin circumference of land appears,
 And Earth, but not at once, her visage rears,
 And peeps upon the seas from upper grounds:
 The streams, but just contain'd within their 465
 bounds,
 By slow degrees into their channels crawl;
 And earth increases as the waters fall.
 In longer time the tops of trees appear,
 Which mud on their dishonour'd branches bear.
 At length the world was all restored to view, 470
 But desolate, and of a sickly hue:
 Nature beheld herself, and stood aghast,
 A dismal desert, and a silent waste
 Which when Deucalion, with a piteous look,
 Beheld, he wept, and thus to Pyrrha spoke: 475
 Oh, wife, oh sister, oh of all thy kind
 The best and only creature left behind,
 By kindred, love, and now by dangers join'd;
 Of multitudes, who breathed the common air, 480
 We two remain; a species in a pair,
 The rest the seas have swallow'd, nor have we
 E'en of this wretched life a certainty.
 The clouds are still above, and, while I speak,
 A second deluge o'er our heads may break.
 Should I be snatch'd from hence, and thou re- 485
 main,
 Without relief, or partner of thy pain,
 How could'st thou such a wretched life sustain?
 Should I be left, and thou be lost, the sea,
 That buried her I loved, should bury me.
 Oh, could our father his old arts inspire, 490
 And make me heir of his informing fire,
 That so I might abolish'd man retrieve,
 And perish'd people in new souls might live!
 But Heaven is pleas'd, nor ought we to complain,
 That we, the examples of mankind, remain. 495
 He said: the careful couple join their tears,
 And then invoke the gods, with pious prayers.
 Thus in devotion having eased their grief,
 From sacred oracles they seek relief:
 And to Cephissus brook their way pursue: 500
 The stream was troubled, but the ford they
 knew.
 With living waters in the fountain bred,
 They sprinkle first their garments, and their head,
 Then took the way which to the temple led.
 The roofs were all defiled with moss and mire, 505
 The desert altars void of solemn fire.
 Before the gradual prostrate they adored,
 The pavement kiss'd; and thus the saint im-
 plored.
 O righteous Themis, if the powers above
 By prayers are bent to pity, and to love; 510
 If human miseries can move their mind,
 If yet they can forgive, and yet be kind,
 Tell how we may restore, by second birth,
 Mankind, and people desolated earth.
 Then thus the gracious goddess, nodding, said: 515
 Depart, and with your vestments veil your head:

And stooping lowly down, with loosen'd zones,
 Throw each behind your backs your mighty
 mother's bones.
 Amazed the pair, and mute with wonder, stand,
 Till Pyrrha first refused the dire command. 520
 Forbid it Heaven, said she, that I should tear
 Those holy relics from the sepuchre.
 They ponder'd the mysterious words again,
 For some new sense; and long they sought in
 vain.
 At length Deucalion clear'd his cloudy brow, 525
 And said. The dark enigma will allow
 A meaning, which, if well I understand,
 From sacrilege will free the god's command:
 This earth our mighty mother is, the stones 530
 In her capacious body are her bones:
 These we must cast behind. With hope, and fear,
 The woman did the new solution hear: -
 The man diffides in his own augury,
 And doubts the gods; yet both resolve to try.
 Descending from the mount, they first unbind 535
 Their vests, and, veil'd, they cast the stones
 behind:
 The stones (a miracle to mortal view,
 But long tradition makes it pass for true)
 Did first the rigour of their kind expel,
 And supplid into softness as they fell; 540
 Then swell'd, and, swelling, by degrees grew
 warm,
 And took the rudiments of human form;
 Imperfect shapes, in marble such are seen,
 When the rude chisel does the man begin;
 While yet the roughness of the stone remains, 545
 Without the rising muscles, and the veins.
 The sappy parts, and next resembling juice,
 Were turn'd to moisture, for the body's use:
 Supplying humours, blood, and nourishment:
 The rest, too solid to receive a bent, 550
 Converts to bones; and what was once a vein,
 Its former name and nature did retain.
 By help of power divine, in little space,
 What the man threw assumed a manly face;
 And what the wife, renew'd the female race. 555
 Hence we derive our nature, born to bear,
 Laborious life, and harden'd into care.
 The rest of animals from teeming earth,
 Produced in various forms, received their birth.
 The native moisture, in its close retreat, 560
 Digested by the sun's ethereal heat,
 As in a kindly womb, began to breed:
 Then swell'd, and quicken'd by the vital seed.
 And some in less, and some in longer space, 564
 Were ripen'd into form, and took a several fate.
 Thus when the Nile from Pharan fields is fled,
 And seeks, with ebbing tides, his ancient bed,
 The fat manure with heavenly fire is warm'd,
 And crusted creatures, as in wombs, are form'd:
 These, when they turn the glebe, the peasants 570
 find:
 Some rude, and yet unfinish'd in their kind:
 Short of their limbs, a lame imperfect birth;
 One half alive, and one of lifeless earth.
 For heat and moisture, when in bodies join'd,
 The temper that results from either kind, 575
 Conception makes; and fighting, till they mix,
 Their mingled atoms in each other fix.
 Thus nature's hand the genial bed prepares
 With friendly discord, and with fruitful wars.
 From hence the surface of the ground with mud
 And slime besmear'd (the feces of the flood) 581

Received the rays of heaven ; and sucking in
The seeds of heat, new creatures did begin :
Some were of several sorts produced before ;
But of new monsters earth created more. 655
Unwillingly, but yet she brought to light
Thee, Python, too, the wondering world to fright,
And the new nations, with so dire a sight.
So monstrous was his bulk, so large a space
Did his vast body and long train embrace : 660
Whom Phœbus basking on a bank espied,
Ere now the god his arrows had not tried
But on the trembling deer, or mountain-goat ;
At this new quarry he prepares to shoot.
Though every shaft took place, he spent the
store 665
Of his full quiver ; and 'twas long before
The expiring serpent wallow'd in his gore.
Then to preserve the fame of such a deed,
For Python slain, he Pythian games decreed,
Where noble youths for mastership should
strive,
To quoit, to run, and steeds and chariots drive. 671
The prize was fame, in witness of renown,
An oaken garland did the victor crown.
The laurel was not yet for triumphs borne,
But every green alike by Phœbus worn 685
Did, with promiscuous grace, his flowing locks
adorn.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF DAPHNE INTO A LAUREL.

THE first and fairest of his loves was she,
Whom not blind fortune, but the dire decree
Of angry Cupid forced him to desire :
Daphne her name, and Peneus was her sire. 610
Swell'd with the pride that new success attends,
He sees the stripling, while his bow he bends,
And thus insults him : Thou lascivious boy,
Are arms like these for children to employ ?
Know, such achievements are my proper claim ; 615
Due to my vigour and unerring aim :
Resistless are my shafts, and Python late,
In such a feather'd death, has found his fate.
Take up thy torch, and lay my weapons by ;
With that the feeble souls of lovers fry. 620
To whom the son of Venus thus replied :
Phœbus, thy shafts are sure on all beside ;
But mine on Phœbus : mine the fame shall be
Of all thy conquests, when I conquer thee.
He said, and soaring swiftly wing'd his flight ; 625
Nor stopp'd but on Parnassus' airy height.
Two different shafts he from his quiver draws ;
One to repel desire, and one to cause.

Ver. 610. *Daphne her name.* I shall not disturb and disgust the reader, in these notes, by a series of mythological tales, and histories of the heathen gods, but in humble imitation of Addison in his remarks subjoined to his translations of Ovid, from time to time endeavour to point out his beauties and blemishes, especially the mixture of false wit and false brilliancy so conspicuous in this hasty and fertile writer. And though we may frequently praise him, cannot possibly assent to an outrageous paradox advanced by Dryden, "that Ovid excels Virgil in the pathetic, and particularly in describing the effects of the passion of love." I. R. J. WATSON.

One shaft is pointed with refulgent gold,
To bribe the love, and make the lover bold : 630
One blunt, and tipp'd with lead, whose base alloy
Provokes disdain, and drives desire away.
The blunted bolt against the nymph he dress'd,
But with the sharp transfix'd Apollo's breast.
The enamour'd deity pursues the chase ; 635
The scornful damsel shrives his loathed embrace ;
In hunting beasts of prey her youth employs ;
And Phoebe rivals in her rural joys.
With naked neck she goes, and shoulders bare,
And with a fillet binds her flowing hair. 640
By many suitors sought, she mocks their pains,
And still her vow'd virginity maintains.
Impatient of a yoke, the name of bride
She shuns, and hates the joys she never tried.
On wilds and wood she fixes her desire : 645
Nor knows what youth and kindly love inspire.
Her father chides her oft : Thou ow'st, says he,
A husband to thyself, a son to me.
She, like a crime, abhors the nuptial bed :
She glows with blushes, and she hangs her head.
Then, casting round his neck her tender arms, 651
Soothes him with blandishments, and filial charms :
Give me, my lord, she said, to live and die
A spotless maid, without the marriage-tie.
'Tis but a small request ; I beg no more 655
Than what Diana's father gave before.
The good old sire was soften'd to consent ;
But said her wish would prove her punishment :
For so much youth, and so much beauty join'd,
Opposed the state which her desires design'd. 660
The god of light, aspiring to her bed,
Hopes what he seeks, with flattering fancies fed ;
And is by his own oracles misled.
And as in empty fields the stubble burns,
Or nightly travellers, when day returns, 665
Their useless torches on dry hedges throw,
That catch the flames, and kindle all the row ;
So burns the god, consuming in desire,
And feeding in his breast the fruitless fire :
Her well-turn'd neck he view'd (her neck was
bare) 670
And on her shoulders her dishevell'd hair :
Oh, were it comb'd, said he, with what a grace
Would every waving curl become her face !
He view'd her eyes, like heavenly lamps that shone ;
He view'd her lips, too sweet to view alone, 675
Her taper fingers, and her panting breast ;
He prizes all he sees, and for the rest,
Believes the beauties yet unseen are best.
Swift as the wind, the damsel fled away,
Nor did for these alluring speeches stay : 680
Stay, nymph, he cried, I follow, not a foe :
Thus from the lion trips the trembling doe ;
Thus from the wolf the frighten'd lamb removes,
And from pursuing falcons fearful doves ; 684
Thou shunn'st a god, and shunn'st a god that loves.
Ah, lest some thorn should pierce thy tender foot,
Or thou should'st fall in flying my pursuit !
To sharp uneven ways thy steps decline ;
Abate thy speed, and I will bate of mine.
Yet think from whom thou dost so rashly fly ; 690
Nor basely born, nor shepherd's swain am I.
Perhaps thou know'st not my superior state ;
And from that ignorance proceeds thy hate.
Me Claros, Delphos, Tenedos obey ;
These hands the Pataraean sceptre sway. 696
The king of gods begot me : what shall he,
Or is, or ever was, in fate, I see.

Mine is the invention of the charming lyre;
Sweet notes, and heavenly numbers I inspire. 700
Sure is my bow, unerring is my dart;
But, ah, more deadly his, who pierced my heart!
Med'cine is mine; what herbs and simples grow
In fields and forests, all their powers I know;
And am the great physician call'd below. 705
Alas, that fields and forests can afford
No remedies to heal their love-sick lord!
To cure the pains of love, no plant avails;
And his own physic the physician fails
She heard not half, so furiously she flies,
And on her ear the imperfect accent dies. 710
Fear gave her wings; and as she fled, the wind
Increasing spread her flowing hair behind;
And left her legs and thighs exposed to view;
Which made the god more eager to pursue.
The god was young, and was too hotly bent 715
To lose his time in empty compliment:
But led by love, and fired by such a sight,
Impetuously pursued his near delight.
As when the impatient greyhound, slipt from
far,
Bounds o'er the glebe, to course the fearful
hare, 720
She in her speed does all her safety lay;
And he with double speed pursues the prey;
O'erruns her at the fitting turn, and licks
His chaps in vain, and blows upon the flax:
She 'scapes, and for the neighb'ring covert strives,
And gaining shelter, doubts if yet she lives: 725
If little things with great we may compare,
Such was the god, and such the flying fair:
She, urged by fear, her feet did swiftly move,
But he more swiftly, who was urged by love 730
He gathers ground upon her in the chase;
Now breathes upon her hair, with nearer pace;
And just is fastening on the wish'd embrace.
The nymph grew pale, and in a mortal fright,
Spent with the labour of so long a flight, 735
And now despairing, cast a mournful look
Upon the streams of her paternal brook:
Oh, help, she cried, in this extremest need,
If water-gods are deities indeed:
Gape, Earth, and this unhappy wretch entomb: 740
Or change my form whence all my sorrows come!
Scarce had she finish'd, when her feet she found
Benumb'd with cold, and fasten'd to the ground:
A filmy rind about her body grows,
Her hair to leaves, her arms extend to boughs. 745
The nymph is all into a laurel gone,
The smoothness of her skin remains alone.
Yet Phœbus loves her still, and casting round
Her hole his arms, some little warmth he found.
The tree still panted in the unfinish'd part, 750
Not wholly vegetive, and heaved her heart.
He fix'd his lips upon the trembling rind;
It swerved aside, and his embrace declined.
To whom the god. Because thou canst not be
My mistress, I espouse thee for my tree: 755
Be thou the prize of honour and renown;
The deathless poet, and the poem, crown.
Thou shalt the Roman festivals adorn,
And, after poets, be by victors worn.
Thou shalt returning Caesar's triumph grace; 760
When pomps shall in a long procession pass:
Wreathed on the post before his palace wait;
And be the sacred guardian of the gate:
Secure from thunder, and unharm'd by Jove,
Unfading as the immortal powers above: 765

And as the locks of Phœbus are unshorn,
So shall perpetual green thy boughs adorn.
The grateful tree was pleased with what he said,
And shook the shady honours of her head.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF IO INTO
AN HEIFER.

AN ancient forest in Thessalia grows, 770
Which Tempe's pleasant valley does enclose:
Through this the rapid Peneus takes his course,
From Pindus rolling with impetuous force:
Mists from the river's mighty fall arise,
And deadly damps enclose the cloudy skies: 775
Perpetual fogs are hanging o'er the wood,
And sounds of waters deaf the neighbourhood.
Deep in a rocky cave he makes abode;
A mansion proper for a mourning god.
Here he gives audience; issuing out decrees 780
To rivers, his dependent deities.
On this occasion hither they resort,
To pay their homage, and to make their court;
All doubtful, whether to congratulate
His daughter's honour, or lament her fate. 785
Sperchæus, crown'd with poplar, first appears;
Then old Apidanus came, crown'd with years:
Enipeus turbulent, Amphrysos tame;
And Eas last, with lagging waters, came.
Then of his kindred brooks a numerous throng
Condole his loss, and bring their urns along. 790
Not one was wanting of the watery train,
That fill'd his flood, or mingled with the main,
But Inachus, who, in his cave alone,
Wept not another's losses, but his own; 795
For his dear Io, whether stray'd, or dead,
To him uncertain, doubtful tears he shed.
He sought her through the world, but sought in
vain;
And, nowhere finding, rather fear'd her slain.
Her just returning from her father's brook, 800
Jove had beheld, with a desiring look;
And, Oh, fair daughter of the flood, he said,
Worthy alone of Jove's imperial bed,
Happy, whoever shall those charms possess!
The king of gods (nor is thy lover less) 805
Invites thee to yon cooler shades, to shun
The scorching rays of the meridian sun.
Nor shalt thou tempt the dangers of the grove
Alone without a guide; thy guide is Jove.
No puny power, but he, whose high command 810
Is unconfin'd, who rules the seas and land,
And tempers thunder in his awful hand.
Oh, fly not; for she fled from his embrace
O'er Lerna's pastures: he pursued the chase 815
Along the shades of the Lyrcæan plain.
At length the god, who never asks in vain,
Involved with vapours, imitating night,
Both air and earth; and then suppress'd her
flight,
And, mingling force with love, enjoy'd the full
delight. 820
Meantime the jealous Juno, from on high,
Survey'd the fruitful fields of Arcady;
And wonder'd that the mist should overrun
The face of daylight, and obscure the sun.

No natural cause she found, from brooks or bogs,
 Or marshy lowlands, to produce the fogs :
 Then round the skies she sought for Jupiter,
 Her faithless husband ; but no Jove was there.
 Suspecting now the worst, Or I, she said,
 Am much mistaken, or am much betray'd.
 With fury she precipitates her flight,
 Disperses the shadows of dissembled night,
 And to the day restores his native light.
 The almighty lecher, careful to prevent
 The consequence, foreseeing her descent,
 Transforms his mistress in a trice ; and now
 In Io's place appears a lovely cow.
 So sleek her skin, so faultless was her make,
 E'en Juno did unwilling pleasure take
 To see so fair a rival of her love ;
 And what she was, and whence, inquired of
 Jove.

Of what fair herd, and from what pedigree ?
 The god, half-caught, was forced upon a lie ;
 And said she sprung from earth. She took the
 word,

And begg'd the beauteous heifer of her lord.
 What should he do ? 'twas equal shame to Jove
 Or to relinquish, or betray his love :
 Yet to refuse ⁸²⁵ a slight a gift, would be
 But more to increase his consort's jealousy :
 Thus fear, and love, by turns his heart assail'd ;
 And stronger love had sure at length prevail'd,
 But some faint hope remain'd, his jealous queen
 Had not the mistress through the heifer seen.
 The cautious goddess, of her gift possess'd,
 Yet harbour'd anxious thoughts within her
 breast ;

As she who knew the falsehood of her Jove,
 And justly fear'd some new relapse of love :
 Which to prevent, and to secure her care,
 To trusty Argus she commits the fair.

The head of Argus (as with stars the skies)
 Was compass'd round, and wore an hundred
 eyes.

But two by turns their lids in slumber steep ;
 The rest on duty still their station keep ;
 Nor could the total constellation sleep.
 Thus, ever present to his eyes and mind,
 His charge was still before him, though behind. ⁸⁵⁵
 In fields he suffer'd her to feed by day ;
 But, when the setting sun to night gave way,
 The captive cow he summon'd with a call,
 And drove her back, and tied her to the stall.
 On leaves of trees and bitter herbs she fed,
 Heaven was her canopy, bare earth her bed ;
 So hardly lodged : and to digest her food,
 She drank from troubled streams, defiled with
 mud.

Her woful story fain she would have told,
 With hands upheld, but had no hands to hold. ⁸⁷⁵
 Her head to her ungentle keeper bow'd,
 She strove to speak ; she spoke not, but she low'd.
 Affrighted with the noise, she look'd around,
 And seem'd to inquire the author of the sound.

Once on the banks where often she had
 play'd,

(Her father's banks) she came, and there survey'd
 Her alter'd visage, and her branching head ;
 And, starting, from herself she would have fled.
 Her fellow-nymphs, familiar to her eyes,
 Beheld, but knew her not in this disguise. ⁸⁸⁵
 Ev'n Inachus himself was ignorant ;
 And in his daughter did his daughter want.

She follow'd where her fellows went, as she
 Were still a partner of the company.
 They stroke her neck ; the gentle heifer stands,
 And her neck offers to their stroking hands.
 Her father gave her grass ; the grass she took ;
 And lick'd his palms, and cast a piteous look ;
 And in the language of her eyes she spoke.
 She would have told her name, and ask'd relief,
 But, wanting words, in tears she tells her grief :
 Which with her foot she makes him understand ;
 And prints the name of Io in the sand.
 Ah, wretched me ! her mournful father cried ;
 She, with a sigh, to wretched me replied :
 About her milk-white neck his arms he threw,
 And wept, and then these tender words ensue.
 And art thou she, whom I have sought around
 The world, and have at length so sadly found ?
 So found, is worse than lost : with mutual
 words

Thou answer'st not, no voice thy tongue affords :
 But sighs are deeply drawn from out thy
 breast ;

And speech denied by lowing is express'd.
 Unknowing, I prepared thy bridal bed ;
 With empty hopes of happy issue fed.
 But now the husband of a herd must be
 Thy mate, and bellowing sons thy progeny.
 Oh, were I mortal, death might bring relief !
 But now my godhead but extends my grief ;
 Prolongs my woes, of which no end I see,
 And makes me curse my immortality. ⁹¹⁵
 More had he said, but fearful of her stay,
 The starry guardian drove his charge away,
 To some fresh pasture ; on a hilly height
 He sat himself, and kept her still in sight. ⁹²⁰

THE EYES OF ARGUS TRANSFORMED INTO A PEACOCK'S TRAIN.

Now Jove no longer could her sufferings bear :
 But call'd in haste his airy messenger,
 The son of Maia, with severe decree
 To kill the keeper, and to set her free.
 With all his harness soon the god was sped ;
 His flying hat was fasten'd on his head ;
 Wings on his heels were hung, and in his hand
 He holds the virtue of the snaky wand.
 The liquid air his moving pinions wound,
 And, in the moment, shoot him on the ground.
 Before he came in sight, the crafty god
 His wings dismiss'd, but still retain'd his rod :
 That sleep-procuring wand wise Hermes took,
 But made it seem to sight a shepherd's hook.
 With this he did a herd of goats control ;
 Which by the way he met, and slyly stole.
 Clad like a country swain, he piped, and sung ;
 And, playing, drove his jolly troop along.

With pleasure Argus the musician heeds ;
 But wonders much at those new vocal reeds. ⁹⁴⁰
 And, Whoso'er thou art, my friend, said he,
 Up hither drive thy goats, and play by me :
 This hill has browse for them, and shade for thee.
 The god, who was with ease induced to climb,
 Began discourse to pass away the time ;

And still, betwixt, his tuneful pipe he plies ;
 And watch'd his hour, to close the keeper's eyes.
 With much ado, he partly kept awake ;
 Not suffering all his eyes repose to take :
 And ask'd the stranger, who did reeds invent, 950
 And whence began so rare an instrument.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF SYRINX INTO REEDS.

THEN Hermes thus : A nymph of late there was,
 Whose heavenly form her fellows did surpass.
 The pride and joy of fair Arcadia's plains ;
 Belov'd by deities, adored by swains : 955
 Syrinx her name, by Sylvans oft pursued,
 As oft she did the lustful gods delude :
 The rural and the woodland powers disdain'd ;
 With Cynthia hunted, and her rites maintain'd ;
 Like Phœbe clad, e'en Phœbe's self she seems, 960
 So tall, so straight, such well-proportion'd limbs :
 The nicest eye did no distinction know,
 But that the goddess bore a golden bow :
 Distinguish'd thus, the sight she cheated too.
 Descending from Lyceus, Pan admires 965
 The matchless nymph, and burns with new de-
 sires.

A crown of pine upon his head he wore ;
 And thus began her pity to implore.
 But ere he thus began, she took her flight
 So swift, she was already out of sight : 970
 Nor stay'd to hear the courtship of the god ;
 But bent her course to Ladon's gentle flood :
 There by the river stopp'd, and, tired before,
 Relief from water-nymphs her prayers implore.

Now while the lustful god, with speedy pace, 975
 Just thought to strain her in a strict embrace,
 He fills his arms with reeds, new rising on the
 place.

And while he sighs his ill success to find,
 The tender canes were shaken by the wind ;
 And breathed a mournful air, unheard before ; 980
 That, much surprising Pan, yet pleased him
 more.

Admiring this new music, Thou, he said,
 Who canst not be the partner of my bed,
 At least shalt be the consort of my mind ;
 And often, often, to my lips be join'd : 985
 He form'd the reeds, proportion'd as they are :
 Unequal in their length, and wax'd with care,
 They still retain the name of his ungrateful fair.

While Hermes piped, and sung, and told his
 tale,
 The keeper's winking eyes began to fail, 990
 And drowsy slumber on the lids to creep ;
 Till all the watchman was at length asleep.
 Then soon the god his voice and song suppress'd ;
 And with his powerful rod confirm'd his rest :
 Without delay his crooked fauchion drew, 995
 And at one fatal stroke the keeper slew.
 Down from the rock fell the dis sever'd head,
 Opening its eyes in death, and falling bled ;
 And mark'd the passage with a crimson trail :
 Thus Argus lies in pieces, cold and pale ; 1000
 And all his hundred eyes, with all their light,
 Are closed at once in one perpetual night.

These Juno takes, that they no more may fail,
 And spreads them in her peacock's gaudy tail.

Impatient to revenge her injured bed, 1005
 She wreaks her anger on her rival's head ;
 With furies frights her from her native home,
 And drives her gadding round the world to roam :
 Nor ceased her madness and her flight, before
 She touch'd the limits of the Pharian shore. 1010
 At length, arriving on the banks of Nile,
 Wearied with length of ways, and worn with toil,
 She laid her down : and, leaning on her knees,
 Invoked the cause of all her miseries :
 And cast her languishing regards above, 1015
 For help from heaven, and her ungrateful Jove.
 She sigh'd, she wept, she low'd ; 'twas all she
 could ;

And with unkindness seem'd to tax the god.
 Last, with an humble prayer, she begg'd repose,
 Or death at least to finish all her woes. 1020
 Jove heard her vows, and with a flattering look,
 In her behalf to jealous Juno spoke.
 He cast his arms about her neck, and said :
 Dame, rest secure ; no more thy nuptial bed
 This nymph shall violate ; by Styx I swear, 1025
 And every oath that binds the Thunderer.
 The goddess was appeased ; and at the word
 Was lo to her former shape restored.
 The rugged hair began to fall away ;
 The sweetness of her eyes did only stay, 1030
 Though not so large ; her crooked horns de-
 crease ;

The wideness of her jaws and nostrils cease :
 Her hoofs to hands return, in little space ;
 The five long taper fingers take their place ;
 And nothing of the heifer now is seen, 1035
 Beside the native whiteness of her skin.
 Erected on her feet she walks again,
 And two the duty of the four sustain.
 She tries her tongue, her silence softly breaks,
 And fears her former lowings when she speaks :
 A goddess now through all the Egyptian state ;
 And served by priests, who in white linen wait.

Her son was Epaphus, at length believed
 The son of Jove, and as a god received.
 With sacrifice adored, and public prayers, 1040
 He common temples with his mother shares.
 Equal in years, and rival in renown
 With Epaphus, the youthful Phaëton
 Like honour claims, and boasts his sire the Sun.
 His haughty looks, and his assuming air, 1045
 The son of Isis could no longer bear :
 Thou tak'st thy mother's word too far, said he,
 And hast usurp'd thy boasted pedigree.
 Go, base pretender to a borrow'd name !
 Thus tax'd, he blush'd with anger, and with 1050
 shame ;

But shame repress'd his rage: the daunted youth
 Soon seeks his mother, and inquires the truth :
 Mother, said he, this infamy was thrown
 By Epaphus on you, and me your son. 1055
 He spoke in public, told it to my face ;
 Nor durst I vindicate the dire disgrace :
 Ev'n I, the bold, the sensible of wrong,
 Restrain'd by shame, was forced to hold my
 tongue.

To hear an open slander, is a curse ;
 But not to find an answer, is a worse. 1060

Ver. 1024. Dame, rest! A vulgar form indeed, unworthy
 of the god. Dr J. WATSON.

If I am heaven-begot, assert your son
By some sure sign; and make my father
known;

To right my honour, and redeem your own.
He said, and saying cast his arms about
Her neck, and begg'd her to resolve the doubt.

'Tis hard to judge if Clymené were moved ¹⁰⁷¹
More by his prayer, whom she so dearly loved,
Or more with fury fired, to find her name
Traduced, and made the sport of common fame.
She stretch'd her arms to heaven, and fix'd her
eyes ¹⁰⁷⁵

On that fair planet that adorns the skies;
Now by those beams, said she, whose holy fires
Consume my breast, and kindle my desires;
By him who sees us both, and cheers our sight,
By him, the public minister of light, ¹⁰⁸⁰
I swear that Sun begot thee: if I lie,
Let him his cheerful influence deny:
Let him no more this perjured creature see,
And shine on all the world but only me.
If still you doubt your mother's innocence, ¹⁰⁸⁵
His eastern mansion is not far from hence;
With little pains you to his levee go,
And from himself your parentage may know.
With joy the ambitious youth his mother heard,
And eager for the journey soon prepared. ¹⁰⁹⁰
He longs the world beneath him to survey;
To guide the chariot, and to give the day:
From Merce's burning sands he bends his course,
Nor less in India feels his father's force;
His travel urging, till he came in sight, ¹⁰⁹⁵
And saw the palace by the purple light.

MELEAGER AND ATALANTA.

OUT OF THE EIGHTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

Connection to the former Story.

Ovid, having told how Theseus had freed Athens from the
tribute of children, which was imposed on them by Minos,
king of Crete, by killing the Minotaur, here makes a
digression to the story of Meleager and Atalanta, which
is one of the most interesting connections in all the
Metamorphoses: for he only says, that Theseus obtained
such honour from that combat, that all Greece had re-
course to him in their necessities; and, amongst others,
Calydon, though the hero of that country, prince Meleager,
was then living.

From him the Calydonians sought relief;
Though valiant Meleagrus was their chief.
The cause, a boar, who ravaged far and near,
Of Cynthia's wrath the avenging minister.
For Gæus, with autumnal plenty bless'd, ⁵
By gifts to heaven his gratitude express'd:
Cull'd sheafs, to Ceres; to Lyæus, wine;
To Pan, and Pales, offer'd sheep and kine;
And fat of olives to Minerva's shrine.
Beginning from the rural gods, his hand ¹⁰
Was liberal to the powers of high command:
Each derry in every kind was bless'd,
Till at Diana's fane the inviolous honour ceased.
Wrath touches ev'n the gods; the queen of night
Fired with disdain, and jealous of her right, ¹⁵

Unhonour'd though I am, at least, said she,
Not unrevenged that impious act shall be.
Swift as the word, she sped the boar away,
With charge on those devoted fields to prey. ²⁰
No larger bulls the Egyptian pastures feed,
And none so large Sicilian meadows breed:
His eye-balls glare with fire, suffused with blood;
His neck shoots up a thick-set thorny wood;
His bristled back a trench impaled appears, ²⁵
And stands erected, like a field of spears.
Froth fills his chaps, he sends a grunting sound,
And part he churns, and part befoams the ground.
For tasks with Indian elephants he strove,
And Jove's own thunder from his mouth he drove.
He burns the leaves; the scorching blast invades
The tender corn, and shrivels up the blades: ³¹
Or, suffering not their yellow beards to rear,
He tramples down the spikes, and intercepts the
year.

In vain the barns expect their promised load,
Nor barns at home, nor reeks are heap'd abroad:
In vain the hinds the threshing-floor prepare, ³⁵
And exercise their flails in empty air.
With olives ever green the ground is strow'd,
And grapes ungather'd shed their generous blood.
Amid the fold he rages, nor the sheep ⁴⁰
Their shepherds, nor the grooms their bulls can
keep.

From fields to walls the frighted rabble run,
Nor think themselves secure within the town:
Till Meleagrus, and his chosen crew,
Contemn the danger, and the praise pursue. ⁴⁵
Fair Leda's twins, (in time to stars decreed)
One fought on foot, one curb'd the fiery steed;
Then issued forth famed Jason after these,
Who mann'd the foremost ship that sail'd the
seas;

Then Theseus, join'd with bold Pirithous, came, ⁵⁰
A single concord, in a double name:
The Thestian sons, Idas who swiftly ran,
And Cæneus, once a woman, now a man.
Lynceus, with eagle's eyes, and lion's heart;
Leucippus, with his never-erring dart; ⁵⁵
Acastus, Phileus, Phoenix, Telamon,
Echion, Lelex, and Eurytion,
Achilles' father, and great Phocus' son;
Dryas the fierce, and Hippasus the strong;
With twice old Iolas, and Nestor then but young. ⁶¹
Laërtes active, and Anceus bold;
Mopsus the sage, who future things foretold;
And t' other seer yet by his wife unsold.
A thousand others of immortal fame;
Among the rest fair Atalanta came, ⁶⁵
Grace of the woods: a diamond buckle bound
Her vest behind, that else had flow'd upon the
ground,

And show'd her buskin'd legs; her head was
bare,
But for her native ornament of hair;
Which in a simple knot was tied above, ⁷⁰
Sweet negligence, unheeded bait of love!
Her sounding quiver on her shoulder tied,
One hand a dart, and one a bow supplied.
Such was her face, as in a nymph display'd
A fair fierce boy, or in a boy betray'd ⁷⁵
The blushing beauties of a modest maid.
The Calydonian chief at once the dame
Beheld, at once his heart received the flame,
With heavens averse. Oh happy youth, he cried;
For whom thy fates reserve so fair a bride! ⁸⁰

He sigh'd, and had no leisure more to say;
His honour call'd his eyes another way,
And forced him to pursue the now neglected prey.

There stood a forest on the mountain's brow,
Which overlook'd the shaded plains below. ⁸⁵
No sounding axe presumed those trees to bite;
Coëval with the world, a venerable sight.
The heroes there arrived, some spread around
The toils, some search the footsteps on the ground,
Some from the chains the faithful dogs unbound.
Of action eager, and intent on thought, ⁹¹
The chiefs their honourable danger sought:
A valley stood below; the common drain
Of waters from above, and falling rain:
The bottom was a moist and marshy ground, ⁹⁵
Whose edges were with bending osiers crown'd;
The knotty bulrush next in order stood,
And all within of reeds a trembling wood.

From hence the boar was roused, and sprung
amain,

Like lightning sudden, on the warrior-train; ¹⁰⁰
Beats down the trees before him, shakes the
ground,

The forest echoes to the crackling sound;
Shout the fierce youth, and clamours ring around.
All stood with their protended spears prepared,
With broad steel heads the brandish'd weapons
glared. ¹⁰⁵

The beast impetuous with his tusks aside
Deals glancing wounds; the fearful dogs divide:
All spend their mouth aloft, but none abide.
Echion threw the first, but miss'd his mark,
And stuck his boar-spear on a maple's bark. ¹¹⁰
Then Jason; and his javelin seem'd to take,
But fail'd with over-force, and whizz'd above his
back.

Mopsus was next; but, ere he threw, address'd
To Phœbus thus: O patron, help thy priest;
If I adore, and ever have adored. ¹¹⁵
Thy power divine, thy present aid afford;
That I may reach the beast. The god allow'd
His prayer, and, smiling, gave him what he could:
He reach'd the savage, but no blood he drew;
Dian unarm'd the javelin as it flew. ¹²⁰

This chafed the boar; his nostrils flames expire,
And his red eyeballs roll with living fire.
Whirl'd from a sling, or from an engine thrown,
Amidst the foes, so flies a mighty stone,
As flew the beast; the left wing put to flight, ¹²⁵
The chiefs o'erborne, he rushes on the right.
Empalamos and Pelagon he laid
In dust, and next to death, but for their fellows' aid.
Onesimus fared worse, prepared to fly;
The fatal fang drove deep within his thigh, ¹³⁰
And out the nerves; the nerves no more sustain
The bulk; the bulk unpropp'd falls headlong on
the plain.

Nestor had fail'd the fall of Troy to see,
But, leaning on his lance, he vaulted on a tree; ¹³⁴
Then gathering up his feet, look'd down with fear,
And thought his monstrous foe was still too near.
Against a stump his tusk the monster grinds,
And in the sharpen'd edge new vigour finds; ¹³⁸
Then, trusting to his arms, young Othrys found,
And ranch'd his hips with one continued wound.
Now Leda's twins, the future stars, appear; ¹⁴¹
White were their habits, white their horses were;
Conspicuous both, and both in act to throw,
Their trembling lances brandish'd at the foe:

Nor had they miss'd; but he to thickets fled, ¹⁴⁵
Conceal'd from aiming spears, not perrious to the
steed.

But Telamon rush'd in, and happ'd to meet
A rising root, that held his fasten'd feet;
So down he fell, whom, sprawling on the ground,
His brother from the wooden gyves unbound. ¹⁵⁰
Meantime the virgin-huntress was not slow
To expel the shaft from her contracted bow:
Beneath his ear the fasten'd arrow stood,
And from the wound appear'd the trickling blood.
She blush'd for joy; but Meleagrus raised ¹⁵⁵
His voice with loud applause, and the fair archer
praised.

He was the first to see, and first to show
His friends the marks of the successful blow.
Nor shall thy valour want the praises due,
He said; a virtuous envy seized the crew. ¹⁶⁰
They shout; the shouting animates their hearts,
And all at once employ their thronging darts;
But out of order thrown, in air they join;
And multitude makes frustrate the design.

With both his hands the proud Anceus takes ¹⁶⁵
And flourishes his double-biting axe:
Then forward to his fate, he took a stride
Before the rest, and to his fellows cried,
Give place, and mark the difference, if you can,
Between a woman-warrior and a man; ¹⁷⁰
The boar is doom'd; nor, though Diana lend
Her aid, Diana can her beast defend.

Thus boasted he; then stretch'd, on tiptoe stood,
Secure to make his empty promise good.
But the more wary beast prevents the blow, ¹⁷⁵
And upward rips the groin of his audacious foe.
Anceus falls; his bowels from the wound
Rush out, and clotted blood distains the ground.

Pirithous, no small portion of the war,
Press'd on, and shook his lance; to whom from far,
Thus Theseus cried: O stay, my better part, ¹⁸¹
My more than mistress; of my heart, the heart:
The strong may fight aloof: Anceus tried
His force too near, and by presuming died:
He said, and, while he spake, his javelin threw;
Hissing in air the unerring weapon flew; ¹⁸⁶
But on an arm of oak, that stood betwixt
The marksman and the mark, his lance he fix'd.

Once more bold Jason threw, but fail'd to wound
The boar, and slew an undeserving hound; ¹⁹¹
And through the dog the dart was nail'd to
ground.

Two spears from Meleager's hand were sent,
With equal force, but various in the event:
The first was fix'd in earth, the second stood
On the boar's bristled back, and deeply drank his
blood. ¹⁹⁶

Now while the tortured salvage turns around,
And fings about his foam, impatient of the wound;
The wound's great author close at hand provokes
His rage, and plies him with redoubled strokes;
Wheels as he wheels; and with his pointed dart
Explores the nearest passage to his heart. ²⁰¹
Quick and more quick he spins in giddy gyres,
Then falls, and in much foam his soul expires.
This act with shouts heaven-high the friendly band
Applaud, and strain in theirs the victor's hand. ²⁰⁵
Then all approach the slain with vast surprise,
Admire on what a breadth of earth he lies;
And, scarce secure, reach out their spears afar,
And blood their points, to prove their partner
ship of war.

But he, the conquering chief, his foot impress'd²¹⁰
On the strong neck of that destructive beast;
And gazing on the nymph with ardent eyes,
Accept, said he, fair Nonacrine, my prize;
And, though inferior, suffer me to join
My labours, and my part of praise, with thine:²¹⁵
At this presents her with the tusk's head
And chine, with rising bristles roughly spread.
Glad, she received the gift; and seem'd to take
With double pleasure, for the giver's sake.
The rest were seized with sullen discontent,²²⁰
And a deaf murmur through the squadron went:
All envied; but the Thesbian brethren show'd
The least respect, and thus they vent their spleen
aloud:

Lay down those honour'd spoils, nor think to share,

Weak woman as thou art, the prize of war:²²⁵
Ours is the title, thine a foreign claim,
Since Meleagrus from our lineage came.
Trust not thy beauty; but restore the prize,
Which he, besotted on that face and eyes,
Would rend from us. At this, inflamed with spite,²³⁰
From her they snatch the gift, from him the giver's right.

But soon the impatient prince his fauchion drew,
And cried, Ye robbers of another's due,
Now learn the difference, at your proper cost,
Betwixt true valour, and an empty boast.²³⁵
At this advanced, and sudden as the word,
In proud Plexippus' bosom plunged the sword:
Toxeus amazed, and with amazement slow
Or to revenge, or ward the coming blow,
Stood doubting; and, while doubting thus he stood,²⁴⁰

Received the steel bathed in his brother's blood.

Pleased with the first, unknown the second news,
Althæa to the temples pays their dues
For her son's conquest; when at length appear
Her grisly brethren stretch'd upon the bier:²⁴⁵
Pale, at the sudden sight, she changed her cheer,
And with her cheer her robes; but hearing tell
The cause, the manner, and by whom they fell,
'Twas grief no more, or grief and rage were one
Within her soul; at last 'twas rage alone;²⁵⁰
Which burning upwards in succession dries
The tears that stood considering in her eyes.

There lay a log unlighted on the earth:
When she was labouring in the throes of birth
For the unborn chief, the fatal sisters came,²⁵⁵
And raised it up, and toss'd it on the flame:
Then on the rock a scanty measure place
Of vital flax, and turn'd the wheel apace;
And turning sung, To this red brand and thee,
O new-born babe, we give an equal destiny:²⁶⁰
So vanish'd out of view. The frighted dame
Sprung hasty from her bed, and quench'd the flame:
The log, in secret lock'd, she kept with care,
And that, while thus preserved, preserved her heir.
This brand she now produced; and first she strows²⁶⁵

The hearth with heaps of chips, and after blows;
Thrice heaved her hand, and heaved, she thrice
repress'd:

The sister and the mother long contest,
Two doubtful titles in one tender breast;
And now her eyes and cheeks with fury glow,²⁷⁰
Now pale her cheeks, her eyes with pity flow;
Now lowering looks prestage approaching storms,
And now prevailing love her face reforms:

Resolved, she doubts again; the tears, she dried
With blushing rage, are by new tears supplied;²⁷⁵
And as a ship, which winds and waves assual,
Now with the current drives, now with the gale,
Both opposite, and neither long prevail,
She feels a double force, by turns obeys
The imperious tempest, and the impetuous
seas:²⁸⁰

So fares Althæa's mind; first she relents
With pity, of that pity then repents:
Sister and mother long the scales divide,
But the beam nodded on the sister's side.
Sometimes she softly sigh'd, then roar'd aloud;²⁸⁵
But sighs were stifled in the cries of blood.

The pious impious wretch at length decreed,
To please her brother's ghosts, her son should bleed;

And when the funeral flames began to rise,
Receive, she said, a sister's sacrifice:²⁹⁰
A mother's bowels burn: high in her hand,
Thus while she spoke, she held the fatal brand;
Then thrice before the kindled pile she bow'd,
And the three Furies thrice invoked aloud:

Come, come, revenging sisters, come and view²⁹⁵
A sister paying her dead brothers' due;
A crime I punish, and a crime commit;
But blood for blood, and death for death is fit:
Great crimes must be with greater crimes repaid,
And second funerals on the former laid.³⁰⁰
Let the whole household in one ruin fall,
And may Diana's curse o'ertake us all.
Shall fate to happy Ceneus still allow

One son, while Thestius stands deprived of two?
Better three lost, than one unpunish'd go.³⁰⁵
Take then, dear ghosts, (while yet, admitted new
In hell, you wait my duty) take your due,
A costly offering on your tomb is laid,
When with my blood the price of yours is paid.

Ah! whither am I hurried? Ah! forgive,³¹⁰
Ye shades, and let your sister's issue live;
A mother cannot give him death; though he
Deserves it, he deserves it not from me.

Then shall the unpunish'd wretch insult the
slain,
Triumphant live? not only live, but reign?³¹⁵
While you, thin shades, the sport of winds are
toss'd

O'er dreary plains, or tread the burning coast.
I cannot, cannot bear: 'tis past, 'tis done;
Perish this impious, this detested son;
Perish his sire, and perish I withal;³²⁰
And let the house's heir, and the hoped kingdom
fall.

Where is the mother fled, her pious love,
And where the pains with which ten months I
strove!

Ah! hadst thou died, my son, in infant years,
Thy little hearse had been bedew'd with tears.³²⁵
Thou liv'st by me; to me thy breath resign;
Mine is the merit, the demerit thine.

Ver. 295. *Come, come, revenging sisters,*] Ovid seems
here to imitate Catullus:

"Quare, facta virum multantes vindice pona
Eumenides, quibus angustio redimita capillo.
Frons exspirantis preportat pectoris iras,
Huc, huc adventate, meas audite querelas."

JOHN WARTON.

Ibid. *Come come,*] Here are six admirable lines.

Dr. J. WARTON.

Thy life by double title I require ;
Once given at birth, and once preserved from
fire :

One murder pay, or add one murder more, 330
And me to them who fell by thee restore.

I would, but cannot : my son's image stands
Before my sight ; and now their angry hands
My brothers hold, and vengeance these exact,
This pleads compassion, and repents the fact. 335

He pleads in vain, and I pronounce his doom :
My brothers, though unjustly, shall o'ercome.
But having paid their injured ghosts their due,
My son requires my death, and mine shall his
pursue.

At this for the last time she lifts her hand, 340
Averts her eyes, and half unwilling drops the
brand.

The brand, amid the flaming fuel thrown,
Or drew, or seem'd to draw, a dying groan ;
The fires themselves but faintly lick'd their
prey,
Then loathed their impious food, and would have
shrunk away. 345

Just then the hero cast a doleful cry,
And in those absent flames began to fry :
The blind contagion rag'd within his veins ;
But he with manly patience bore his pains ;
He fear'd not fate, but only grieved to die 350
Without an honest wound, and by a death so
dry.

Happy Ancæus, thrice aloud he cried,
With what becoming fate in arms he died !
Then call'd his brothers, sisters, sire, around,
And her to whom his nuptial vows were bound ;
Perhaps his mother ; a long sigh he drew, 355
And his voice failing, took his last adieu :
For as the flames augment, and as they stay
At their full height, then languish to decay,
They rise, and sunk by fits ; at last they soar 360
In one bright blaze, and then descend no more :
Just so his inward heats, at height, impair,
Till the last burning breath shoots out the soul
in air.

Now lofty Calydon in ruins lies ;
All ages, all degrees, unshut their eyes ; 365
And heaven and earth resound with murmurs,
groans, and cries.

Matrons and maidens beat their breasts, and
tear
Their habits, and root up their scatter'd hair.
The wretched father, father now no more,
With sorrow sunk, lies prostrate on the floor, 370
Deforms his hoary locks with dust obscene,
And curses age, and loathes a life prolong'd with
pain.

By steel her stubborn soul his mother freed,
And punish'd on herself her impious deed.
Had I a hundred tongues, a wit so large 375
As could their hundred offices discharge ;
Had Phœbus all his Helicon bestow'd,
In all the streams inspiring all the god ;
Those tongues, that wit, those streams, that god
in vain

Would offer to describe his sisters' pain : 380
They beat their breasts with many a bruising
blow,

Till they turn livid, and corrupt the snow.
The corpse they cherish, while the corpse re-
mains,
And exercise and rub with fruitless pains ;

And when to funeral flames 'tis borne away, 385
They kiss the bed on which the body lay ;
And when those funeral flames no longer burn,
(The dust compos'd within a pious urn)
Ev'n in that urn their brother they confess,
And hug it in their arms, and to their bosoms
press. 390

His tomb is raised ; then, stretch'd along the
ground,
Those living monuments his tomb surround :
Ev'n to his name, inscribed, their tears they
pay,

Till tears and kisses wear his name away.
But Cynthia now had all her fury spent, 395
Not with less ruin, than a race, content :
Excepting Gorge, perish'd all the seed,
And her whom Heaven for Hercules decreed.
Satiated at last, no longer she pursued
The weeping sisters ; but with wings indued, 400
And horny beaks, and sent to flit in air ;
Who yearly round the tomb in feather'd flocks
reapir.

BAUCIS AND PHILEMON.

OUT OF THE EIGHTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

The author, pursuing the deeds of Theseus, relates how he, with his friend Pirithous, were invited by Achelous, the river god, to stay with him, till his waters were abated. Achelous entertains them with a relation of his own love to Perimele, who was changed into an island by Neptune, at his request. Pirithous, being an atheist, derides the legend, and denies the power of the gods to work that miracle. Lelæx, another companion of Theseus, to confirm the story of Achelous, relates another metamorphosis of Baucis and Philemon into trees ; of which he was partly an eye-witness.

Thus Achelous ends : his audience hear
With admiration, and, admiring, fear
The powers of heaven ; except Ixion's son,
Who laugh'd at all the gods, believed in none ;
He shook his impious head, and thus replies : 5
These legends are no more than pious lies :
You attribute too much to heavenly sway,
To think they give us forms, and take away.

The rest, of better minds, their sense declared
Against this doctrine, and with horror heard. 10

Then Lelæx rose, an old experienced man,
And thus with sober gravity began :
Heaven's power is infinite : earth, air, and sea,
The manufacture mass, the making power obey :
By proof to clear your doubt ; in Phrygian 15
ground

Two neighb'ring trees, with walls encompass'd
round,

Stand on a moderate rise, with wonder shown,
One a hard oak, a softer linden one :
I saw the place and them, by Pitheus sent
To Phrygian realms, my grandsire's govern- 20
ment.

Not far from thence is seen a lake, the haunt
Of coots, and of the fishing cormorant :
Here Jove with Hermes came ; but in disguise
Of mortal men conceal'd their deities :

One laid aside his thunder, one his rod ;
 And many toilsome steps together trod ;
 For harbour at a thousand doors they knock'd,
 Not one of all the thousand but was lock'd.
 At last an hospitable house they found,
 An homely shed ; the roof, not far from ground,
 Was thatch'd with reeds and straw together
 bound.

There Baucis and Philemon lived, and there
 Had lived long married, and a happy pair :
 Now old in love ; though little was their store,
 Inured to want, their poverty they bore,
 Nor aim'd at wealth, professing to be poor.
 For master or for servant here to call,
 Was all alike, where only two were all.
 Command was none, where equal love was paid,
 Or rather both commanded, both obey'd.

From lofty roofs the gods repulsed before,
 Now stooping, enter'd through the little door ;
 The man (their hearty welcome first express'd)
 A common settle drew for either guest,
 Inviting each his weary limbs to rest.
 But ere they sat, officious Baucis lays
 Two cushions stuff'd with straw, the seat to raise ;
 Coarse, but the best she had ; then takes the
 load

Of ashes from the hearth, and spreads abroad
 The living coals, and, lest they should expire,
 With leaves and barks she feeds her infant fire :
 It smokes, and then with trembling breath she
 blows,

Till in a cheerful blaze the flames arose.
 With brushwood and with chips she strengthens
 these,

And adds at last the boughs of rotten trees.
 The fire thus form'd, she sets the kettle on,
 (Like burnish'd gold the little seether shone)
 Next took the coleworts which her husband got
 From his own ground (a small well-water'd spot ;
 She stripp'd the stalks of all their leaves ; the
 best

She cull'd, and then with handy care she dress'd.
 High o'er the hearth a chine of bacon hung ;
 Good old Philemon seized it with a prong,
 And from the sooty rafter drew it down,
 Then cut a slice, but scarce enough for one :
 Yet a large portion of a little store,
 Which for their sakes alone he wish'd were more.
 This in the pot he plunged without delay,
 To tame the flesh, and drain the salt away.

The time between, before the fire they sat,
 And shorten'd the delay by pleasing chat.
 A beam there was, on which a beechen pail
 Hung by the handle, on a driven nail :
 This fill'd with water, gently warm'd, they set
 Before their guests ; in this they bathed their
 feet,

And after with clean towels dried their sweat.
 This done, the host produced the genial bed ;
 Sallow the foot, the borders, and the stead,
 Which with no costly coverlet they spread ;
 But coarse old garments, yet such robes as these
 They laid alone, at feasts, on holidays.

The good old housewife, tucking up her gown,
 The table sets ; the invited gods lie down.
 The trivet-table of a foot was lame,
 A blot which prudent Baucis overcame,
 Who thrust beneath the limping leg a shard,
 So was the mended board exactly reard :
 Then rubb'd it o'er with newly gather'd mint ;

A wholesome herb, that breathed a grateful scent.
 Pallas began the feast, where first was seen
 The party-colour'd olive, black and green :
 Autumnal cornels next in order served,
 In lees of wine well pickled and preserved :
 A garden salad was the third supply,
 Of endive, radishes, and succory :

Then curds and cream, the flower of country fare,
 And new-laid eggs, which Baucis' busy care
 Turn'd by a gentle fire, and roasted rare.

All these in earthenware were served to board ;
 And, next in place, an earthen pitcher, stored
 With liquor of the best the cottage could afford.
 This was the table's ornament and pride,

With figures wrought : like pages at his side
 Stood beechen bowls ; and these were shining clean,
 Varnish'd with wax without, and lined within.

By this the boiling kettle had prepared,
 And to the table sent the smoking lard ;
 On which with eager appetite they dine,
 A savoury bit, that served to relish wine :

The wine itself was suiting to the rest,
 Still working in the must, and lately press'd.
 The second course succeeds like that before ;
 Plums, apples, nuts, and, of their wintry store,

Dry figs and grapes, and wrinkled dates were set
 In canisters, to enlarge the little treat :
 All these a milk-white honeycomb surround,
 Which in the midst the country banquet crown'd.

But the kind hosts their entertainment grace
 With hearty welcome, and an open face ;
 In all they did, you might discern with ease
 A willing mind, and a desire to please.

Meantime the beechen bowls went round, and
 still,

Though often emptied, were observed to fill,
 Fill'd without hands, and of their own accord
 Ran without feet, and danced about the board.

Devotion seized the pair, to see the feast
 With wine, and of no common grape, increased ;
 A d up they held their hands, and fell to prayer,
 Excusing, as they could, their country fare.

One goose they had (twas all they could allow)
 A wakeful sentry, and on duty now,
 Whom to the gods for sacrifice they vow :

Her, with malicious zeal, the couple view'd ;
 She ran for life, and, lumping, they pursued :
 Full well the fowl perceived their bad intent,
 And would not make her master's compliment ;

But, persecuted, to the powers she flies,
 And close between the legs of Jove she lies.
 He, with a gracious ear, the suppliant hears,
 And saved her life ; then what he was declared,

And own'd the god. The neighbourhood, said he,
 Shall justly perish for impiety :
 You stand alone exempted ; but obey
 With speed, and follow where we lead the way :

Leave these accursed ; and to the mountain's
 height

Ascend ; nor once look backward in your flight.
 They haste, and what their tardy feet denied,
 The trusty staff (their better leg) supplied.

An arrow's flight they wanted to the top,
 And there secure, but spent with travel, stop ;
 Then turn their now no more forbidden eyes ;
 Lost in a lake the floated level lies :

A watery desert covers all the plains,
 Their cot alone, as in an isle remains :
 Wondering with peeping eyes, while they deplore
 Their neighbours' fate, and country now no more,

Their little shed, scarce large enough for two,
Seems, from the ground increased, in height and
bulk to grow.

A stately temple shoots within the skies :
The crotchets of their cot in columns rise : 160
The pavement polish'd marble they behold,
The gates with sculpture graced, the spires and
tiles of gold.

Then thus the sire of gods, with looks serene,
Speak thy desire, thou only just of men ;
And thou, O woman, only worthy found 165
To be with such a man in marriage bound.

Awhile they whisper ; then, to Jove address'd,
Philemon thus prefers their joint request :
We crave to serve before your sacred shrine,
And offer at your altars rites divine : 170
And since not any action of our life
Has been polluted with domestic strife,
We beg one hour of death ; that neither she
With widow's tears may live to bury me,
Nor weeping I, with wither'd arms, may bear 175
My breathless Baucis to the sepulchre.

The godheads sign their suit. They run their
race
In the same tenor all the appointed space ;
Then, when their hour was come, while they
relate

These past adventures at the temple-gate, 180
Old Baucis is by old Philemon seen
Sprouting with sudden leaves of sprightly green :
Old Baucis look'd where old Philemon stood,
And saw his lengthen'd arms a sprouting wood :
New roots their fasten'd feet begin to bind, 185
Their bodies stiffen in a rising rind :
Then, ere the bark above their shoulders grew,
They give and take at once their last adieu ;
At once, Farewell, oh faithful spouse, they said ;
At once the encroaching rinds their closing lips 190
invade.

Ev'n yet, an ancient Tyanæan shows
A spreading oak, that near a linden grows ;
The neighbourhood confirm the prodigy,
Grave men, not vain of tongue, or like to lie. 195
I saw myself the garlands on their boughs,
And tablets hung for gifts of granted vows ;
And offering fresher up, with pious prayer,
The good, said I, are God's peculiar care,
And such as honour Heaven shall heavenly honour
share.

THE

FABLE OF IPHIS AND IANTHE.

FROM THE NINTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

THE fame of this, perhaps, through Crete had
flown ;

But Crete had newer wonders of her own,
In Iphis changed ; for near the Gnosian bounds,
(As loud report the miracle resounds)
At Phæstus dwelt a man of honest blood, 5
But meanly born, and not so rich as good ;
Esteem'd and loved by all the neighbourhood :

Who to his wife, before the time assign'd
For childbirth came, thus bluntly spoke his mind :
If Heaven, said Lygdus, will vouchsafe to hear, 10
I have but two petitions to prefer ;
Short pains for thee, for me a son and heir.
Girls cost as many throes in bringing forth ;
Beside, when born, the nits are little worth ;
Weak puling things, unable to sustain 15
Their share of labour, and their bread to gain.
If, therefore, thou a creature shalt produce,
Of so great charges, and so little use,
(Bear witness, Heaven, with what reluctance)
Her hapless innocence I doom to die. 20
He said, and tears the common grief display,
Of him who bade, and her who must obey.

Yet Telethusa still persists, to find
Fit arguments to move a father's mind ;
To extend his wishes to a larger scope, 25
And in one vessel not confine his hope.
Lygdus continues hard : her time drew near,
And she her heavy load could scarcely bear ;
When slumbering, in the latter shades of night,
Before the approaches of returning light, 30
She saw, or thought she saw, before her bed,
A glorious train, and Isis at their head :
Her moony horns were on her forehead placed,
And yellow sheaves her shining temples graced :
A mitre, for a crown, she wore on high ; 35
The dog and dappled bull were waiting by ;
Osiris, sought along the banks of Nile,
The silent god ; the sacred crocodile ;
And, last, a long procession moving on,
With timbrels, that assist the labouring moon. 40
Her slumbers seem'd dispell'd, and, broad awake,
She heard a voice that thus distinctly spake :
My votary, thy babe from death defend,
Nor fear to save what'er the gods will send
Delude with art thy husband's dire decree : 45
When danger calls, repose thy trust on me ;
And know thou hast not served a thankless deity.
This promise made, with night the goddess fled :
With joy the woman wakes, and leaves her bed :
Devoutly lifts her spotless hands on high, 50
And prays the Powers their gift to ratify.

Now grinding pains proceed to bearing throes,
Till its own weight the burden did disclose.
'Twas of the beauteous kind, and brought to light
With secrecy, to shun the father's sight. 55
The indulgent mother did her care employ,
And pass'd it on her husband for a boy.
The nurse was conscious of the fact alone :
The father paid his vows as for a son ;
And call'd him Iphis, by a common name, 60
Which either sex with equal right may claim.
Iphis his grandsire was : the wife was pleased,
Of half the fraud by fortune's favour eased :
The doubtful name was used without deceit,
And truth was cover'd with a pious cheat. 65
The habit show'd a boy, the beauteous face
With manly fierceness mingled female grace.

Now thirteen years of age were swiftly run,
When the fond father thought the time drew on
Of settling in the world his only son. 70
Ianthé was his choice ; so wondrous fair,
Her form alone with Iphis could compare :
A neighbour's daughter of his own degree,
And not more bless'd with Fortune's good than he.
They soon espoused : for they with ease were 75
join'd,
Who were before contracted in the mind.

Their age the same, their inclinations too ;
 And bred together in one school they grew.
 Thus, fatally disposed to mutual fires,
 They felt, before they knew, the same desires. 80
 Equal their flame, unequal was their care :
 One loved with hope, one languish'd in despair.
 The maid accused the lingering days alone :
 For whom she thought a man, she thought her
 own.

But Iphis bends beneath a greater grief : 85
 As fiercely burns, but hopes for no relief.
 E'en her despair adds fuel to her fire :
 A maid with madness does a maid desire.
 And, scarce refraining tears, Alas ! said she,
 What issue of my love remains for me ! 90
 How wild a passion works within my breast !
 With what prodigious flames am I possess'd !
 Could I the care of Providence deserve,
 Heaven must destroy me, if it would preserve.
 And that's my fate, or sure it would have sent 95
 Some usual evil for my punishment :
 Not this unkindly curse ; to rage and burn,
 Where Nature shows no prospect of return.
 Nor cows for cows consume with fruitless fire :
 Nor mares, when hot, their fellow-mares desire :
 The father of the fuld supplies his ewes ; 101
 The stag through secret woods his hind pursues ;
 And birds for mates the males of their own species
 choose.

Her females nature guards from female flame,
 And joins two sexes to preserve the game : 105
 Would I were nothing, or not what I am !
 Crete, famed for monsters, wanted of her store,
 Till my new love produced one monster more.
 The daughter of the Sun a bull desired,
 And yet e'en then a male a female fired : 110
 Her passion was extravagantly new :
 But mine is much the madder of the two.
 To things impossible she was not bent,
 But found the means to compass her intent.
 To cheat his eyes she took a different shape ; 115
 Yet still she gain'd a lover, and a leap.
 Should all the wit of all the world conspire,
 Should Dædalus assist my wild desire,
 What art can make me able to enjoy,
 Or what can change Lanthé to a boy ? 120
 Extinguish then thy passion, hopeless maid,
 And re-collect thy reason for thy aid ;
 Know what thou art, and love as maidens
 ought,

And drive these golden wishes from thy thought.
 Thou canst not hope thy fond desires to gain ; 125
 Where hope is wanting, wishes are in vain.
 And yet no guards against our joys conspire ;
 No jealous husband hinders our desire :
 My parents are propitious to my wish,
 And she herself consenting to the bliss. 130
 All things concur to prosper our design :
 All things to prosper any love but mine.
 And yet I never can enjoy the fair :
 'Tis past the power of Heaven to grant my
 prayer.

Heaven has been kind, as far as Heaven can be ; 135
 Our parents with our own desires agree ;
 But Nature, stronger than the gods above,
 Refuses her assistance to my love ;
 She sets the bar that causes all my pain :
 One gift refused makes all their bounty vain. 140
 And now the happy day is just at hand,
 To bind our hearts in Hymen's holy band :

Our hearts, but not our bodies : thus accursed,
 In midst of water I complain of thirst.
 Why com'st thou, Juno, to these barren rites, 1
 To bless a bed defrauded of delights ?
 And why should Hymen lift his torch on high,
 To see two brides in cold embraces lie ?

Thus love-sick Iphis her vain passion mourns 1
 With equal ardour fair Lanthé burns,
 Invoking Hymen's name, and Juno's power,
 To speed the work, and haste the happy hour.

She hopes, while Telethusa fears the day,
 And strives to interpose some new delay :
 Now feigns a sickness, now is in a fright 11
 For this bad omen, or that boding sight.
 But having done what'er she could devise,
 And emptied all her magazine of lies,
 The time approach'd, the next ensuing day 11
 The fatal secret must to light betray.
 Then Telethusa had recourse to prayer,
 She and her daughter with dishevell'd hair ;
 Trembling with fear, great Isis they adored,
 Embraced her altar, and her aid implored :

Fair queen, who dost on fruitful Egypt smile, 16
 Who sway'st the sceptre of the Pharian isle,
 And sevenfold falls of disemboguing Nile ;
 Relieve, in this our last distress, she said,
 A suppliant mother, and a mournful maid.
 Thou, goddess, thou wert present to my sight ; 171
 Reveal'd I saw thee by thy own fair light :
 I saw thee in my dream, as now I see,
 With all thy marks of awful majesty :
 The glorious train that compass'd thee around ;
 And heard the hollow timbrel's holy sound. 175
 Thy words I noted, which I still retain ;
 Let not thy sacred oracles be vain.
 That Iphis lives, that I myself am free
 From shame, and punishment, I owe to thee.
 On thy protection all our hopes depend : 180
 Thy counsel saved us, let thy power defend.
 Her tears pursued her words, and while she
 spoke,

The goddess nodded, and her altar shook :
 The temple doors, as with a blast of wind,
 Were heard to clap ; the lunar horns, that bind 186
 The brows of Isis, cast a blaze around ;
 The trembling timbrel made a murmuring sound.

Some hopes these happy omens did impart ;
 Forth went the mother with a beating heart,
 Not much in fear, nor fully satisfied ; 190
 But Iphis follow'd with a larger stride :
 The whiteness of her skin forsook her face :
 Her looks embolden'd with an awful grace :
 Her features and her strength together grew,
 And her long hair to curling locks withdrew. 195
 Her sparkling eyes with manly vigour shone ;
 Big was her voice, audacious was her tone.
 The latent parts, at length reveal'd, began
 To shoot, and spread, and burnish into man.
 The maid becomes a youth ; no more delay 200
 Your vows, but look, and confidently pay.
 Their gifts the parents to the temple bear :
 The votive tables this inscription wear :
 Iphis, the man, has to the goddess paid
 The vows that Iphis offer'd when a maid. 206

Now when the star of day had shown his face,
 Venus and Juno with their presence grace
 The nuptial rites, and Hymen from above
 Descended to complete their happy love ;
 The gods of marriage lend their mutual aid, 210
 And the warm joyous the lovely maid.

PYGMALION AND THE STATUE.

FROM THE TENTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

The Propoetides, for their impudent behaviour, being turned into stone by Venus, Pygmalion, prince of Cyprus, detested all women for their sake, and resolved never to marry. He falls in love with a statue of his own making, which is changed into a maid, whom he marries. One of his descendants is Cinyras, the father of Myrrha: the daughter incestuously loves her own father, for which she is changed into a tree which bears her name. These two stories immediately follow each other, and are admirably well connected.

PYGMALION loathing their lascivious life,
Abhorr'd all womankind, but most a wife :
So single chose to live, and shunn'd to wed,
Well pleas'd to want a consort of his bed :
Yet fearing idleness, the nurse of ill,
In sculpture exercised his happy skill ;
And carved in ivory such a maid, so fair,
As nature could not with his art compare,
Were she to work ; but in her own defence,
Must take her pattern here, and copy hence.
Pleased with his idol, he commends, admires,
Adores ; and last, the thing adored desires.
A very virgin in her face was seen,
And, had she moved, a living maid had been :
One would have thought she could have stirr'd ;
but strove

With modesty, and was ashamed to move.
Art, hid with art, so well perform'd the cheat,
It caught the carver with his own deceit :
He knows 'tis madness, yet he must adore,
And still the more he knows it, loves the more :
The flesh, or what so seems, he touches oft,
Which feels so smooth, that he believes it soft.
Fired with this thought, at once he strain'd the
breast,

And on the lips a burning kiss impress'd.
Tis true, the harden'd breast resists the gripe,
And the cold lips return a kiss unripe :
But when, retiring back, he look'd again,
To think it ivory was a thought too mean :
So would believe she kiss'd, and courting more,
Again embraced her naked body o'er ;
And straining hard the statue, was afraid
His hands had made a dint, and hurt the maid :
Explored her, limb by limb, and fear'd to find
So rude a gripe had left a livid mark behind :
With flattery now he seeks her mind to move,
And now with gifts, the powerful bribes of love :
He furnishes her closet first ; and fills
The crowded shelves with rarities of shells :
Adds orient pearls, which from the conchs he drew,
And all the sparkling stones of various hue :
And parrots, imitating human tongue,
And singing-birds in silver cages hung ;

And every fragrant flower in his garden,
Were sorted well, with tumps of amber laid
between :

Rich, fashionable robes her person clad,
Pendants her ears, and pearls adorn her neck.
Her taper'd fingers too with rings are graced,
And an embroider'd zone surrounds her slender
waist.

Thus like a queen array'd, so richly dress'd,
Beauteous she show'd, but naked show'd the best.
Then from the floor, he raised a royal bed,
With coverings of Sidonian purple spread :
The solemn rites perform'd, he calls her bride.
With blandishments invites her to his side,
And as she were with vital sense possess'd,
Her head did on a plummy pillow rest.

The feast of Venus came, a solemn day,
To which the Cypriots due devotion pay ;
With gilded horns the milk-white heifers led,
Slaughter'd before the sacred altars, bled :
Pygmalion offering, first approach'd the shrine,
And then with prayers implored the powers divine :
Almighty gods, if all we mortals want,
If all we can require, be yours to grant ;
Make this fair statue mine, he would have said,
But changed his words for shame, and only pray'd,
Give me the likeness of my ivory maid.

The golden goddess, present at the prayer,
Well knew he meant the inanimated fair,
And gave the sign of granting his desire ;
For thrice in cheerful flames ascends the fire.
The youth, returning to his mistress, lies,
And, impudent in hope, with ardent eyes,
And beating breast, by the dear statue lies.
He kisses her white lips, renews the bliss,
And looks and thinks they redder at the kiss :
He thought them warm before ; nor longer stays,
But next his hand on her hard bosom lays :
Hard as it was, beginning to relent,
It seem'd the breast beneath his fingers bent ;
He felt again, his fingers made a print,
'Twas flesh, but flesh so firm, it rose against the
dint.

The pleasing task he fails not to renew :
Soft, and more soft at every touch it grew :
Like pliant wax, when chafing hands reduce
The former mass to form, and frame to use.
He would believe, but yet is still in pain,
And tries his argument of sense again,
Presses the pulse, and feels the leaping vein.
Convinced, o'erjoy'd, his studied thanks and praise,
To her who made the miracle, he pays :
Then lips to lips he join'd ; now freed from fear,
He found the favour of the kiss sincere :
At this the waken'd image oped her eyes,
And view'd at once the light and lover, with
surprise.

The goddess present at the match she made,
So bless'd the bed, such fruitfulness convey'd,
That ere ten moons had sharpen'd either horn,
To crown their bliss, a lovely boy was born :
Paphos his name, who, grown to manhood, wall'd
The city Paphos, from the founder call'd.

CINYRAS AND MYRRHA.

OUT OF THE TENTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

There needs no connection of this story with the former; for the beginning of this immediately follows the end of the last: the reader is only to take notice, that Orpheus, who relates both, was by birth a Thracian: and his country far distant from Cyprus, where Myrrha was born, and from Arabia, whither she fled. You will see the reason of this note, soon after the first lines of this fable.

NOR him alone produced the fruitful queen;
But Cinyras, who like his sire had been
A happy prince, had he not been a sire.
Daughters and fathers from my song retire:
I sing of horror: and, could I prevail,
You should not hear, or not believe my tale.
Yet if the pleasure of my song be such,
That you will hear, and credit me too much,
Attentive listen to the last event,
And with the sin believe the punishment:
Since nature could behold so dire a crime,
I gratulate at least my native clime,
That such a land, which such a monster bore,
So far is distant from our Thracian shore.
Let Arabj extol her happy coast,
Her cinnamon and sweet anisum boast,
Her fragrant flowers, her trees with precious tears,
Her second harvest, and her double years;
How can the land be call'd so bless'd that Myrrha
bears?

Not all her odorous tears can cleanse her crime,
Her plant alone deforms the happy clime:
Cupid denies to have inflamed thy heart,
Disavows thy love, and vindicates his dart;
Some fury gave thee those infernal pains,
And shot her venom'd vipers in thy veins.
To hate thy sire, had merited a curse:
But such an impious love deserved a worse.
The neighbouring monarchs, by thy beauty led,
Contend in crowds, ambitious of thy bed:
The world is at thy choice, except but one,
Except but him, thou canst not choose, alone.
She knew it too, the miserable maid,
Ere impious love her better thoughts betray'd,
And thus within her secret soul she said:
Ah, Myrrha! whither would thy wishes tend?
Ye gods, ye sacred laws, my soul defend
From such a crime as all mankind detest,
And never lodged before in human breast!
But is it sin? Or makes my mind alone
The imagined sin! For nature makes it none.
What tyrant then these envious laws began,
Made not for any other beast but man!
The father-bull his daughter may bestride,
The horse may make his mother-mare a bride;
What piety forbids the lusty ram,
Or more salacious goat, to rut their dam?
The hen is free to wed her chick she bore,
And make a husband, whom she hatch'd before.
All creatures else are of a happier kind,
Whom nor ill-natured laws from pleasure bind,
Nor thoughts of sin disturb their peace of mind.
But man a slave of his own making lives:
The fool denies himself what nature gives:

Too busy senates, with an over-care
To make us better than our kind can bear,
Have dash'd a spice of envy in the laws,
And, straining up too high, have spoil'd the
cause.

Yet some wise nations break their cruel chains,
And own no laws, but those which love ordains;
Where happy daughters with their sires are join'd,
And piety is doubly paid in kind.

Oh that I had been born in such a clime,
Not here, where 'tis the country makes the crime!
But whither would my impious fancy stray?
Hence hopes, and ye forbidden thoughts, away!
His worth deserves to kindle my desires,
But with the love that daughters bear to sires.
Then had not Cinyras my father been,
What hinder'd Myrrha's hopes to be his queen?
But the perverseness of my fate is such,
That he's not mine, because he's mine too much:
Our kindred-blood debars a better tie:
He might be nearer, were he not so nigh.
Eyes and their objects never must unite,
Some distance is required to help the sight:
Fain would I travel to some foreign shore,
Never to see my native country more,
So might I to myself myself restore;
So might my mind these impious thoughts remove,
And ceasing to behold, might cease to love.
But stay I must, to feed my famish'd sight,
To talk, to kiss; and more, if more I might:
More, impious maid! What more canst thou
design?

To make a monstrous mixture in thy line,
And break all statutes human and divine?
Canst thou be call'd (to save thy wretched life)
Thy mother's rival, and thy father's wife?
Confound so many sacred names in one,
Thy brother's mother! sister to thy son!
And fear'st thou not to see the infernal bands,
Their heads with snakes, with torches arm'd their
hands?

Full at thy face the avenging brands to bear,
And shake the serpents from their lussing hair?
But thou in time the increasing ill control,
Nor first debauch the body by the soul;
Secure the sacred quiet of thy mind,
And keep the sanctions nature has design'd.
Suppose I should attempt, the attempt were vain;
No thoughts like mine his sinless soul profane:
Observant of the right; and oh, that he
Could cure my madness, or be mad like me!

Thus she; but Cinyras, who daily sees
A crowd of noble suitors at his knees,
Among so many, knew not whom to choose,
Irresolute to grant, or to refuse.
But having told their names, inquired of her,
Who pleased her best, and whom she would
prefer?

The blushing maid stood silent with surprise,
And on her father fix'd her ardent eyes,
And looking sigh'd; and as she sigh'd, began
Round tears to shed, that scalded as they ran.
The tender sire, who saw her blush and cry,
Ascribed it all to maiden modesty;
And dried the falling drops, and yet more kind,
He stroked her cheeks, and holy kisses join'd:
She felt a secret venom fire her blood,
And found more pleasure than a daughter should
And, ask'd again, what lover of the crew
She liked the best; she answer'd, One like you.

Mistaking what she meant, her pious will
He praised, and bade her so continuous still :
The word of Pious heard, she blush'd with shame
Of secret guilt, and could not bear the name

'Twas now the mid of night, when slumbers
close

Our eyes, and soothe our cares with soft repose ;
But no repose could wretched Myrrha find,
Her body rolling, as she roll'd her mind :
Mad with desire, she ruminates her sin,
And wishes all her wishes o'er again :
Now she despairs, and now resolves to try ;
Would not, and would again, she knows not
why ;

Stops, and returns, makes and retracts the vow ;
Fain would begin, but understands not how :
As when a pine is hewn upon the plains,
And the last mortal stroke alone remains,
Labouring in pangs of death, and threatening all,
This way and that she nods, considering where to
fall :

So Myrrha's mind, impell'd on either side,
Takes every bent, but cannot long abide :
Irresolute on which she should rely,
At last unfix'd in all, is only fix'd to die :

On that sad thought she rests ; resolved on death,
She rises, and prepares to choke her breath :
Then while about the beam her zone she ties,
Dear Cinyras, farewell, she softly cries ;
For thee I die, and only wish to be
Not hated, when thou know'st I die for thee :

Pardon the crime, in pity to the cause :
This said, about her neck the noose she draws.
The nurse, who lay without, her faithful guard,
Though not the words, the murmurs overheard,
And sighs, and hollow sounds : surprised with
fright,

She starts, and leaves her bed, and springs a light :
Unlocks the door, and entering out of breath,
The dying saw, and instruments of death.
She shrieks, she cuts the zone with trembling
haste,

And in her arms her fainting charge embraced :
Next (for she now had leisure for her tears)
She weeping ask'd, in these her blooming years,
What unforeseen misfortune caused her care,
To loathe her life, and languish in despair ?
The maid, with downcast eyes, and mute with
grief,

For death unfinish'd, and ill-timed relief,
Stood sullen to her suit : the beldame press'd
The more to know, and bared her wither'd breast ;
Adjured her, by the kindly food she drew
From those dry founts, her secret ill to show.

Sad Myrrha sigh'd, and turn'd her eyes aside :
The nurse still urged, and would not be denied :
Nor only promised secrecy ; but pray'd
She might have leave to give her offer'd aid.

Good will, she said, my want of strength supplies,
And diligence shall give what age denies :
If strong desires thy mind to fury move,
With charms and medicines I can cure thy love :

If envious eyes their hurtful rays have cast,
More powerful verse shall free thee from the blast :
If Heaven offended sends thee this disease,
Offended Heaven with prayers we can appease.

What then remains, that can these cares procure ?
Thy house is flourishing, thy fortune sure :
Thy careful mother yet in health survives,
And, to thy comfort, thy kind father lives.

The virgin started at her father's name,
And sigh'd profoundly, conscious of the shame :
Nor yet the nurse her impious love divin'd :
But yet surmised, that love disturb'd her mind :
Thus thinking, she pursued her point, and laid
And lull'd within her lap the mourning maid ;
Then softly soothed her thus : I guess your
grief :

You love, my child ; your love shall find relief.
My long experienced age shall be your guide ;
Rely on that, and lay distrust aside :
No breath of air shall on the secret blow,
Nor shall (what most you fear) your father
know.

Struck once again, as with a thunder-clap,
The guilty virgin bounded from her lap,
And threw her body prostrate on the bed,
And, to conceal her blushes, hid her head :
There silent lay, and warn'd her with her hand
To go : but she received not the command ;
Remaining still importunate to know :
Then Myrrha thus : Or ask no more, or go :
I pr'ythee go, or staying spare my shame ;
What thou would'st hear, is impious ev'n to
name.

At this, on high the beldame holds her hands,
And trembling, both with age and terror,
stands ;

Adjures, and falling at her feet entreats,
Soothes her with blandishments, and frights with
threats,

To tell the crime intended, or disclose
What part of it she knew, if she no farther
knows :

And last, if conscious to her counsel made,
Confirms anew the promise of her aid.
Now Myrrha raised her head ; but soon op-
press'd

With shame, reclined it on her nurse's breast ;
Bathed it with tears, and strove to have confess'd ;
Twice she began, and stopp'd ; again she tried ;
The faltering tongue its office still denied :
At last her veil before her face she spread,
And drew a long preluding sigh, and said,
O happy mother, in thy marriage-bed !
Then groan'd, and ceased ; the good old woman
shook,

Stiff were her eyes, and ghastly was her look :
Her hoary hair upright with horror stood,
Made (to her grief) more knowing than she
would :

Much she reproach'd, and many things she said,
To cure the madness of the unhappy maid :
In vain : for Myrrha stood convict of ill ;
Her reason vanquish'd, but unchanged her will :
Perverse of mind, unable to reply,

She stood resolved or to possess, or die.
At length the fondness of a nurse prevail'd
Against her better sense, and virtue fail'd :
Enjoy, my child, since such is thy desire,
Thy love, she said ; she durst not say, thy sire.
Live, though unhappy, live on any terms :
Then with a second oath her faith confirms.

The solemn feast of Ceres stoles was near,
When long white linen stoles the matrons
wear ;

Rank'd in procession walk the pious train,
Offering first-fruits, and spikes of yellow grain :
For nine long nights the nuptial bed they shun,
And, sanctifying harvest, lie alone.

Mix'd with the crowd, the queen forsook her lord,

And Ceres' power with secret rites adored: 245

The royal couch now vacant for a time,

The crafty crone, officious in her crime.

The cursed occasion took: the king she found

Easy with wine, and deep in pleasure drown'd,

Prepared for love: the beldame blew the flame,

Confess'd the passion, but conceal'd the name. 251

Her form she praised; the monarch ask'd her years.

And she replied, the same that Myrrha bears.

Wine and commended beauty fired his thought;

Impatient, he commands her to be brought. 255

Pleased with her charge perform'd, she hies her home,

And gratulates the nymph, the task was over-come.

Myrrha was joy'd the welcome news to hear;

But, clogg'd with guilt, the joy was insincere:

So various, so discordant is the mind, 260

That in our will, a different will we find.

Ill she presaged, and yet pursued her lust;

For guilty pleasures give a double gust.

'Twas depth of night: Arctophylax had driven

His lazy wain half round the northern heaven, 265

When Myrrha hasten'd to the crime desired;

The moon beheld her first, and first retired;

The stars amazed ran backward from the sight,

And, shrunk within their sockets, lost their light.

Icarus first withdraws his holy flame: 270

The Virgin sign, in heaven the second name,

Slides down the belt, and from her station flies,

And night with sable clouds involves the skies.

Bold Myrrha still pursues her black intent:

She stumbled thrice, (an omen of the event;) 275

Thrice shriek'd the funeral owl, yet on she went,

Secure of shame, because secure of sight;

Ev'n bashful sins are impudent by night.

Link'd hand in hand, the accomplice and the dame,

Their way exploring, to the chamber came: 280

The door was ope, they blindly grope their way,

Where dark in bed the expecting monarch lay:

Thus far her courage held, but here forsakes;

Her faint knees knock at every step she makes.

The nearer to her crime, the more within 285

She feels remorse, and horror of her sin:

Repents too late her criminal desire,

And wishes, that unknown she could retire.

Her lingering thus, the nurse (who fear'd delay

The fatal secret might at length betray) 290

Pull'd forward, to complete the work begun,

And said to Cinyras, Receive thy own:

Thus saying, she deliver'd kind to kind,

Accused, and their devoted bodies join'd.

The sire, unknowing of the crime, admits 295

His bowels, and profanes the hallow'd sheets.

He found she trembled, but believed she strove,

With maiden modesty, against her love;

And sought with flattering words vain fancies to

remove.

Perhaps he said, My daughter, cease thy fears, 300

(Because the title suited with her years;)

And, Father, she might whisper him again,

That names might not be wanting to the sin.

Full of her sire, she left the incestuous bed,

And carried in her womb the crime she bred: 305

Another, and another night she came;

For frequent sin had left no sense of shame:

Till Cinyras desired to see her face,

Whose body he had held in close embrace, 310

And brought a taper; the revealer, light,

Exposed both crime and criminal to sight:

Grief, rage, amazement, could no speech afford,

But from the sheath he drew the avenging sword;

The guilty fled: the benefit of night,

That favour'd first the sin, secured the flight. 315

Long wandering through the spacious fields, she bent

Her voyage to the Arabian continent;

Then pass'd the region which Panchæa join'd,

And, flying, left the palmy plains behind.

Nine times the moon had mew'd her horns; at 320

length

With travel weary, unsupplied with strength,

And with the burden of her womb oppress'd,

Sabeen fields afford her needful rest:

There, loathing life, and yet of death afraid,

In anguish of her spirit, thus she pray'd: 325

Ye powers, if any so propitious are

To accept my penitence, and hear my prayer,

Your judgments, I confess, are justly sent:

Great sins deserve as great a punishment:

Yet since my life the living will profane, 330

And since my death the happy dead will stain,

A middle state your mercy may bestow,

Betwixt the realms above, and those below:

Some other form to wretched Myrrha give,

Nor let her wholly die, nor wholly live. 335

The prayers of penitents are never vain:

At least, she did her last request obtain;

For, while she spoke, the ground began to rise,

And gather'd round her feet, her legs, and thighs:

Her toes in roots descend, and, spreading wide,

A firm foundation for the trunk provide: 341

Her solid bones convert to solid wood,

To pith her marrow, and to sap her blood:

Her arms are boughs, her fingers change their

kind, 345

Her tender skin is harden'd into rind.

And now the rising tree her womb invests,

Now, shooting upwards still, invades her breasts,

And shades the neck; and, weary with delay,

She sunk her head within, and met it half the way.

And though with outward shape she lost her 350

sense,

With bitter tears she wept her last offence;

And still she weeps, nor sheds her tears in vain;

For still the precious drops her name retain.

Meantime the misbegotten infant grows,

And, ripe for birth, distends with deadly throes

The swelling rind, with unavailing strife, 356

To leave the wooden womb, and pushes into life.

The mother-tree, as if oppress'd with pain,

Writhes here and there, to break the bark, in

vain;

And, like a labouring woman, would have pray'd,

But wants a voice to call Lucia's aid: 361

The bending bole sends out a hollow sound,

And trickling tears fall thicker on the ground.

The mild Lucia came uncall'd, and stood

Beside the struggling boughs, and heard the 365

groaning wood:

Then reach'd her midwife-hand, to speed the

throes,

And spoke the powerful spells that babes to birth

disclose.

The bark divides, the living load to free,

And safe delivers the convulsive tree.

The ready nymphs receive the crying child, ³⁷⁰
 And wash him in the tears the parent plant
 distill'd.
 They swathed him with their scarfs; beneath him
 spread
 The ground with herbs; with roses raised his
 head.
 The lovely babe was born with every grace:
 Ev'n envy must have praised so fair a face: ³⁷⁵
 Such was his form, as painters, when they show
 Their utmost art, on naked loves bestow:
 And that their arms no difference might betray,
 Give him a bow, or his from Cupid take away.
 Time glides along, with undiscover'd haste, ³⁸⁰
 The future but a length behind the past:
 So swift are years: the babe, whom just before
 His grandsire got, and whom his sister bore;
 The drop, the thing which late the tree inclosed,
 And late the yawning bark to life exposed; ³⁸⁵
 A babe, a boy, a beauteous youth appears;
 And lovelier than himself at riper years.
 Now to the queen of love he gave desires,
 And, with her pains, revenged his mother's fires.

CEYX AND ALCYONE.

OUT OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

CONNECTION OF THIS FABLE WITH THE FORMER.

Ceyx, the son of Lucifer (the morning star) and king of
 Trachin, in Thesaly, was married to Alcyone, daughter
 to Æolus, god of the winds. Both the husband and the
 wife loved each other with an entire affection. Dædalion,
 the elder brother of Ceyx, whom he succeeded, having
 been turned into a falcon by Apollo, and Chione, Dædalion's
 daughter, slain by Diana, Ceyx prepares a ship to sail
 to Claros, there to consult the oracle of Apollo, and (as
 Ovid seems to intimate) to enquire how the anger of the
 gods might be atoned.

THESE prodigies affect the pious prince,
 But, more perplex'd with those that happen'd
 since,

He purposes to seek the Clarian god,
 Avoiding Delphos, his more famed abode;
 Since Phlegian robbers made unsafe the road. ⁵
 Yet could not he from her he loved so well,
 The fatal voyage, he resolv'd, conceal:
 But when she saw her lord prepared to part,
 A deadly cold ran shivering to her heart:
 Her faded cheeks are changed to boxen hue, ¹⁰
 And in her eyes the tears are ever new:
 She thrice essay'd to speak; her accents hung,
 And faltering died unfinish'd on her tongue,
 Or vanish'd into sighs: with long delay
 Her voice return'd; and found the wonted way. ¹⁵
 Tell me, my lord, she said, what fault unknown
 Thy once beloved Alcyone has done?
 Whither, ah, whither is thy kindness gone!
 Can Ceyx then sustain to leave his wife,
 And unconcern'd forsake the sweets of life? ²⁰
 What can thy mind to this long journey move,
 Or need'st thou absence to renew thy love?
 Yet, if thou goest by land, though grief possess
 My soul ev'n then, my fears will be the less.
 But ah! be warn'd to shun the watery way, ²⁵
 The face is frightful of the stormy sea.

For late I saw adrift disjointed planks,
 And empty tombs erected on the banks.
 Nor let false hopes to trust betray thy mind,
 Because my sire in caves constrains the wind, ³⁰
 Can with a breath a clamorous rage appease,
 They fear his whistle, and forsake the seas;
 Not so, for, once indulged, they sweep the main,
 Deaf to the call, or, hearing, hear in vain;
 But bent on mischief bear the waves before, ³⁵
 And not content with seas insult the shore;
 When ocean, air, and earth, at once engage,
 And rooted forests fly before their rage:
 At once the clashing clouds to battle move,
 And lightnings run across the fields above: ⁴⁰
 I know them well, and mark'd their rude comport,
 While yet a child, within my father's court:
 In times of tempest they command alone,
 And he but sits precarious on the throne:
 The more I know, the more my fears augment, ⁴⁵
 And fears are oft prophetic of the event.
 But if not fears, or reasons will prevail,
 If fate has fix'd thee obstinate to sail,
 Go not without thy wife, but let me bear
 My part of danger with an equal share, ⁵⁰
 And present suffer what I only fear:
 Then o'er the bounding billows shall we fly,
 Secure to live together, or to die.
 These reasons moved her starlike husband's heart,
 But still he held his purpose to depart: ⁵⁵
 For as he loved her equal to his life,
 He would not to the seas expose his wife;
 Nor could he wrought his voyage to refrain,
 But sought by arguments to soothe her pain;
 Nor these avail'd; at length he lights on one, ⁶⁰
 With which so difficult a cause he won:
 My love, so short an absence cease to fear,
 For, by my father's holy flame, I swear,
 Before two moons their orb with light adorn,
 If Heaven allow me life, I will return. ⁶⁵

This promise of so short a stay prevails:
 He soon equips the ship, supplies the sails,
 And gives the word to launch; she trembling
 views

This pomp of death, and parting tears renews:
 Last, with a kiss, she took a long farewell, ⁷⁰
 Sigh'd, with a sad presage, and swooning fell.
 While Ceyx seeks delays, the lusty crew,
 Raised on their banks, their oars in order drew
 To their broad breasts, the ship with fury flew.

The queen, recover'd, rears her humid eyes, ⁷⁵
 And first her husband on the poop espies,
 Shaking his hand at distance on the main:
 She took the sign, and shook her hand again.
 Still as the ground recedes, retracts her view
 With sharpen'd sight, till she no longer knew ⁸⁰
 The much-loved face; that comfort lost supplies
 With less, and with the galley feeds her eyes;
 The galley borne from view by rising gales,
 She follow'd with her sight the flying sails:
 When ev'n the flying sails were seen no more, ⁸⁵
 Forsaken of all sight, she left the shore.

Then on her bridal bed her body throws,
 And sought in sleep her wearied eyes to close:
 Her husband's pillow, and the widow'd part
 Which once he press'd, renew'd the former ⁹⁰
 smart.

And now a breeze from shore began to blow,
 The sailors ship their oars, and cease to row;
 Then hoist their yards a trip, and all their sails
 Let fall, to court the wind, and catch the gales

By this the vessel half her course had run,
And as much rested till the rising sun;
Both shores were lost to sight, when at the close
Of day, a stiffer gale at east arose:
The sea grew white, the rolling waves from far,
Like heralds, first denounce the watery war. 100

This seen, the master soon began to cry,
Strike, strike the top-sail; let the mainsheet fly,
And furl your sails. The winds repel the sound,
And in the speaker's mouth the speech is drown'd.
Yet of their own accord, as danger taught, 105
Each in his way, officiously they wrought;
Some stow their oars, or stop the leaky sides.
Another bolder yet the yard bestrides,
And folds the sails; a fourth, with labour, laves
The intruding seas, and waves ejects on waves. 110

In this confusion while their work they ply,
The winds augment the winter of the sky,
And wage intestine wars; the suffering seas
Are toss'd, and mungled as their tyrants please.
The master would command, but, in despair 115
Of safety, stands amazed with stupid care,
Nor what to bid, or what forbid, he knows,
The ungovern'd tempest to such fury grows;
Vain is his force, and vainer is his skill:

With such a concourse comes the flood of ill: 120
The cries of men are mix'd with rattling clouds;
Seas dash on seas, and clouds encounter clouds:
At once from east to west, from pole to pole,
The fork lightnings flash, the roaring thunders roll.

Now waves on waves ascending scale the skies,
And, in the fires above, the water fries: 125

When yellow sands are sifted from below,
The glittering billows give a golden show:
And when the fouler bottom spews the black,
The Stygian dye the tainted waters take: 130
Then frothy white appear the flatted seas,
And change their colour, changing their disease.

Like various fits the Trachin vessel finds,
And now sublime she rides upon the winds;
As from a lofty summit looks from high, 135
And from the clouds beholds the nether sky;
Now from the depth of hell they lift their sight,
And at a distance see superior light:

The lashing billows make a loud report,
And beat her sides, as battering-rams a fort: 140
Or as a lion, bounding in his way,
With force augmented bears against his prey,
Sidelong to seize: or, unappall'd with fear,
Springs on the toils, and rushes on the spear:

So seas impell'd by winds with added power 145
Assault the sides, and o'er the hatches tower.
The planks, their pitchy coverings wash'd away,
Now yield; and now a yawning breach display:
The roaring waters, with a hostile tide,
Rush through the ruins of her gaping side. 150

Meantime in sheets of rain the sky descends,
And ocean, swell'd with waters, upwards tends,
One rising, falling one; the heavens and sea
Meet at their confines, in the middle way:

The sails are drunk with showers, and drop with rain,
Sweet waters mingle with the briny main. 155
No star appears to lend his friendly light:
Darkness and tempest make a double night.

But flashing fires disclose the deep by turns,
And while the lightnings blaze, the water burns.
Now all the waves their scatter'd force unite, 160
And as a soldier, foremost in the fight,
Makes way for others, and, an host alone,
Still presses on, and urging gains the town;

So while the invading billows come a-breast, 165
The hero tenth, advanced before the rest,
Sweeps all before him with impetuous sway,
And from the walls descends upon the prey;
Part following enter, part remain without,
With envy hear their fellows' conquering shout,
And mount on others' backs, in hope to share 170
The city, thus become the seat of war.

An universal cry resounds aloud,
The sailors run in heaps, a helpless crowd;
Art fails, and courage falls, no succour near; 175
As many waves, as many deaths appear.

One weeps, and yet despairs of late relief;
One cannot weep, his fears congeal his grief;
But, stupid, with dry eyes expects his fate.
One with loud shrieks laments his lost estate, 180
And calls those happy whom their funerals wait.
Thus wretch with prayers and vows the gods im-
plores,

And ev'n the skies he cannot see adores.
That other on his friends his thoughts bestows,
His careful father, and his faithful spouse 185
The covetous worldling in his anxious mind
Thinks only on the wealth he left behind.

All Ceyx his Alcyone employs,
For her he grieves, yet in her absence joys:
His wife he wishes, and would still be near, 190
Not her with him, but wishes him with her:
Now with last looks he seeks his native shore,
Which fate has destined him to see no more;
He sought, but in the dark tempestuous night
He knew not whither to direct his sight. 195
So whirl the seas, such darkness blinds the sky,
That the black night receives a deeper dye.

The giddy ship ran round; the tempest tore
Her mast, and over-board the rudder bore.
One billow mounts; and with a scornful brow, 200
Proud of her conquest gain'd, insults the waves
below:

Nor lighter falls, than if some giant tore
Pindus and Athos with the freight they bore,
And toss'd on seas, press'd with the ponderous blow
Down sinks the ship within the abyss below: 205
Down with the vessel sink into the main
The many, never more to rise again.

Some few on scatter'd planks with fruitless care
Lay hold, and swim, but, while they swim, despair. 210

Ev'n he, who late a sceptre did command,
Now grasps a floating fragment in his hand,
And while he struggles on the stormy main,
Invokes his father, and his wife, in vain;
But yet his consort is his greater care; 215
Alcyone he names amidst his prayer,
Names as a charm against the waves and wind;
Most in his mouth, and ever in his mind:

Tired with his toil, all hopes of safety past,
From prayers to wishes he descends at last;
That his dead body, wafted to the sands, 220
Might have its burial from her friendly hands.

As oft as he can catch a gulp of air,
And peep above the seas, he names the fair;
And ev'n when plunged beneath, on her he raves,
Murmuring Alcyone below the waves: 225
At last a falling billow stops his breath,
Breaks o'er his head, and whelms him underneath.
Bright Lucifer unlike himself appears
That night, his heavenly form obscured with
tears;

And since he was forbid to leave the skies, 230
He sufficed with a cloud his mournful eyes.

Meantime Alcyone (his fate unknown)
 Computes how many nights he had been gone ;
 Observes the waning moon with hourly view,
 Numbers her age, and wishes for a new ;
 Against the promised time provides with care,
 And hastens in the woof the robes he was to wear :
 And for herself employs another loom,
 New dress'd to meet her lord returning home,
 Flattering her heart with joys that never were to
 come :

She fum'd the temples with an odorous flame,
 And oft before the sacred altars came,
 To pray for him, who was an empty name.
 All powers implored, but far above the rest,
 To Juno she her pious vows address'd,
 Her much-loved lord from perils to protect,
 And safe o'er seas his voyage to direct :
 Then pray'd that she might still possess his heart,
 And no pretending rival share a part.
 This last petition heard of all her prayer,
 The rest, dispersed by winds, were lost in air.

But she, the goddess of the nuptial bed,
 Tired with her vain devotions for the dead.
 Resolved the tainted hand should be repell'd,
 Which incense offer'd, and her altar held .
 Then Iris thus bespoke : Thou faithful maid,
 By whom the queen's commands are well convey'd,
 Haste to the house of Sleep, and bid the god,
 Who rules the night by visions with a nod,
 Prepare a dream, in figure and in form
 Resembling him who perish'd in the storm :
 This form before Alcyone present,
 To make her certain of the sad event.

Indued with robes of various hue she flies,
 And flying draws an arch, (a segment of the skies :)
 Then leaves her bending bow, and from the steep
 Descends to search the silent house of Sleep.

Near the Cimmerians, in his dark abode,
 Deep in a cavern, dwells the drowsy god ;
 Whose gloomy mansion nor the rising sun,
 Nor setting, visits, nor the lightsome noon :
 But lazy vapours round the region fly,
 Perpetual twilight, and a doubtful sky ;
 No crowing cock does there his wings display,
 Nor with his horny bill provoke the day :
 Nor watchful dogs, nor the more wakeful geese,
 Disturb with nightly noise the sacred peace :
 Nor beast of nature, nor the tame, are nigh,
 Nor trees with tempests rock'd, nor human cry :
 But safe repose, without an air of breath,
 Dwells here, and a dumb quiet next to death.

An arm of Lethe, with a gentle flow,
 Arising upwards from the rock below,
 The palace moats, and o'er the pebbles creeps,
 And with soft murmurs calls the coming sleeps ;
 Around its entry nodding poppies grow.
 And all cool simples that sweet rest bestow ;
 Night from the plants their sleepy virtue drains,
 And passing sheds it on the silent plains .
 No door there was the unguarded house to keep,
 On creaking hinges turn'd, to break his sleep.

But in the gloomy court was raised a bed,
 Stuff'd with black plumes, and on an ebon steed :
 Black was the covering too, where lay the god,
 And slept supine, his limbs display'd abroad :
 About his head fantastic visions fly,
 Which various images of things supply,
 And mock their forms ; the leaves on trees not more,
 Nor bearded ears in fields, nor sands upon the
 shore.

The virgin entering bright indulged the day
 To the brown cave, and brush'd the dreams away :
 The god, disturb'd with this new glare of light
 Cast sudden on his face, unseal'd his sight.

And rais'd his tardy head, which sunk again,
 And sinking on his bosom knock'd his chin :
 At length shook off himself ; and ask'd the dame,
 (And asking yawn'd) for what intent she came ?

To whom the goddess thus : O sacred Rest,
 Sweet pleasing Sleep, of all the Powers the best !
 O peace of mind, repaireur of decay,

Whose balms renew the limbs to labours of the day,
 Care shuns thy soft approach, and sullen flies away !

Adorn a dream, expressing human form,
 The shape of him who suffer'd in the storm,
 And send it flitting to the Trachin court,

The wreck of wretched Ceyx to report :
 Before his queen bid the pale spectre stand,
 Who begs a vain relief at Juno's hand.

She said, and scarce awake her eyes could keep,
 Unable to support the fumes of sleep :

But fled, returning by the way she went,
 And swerved along her bow with swift ascent.

The god, uneasy till he slept again,
 Resolved at once to rid himself of pain ;

And, though against his custom, call'd aloud,
 Exciting Morpheus from the sleepy crowd :

Morpheus of all his numerous train express'd
 The shape of man, and imitated best :

The walk, the words, the gesture could supply,
 The habit mimic, and the mien belie :

Plays well, but all his action is confined ;
 Extending not beyond our human kind.

Another birds, and beasts, and dragon apes,
 And dreadful images, and monster shapes :

This daemon, Icelos, in heaven's high hall
 The gods have named ; but men Phobeter call :

A third is Phantasus, whose actions roll
 On manner thoughts, and things devoid of soul ;

Earth, fruits, and flowers, he represents in dreams,
 And solid rocks unmoved, and running streams :

These three to kings and chiefs their scenes display,
 The rest before the ignoble commons play :

Of these the chosen Morpheus is dispatch'd :
 Which done, the lazy monarch, overwatch'd,
 Down from his propping elbow drops his head,
 Dissolved in sleep, and shrinks within his bed.

Darkling the demon glides, for flight prepared,
 So soft that scarce his fanning wings are heard.

To Trachin, swift as thought, the flitting shade
 Through air his momentary journey made :

Then lays aside the steerage of his wings,
 Forsakes his proper form, assumes the king's ;

And pale as death, despoil'd of his array,
 Into the queen's apartment takes his way.

And stands before the bed at dawn of day :
 Unmoved his eyes, and wet his beard appears ;

And shedding vain, but seeming real tears ;
 The briny water dropping from his hairs ;

Then staring on her, with a ghastly look
 And hollow voice, he thus the queen bespoke :

Know'st thou not me ? Not yet, unhappy wife !
 Or are my features perish'd with my life ?

Look once again, and for thy husband lost,
 Lo ! all that's left of him, thy husband's ghost !

Thy vows for my return were all in vain ;
 The stormy south o'ertook us in the main ;

And never shalt thou see thy loving lord again.
 Bear witness, Heaven, I call'd on thee in death,
 And while I call'd, a billow stopp'd my breath :

Think not that flying fame reports my fate ; 370
 I present, I appear, and my own wreck relate.
 Rise, wretched widow, rise, nor undeplorable
 Permit my ghost to pass the Stygian ford :
 But rise, prepared, in black, to mourn thy
 perish'd lord.

Thus said the player god : and adding art 375
 Of voice and gesture, so perform'd his part,
 She thought (so like her love the shade appears)
 That Ceyx spake the words, and Ceyx shed the
 tears.

She groan'd, her inward soul with grief oppress'd,
 She sigh'd, she wept ; and sleeping beat her
 breast : 380

Then stretch'd her arms to embrace his body bare,
 Her clasping arms enclose but empty air :
 At this not yet awake she cried, Oh, stay,
 (One is our fate, and commona is our way !
 So dreadful was the dream, so loud she spake, 385
 That starting sudden up, the slumber broke ;
 Then cast her eyes around, in hope to view
 Her vanish'd lord, and find the vision true :

For now the maids, who wanted her commands,
 Ran in with lighted tapers in their hands. 390
 Tired with the search, not finding what she seeks,
 With cruel blows she pounds her blubber'd cheeks ;
 Then from her beaten breast the linen tare,
 And cut the golden caul that bound her hair :
 Her nurse demands the cause ; with louder cries
 She prosecutes her griefs, and thus replies : 395

No more Alcyone, she suffer'd death
 With her loved lord, when Ceyx lost his breath :
 No flattery, no false comfort, give me none,
 My shipwreck'd Ceyx is for ever gone ; 400
 I saw, I saw him manifest in view,
 His voice, his figure, and his gestures knew :
 His lustre lost, and every living grace,
 Yet I retain'd the features of his face ;
 Though with pale cheeks, wet beard, and drop-
 ping hair, 405

None but my Ceyx could appear so fair :
 I would have strain'd him with a strict embrace,
 But through my arms he slipp'd, and vanish'd
 from the place :

There, ev'n just there, he stood ; and as she spake,
 Where last the spectre was, she cast her look : 410
 Fain would she hope, and gazed upon the ground,
 If any printed footsteps might be found.

Then sigh'd and said : This I too well foreknew,
 And my prophetic fear presaged too true ;
 'Twas what I begg'd, when with a bleeding heart
 I took my leave, and suffer'd thee to part, 415
 Or I to go along, or thou to stay,
 Never, ah, never to divide our way !

Happier for me, that all our hours assign'd
 Together we had lived ; ev'n not in death disjoin'd !
 So had my Ceyx still been living here, 420
 Or with my Ceyx I had perish'd there :
 Now I die absent in the vast profound ;
 And me without myself the seas have drown'd :
 The storms were not so cruel : should I strive 425
 To lengthen life, and such a grief survive ;
 But neither will I strive, nor wretched thee
 In death forsake, but keep thee company.
 If not one common sepulchre contains
 Our bodies, or one urn our last remains, 430
 Yet Ceyx and Alcyone shall join,
 Their names remember'd in one common line.

No farther voice her mighty grief affords,
 For sighs come rushing in betwixt her words,

And stopp'd her tongue ; but what her tongue 330
 denied,
 Soft tears, and groans, and dumb complaints
 supplied.

'Twas morning ; to the port she takes her way,
 And stands upon the margin of the sea :
 That place, that very spot of ground she sought,
 Or thither by her destiny was brought, 440
 Where last he stood : and while she sadly said,
 'Twas here he left me, lingering here delay'd
 His parting kiss, and there his anchors weigh'd ;
 Thus speaking, while her thoughts past actions
 trace,

And call to mind, admonish'd by the place, 445
 Sharp at her utmost ken she cast her eyes,
 And somewhat floating from afar descries ;
 It seem'd a corpse adrift, to distant sight,
 But at a distance who could judge aright ?
 It wafted nearer yet, and then she knew 450
 That what before she but surmised, was true :
 A corpse it was, but whose it was, unknown,
 Yet moved, howe'er, she made the case her own :
 Took the bad omen of a shipwreck'd man,
 As for a stranger wept, and thus began . 455

Poor wretch, on stormy seas to lose thy life,
 Unhappy thou, but more thy widow'd wife !
 At this she paused ; for now the flowing tide
 Had brought the body nearer to the side :
 The more she looks, the more her fears increase
 At nearer sight ; and she's herself the less : 461
 Now driven ashore, and at her feet it lies,
 She knows too much, in knowing whom she sees :
 Her husband's corpse ; at this she loudly shrieks,
 'Tis he, 'tis he, she cries, and tears her cheeks, 465
 Her hair, her vest, and stooping to the sands,
 About his neck she cast her trembling hands.

And is it thus, O dearer than my life,
 Thus, thus return'st thou to thy longing wife !
 She said, and to the neighbouring mole she strode,
 (Raised there to break the incursions of the
 flood ;) 471

Headlong from thence to plunge herself she
 springs,

But shoots along supported on her wings ;
 A bird new made about the banks she plies,
 Not far from shore ; and short excursions tries ;
 Nor seeks in air her humble flight to raise, 475
 Content to skim the surface of the seas ;
 Her bill, though slender, sends a creaking noise,
 And imitates a lamentable voice :
 Now lighting where the bloodless body lies, 480
 She with a funeral note renews her cries.
 At all her stretch her little wings she spread,
 And with her feather'd arms embraced the dead :
 Then flickering to his pallid lips, she strove
 To print a kiss, the last essay of love : 485
 Whether the vital touch revived the dead,
 Or that the moving waters raised his head
 To meet the kiss, the vulgar doubt alone ;
 For sure a present miracle was shown.
 The gods their shapes to winter-birds translate,
 But both obnoxious to their former fate. 491
 Their conjugal affection still is tied,
 And still the mournful race is multiplied ;
 They bill, they tread ; Alcyone compress'd
 Seven days sits brooding on her floating nest : 495
 A wintry queen : her sire at length is kind,
 Calms every storm, and hushes every wind :
 Prepares his empire for his daughter's ease,
 And for his hatching nephews smooths the seas.

ÆSACUS TRANSFORMED INTO A CORMORANT.

FROM THE ELEVENTH BOOK OF
OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

THESE some old man sees wanton in the air,
And praises the unhappy constant pair.
Then to his friend the long-neck'd cormorant
shows,

The former tale reviving others' woes:
That sable bird, he cries, which cuts the flood 5
With slender legs, was once of royal blood;
His ancestors from mighty Tros proceed,
The brave Laomedon, and Ganymede,
(Whose beauty tempted Jove to steal the boy)
And Priam, hapless prince! who fell with Troy: 11
Himself was Hector's brother, and had fate
But given this hopeful youth a longer date,
Perhaps had rival'd warlike Hector's worth,
Though on the mother's side of meaner birth;
Fair Alyxothoë, a country maid, 15
Bare Æsacus by stealth in Ida's shade.
He fled the noisy town, and pompous court,
Lov'd the lone hills, and simple rural sport,
And seldom to the city would resort.
Yet he no rustic clownishness profess'd, 20
Nor was soft love a stranger to his breast:
The youth had long the nymph Hesperia woo'd,
Oft through the thicket, or the mead pursued:

Her haply on her father's bank he spied,
While fearless she her silver tresses dried: 25
Away she fled: not stags with half such speed,
Before the prowling wolf, scud o'er the mead;
Not ducks, when they the safer flood forsake,
Pursued by hawks, so swift regain the lake.
As fast he follow'd in the hot career; 30
Desire the lover wing'd, the virgin fear.
A snake unseen now pierced her heedless foot;
Quick through the veins the venom'd juices shoot:
She fell, and 'scaped by death his fierce pursuit.
Her lifeless body, frighted, he embraced, 35
And cried, Not this I dreaded, but thy hasty:
Oh, had my love been less, or less thy fear!
The victory thus bought is far too dear.
Accursed snake! yet I more cursed than he!
He gave the wound; the cause was given by me.
Yet none shall say, that unrevenged you died. 41
He spoke; then climb'd a cliff's o'er-hanging side,
And, resolute, leap'd on the foaming tide.
Thetys received him gently on the wave;
The death he sought denied, and feathers gave. 45
Debar'd the surest remedy of grief,
And forced to live, he cursed the unask'd relief.
Then on his airy pinions upward flies,
And at a second fall successless tries;
The downy plume a quick descent denies. 50
Enraged, he often dives beneath the wave,
And there in vain expects to find a grave,
His ceaseless sorrow for the unhappy maid
Meagred, his look, and on his spirits prey'd.
Still near the sounding deep he lives; his name 55
From frequent diving and emerging came.

THE TWELFTH BOOK OF OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

WHOLLY TRANSLATED.

CONNECTION TO THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

Æsacus, the son of Priam, loving a country life, forsakes the court: living obscurely, he falls in love with a nymph; who, flying from him, was killed by a serpent. for grief of this, he would have drowned himself; but, by the pity of the gods, is turned into a Cormorant. Priam, not hearing of Æsacus, believes him to be dead, and raises a tomb to preserve his memory. By this transition, which is one of the finest in all Ovid, the poet naturally falls into the story of the Trojan war, which is summed up, in the present book, but so very briefly, in many places, that Ovid seems more short than Virgil, contrary to his usual style. Yet the House of Fame, which is here described, is one of the most beautiful pieces in the whole Metamorphoses. The fight of Achilles and Cygnus, and the fray betwixt the Lapithæ and Centaurs, yield to no other part of this poet; and particularly the loves and death of Cyllarus and Hyllonome, the male and female Centaur, are wonderfully moving.

PRIAM, to whom the story was unknown,
As dead, deplored his metamorphosed son:
A cenotaph his name and title kept,
And Hector round the tomb, with all his brothers,
wept.

This pious office Paris did not share;
Absent alone and author of the war,
Which, for the Spartan queen, the Grecians drew
To avenge the rape, and Asia to subdue.
A thousand ships were mann'd, to sail the sea:
Nor had their just resentments found delay, 10
Had not the winds and waves opposed their way.
At Aulis, with united powers, they meet:
But there, cross winds or calms detain'd the
fleet.

Now, while they raise an altar on the shore,
And Jove with solemn sacrifice adore; 15
A boding sign the priests and people see:
A snake of size immense ascends a tree.
And in the leafy summit spied a nest,
Which, o'er her callow young, a sparrow press'd.
Eight were the birds unfledged; their mother flew,
And hover'd round her care; but still in view: 21
Till the fierce reptile first devour'd the brood;
Then seized the fluttering dam, and drank her
blood.

This dire ostent the fearful people view;
Calchas alone, by Phoebus taught, foreknew²⁵
What Heaven decreed: and with a smiling glance,
Thus gratulates to Greece her happy chance:
O Argives, we shall conquer; Troy is ours,
But long delays shall first afflict our powers:
Nine years of labour the nine birds portend;³⁰
The tenth shall in the town's destruction end.

The serpent, who his maw obscene had fill'd,
The branches in his curl'd embraces held:
But as in spires he stood, he turn'd to stone:³⁴
The stony snake retain'd the figure still his own.

Yet not for this the wind-bound navy weigh'd;
Slack were their sails; and Neptune disobey'd.
Some thought him loth the town should be de-
stroy'd.

Whose building had his hands divine employ'd:
Not so the seer; who knew, and known fore-
show'd,⁴⁰

The virgin Phœbe with a virgin's blood
Must first be reconciled; the common cause
Prevail'd; and pity yielding to the laws,
Fair Iphigenia, the devoted maid,
Was, by the weeping priests, in linen robes array'd;
All mourn her fate; but no relief appear'd:⁴⁶
The royal victim bound, the knife already rear'd:
When that offended Power, who caused their woe,
Relenting ceased her wrath; and stopp'd the
coming blow.

A mist before the ministers she cast;⁵⁰
And, in the virgin's room, a hind she placed.
The oblation slain, and Phœbe reconciled,
The storm was hush'd, and dimpled ocean smiled:
A favourable gale arose from shore,
Which to the port desheil the Grecian galleys bore.

Full in the midst of this created space,⁵⁶
Betwixt heaven, earth, and skies, there stands a
place

Confining on all three; with triple bound;
Whence all things, though remote, are view'd
around.

And thither bring their undulating sound.⁶⁰
The palace of loud Fame, her seat of power;
Placed on the summit of a lofty tower.
A thousand winding entries, long and wide,
Receive of fresh reports a flowing tide.

A thousand crannies in the walls are made;⁶⁵
Nor gate nor bars exclude the busy trade.
This built of brass, the better to diffuse
The spreading sounds, and multiply the news;

Where echoes in repeated echoes play:
A mart for ever full, and open night and day.⁷⁰
Nor silence is within, nor voice express,
But a deaf noise of sounds that never cease;

Confused, and chiding, like the hollow roar
Of tides, receding from the insulted shore:
Or like the broken thunder, heard from far,⁷⁵
When Jove to distance drives the rolling war.

Ver. 67. 'Tis built.] The following lines are some of
Dryden's happiest alterations, consisting of letters thrice
repeated:

And shot her venom'd vipers in her veins—
The breast beneath his finger bent—
'Tis built of brass the better to diffuse—
Nor did the whizzing weapon miss the way.

The first of these lines reminds me of the following one
in Lucretius:

"Verbera ventorum vitare——"

With a repetition of an uncommon consonant. Dr. J.
WARTON

The courts are fill'd with a tumultuous din
Of crowds, or issuing forth, or entering in:
A thoroughfare of news: where some devise
Things never heard; some mingle truth with lies:⁸⁰
The troubled air with empty sounds they beat;
Intent to hear, and eager to repeat.

Error sits brooding there; with added train
Of vain Credulity, and Joys as vain:
Suspicion, with Sedition join'd, are near;⁸⁵
And rumours raised, and murmurs mix'd, and
panic fear.

Fame sits aloft; and sees the subject ground,
And seas about, and skies above; enquiring all
around.

The goddess gives the alarm; and soon is
known

The Grecian fleet, descending on the town.⁹⁰
Fix'd on defence, the Trojans are not slow
To guard their shore from an expected foe.
They meet in fight: by Hector's fatal hand
Protesilaus falls, and bites the strand,
Which with expence of blood the Grecians won;
And proved the strength unknown of Priam's
son.⁹⁶

And to their cost the Trojan leaders felt
The Grecian heroes, and what deaths they dealt.

From these first onsets, the Sigeæan shore
Was strew'd with carcasses, and stain'd with gore:
Neptunian Cygnus troops of Greeks had slain,¹⁰¹

Achilles in his car had scour'd the plain,
And clear'd the Trojan ranks: where'er he fought,
Cygnus, or Hector, through the fields he sought:
Cygnus he found; on him his force essay'd:¹⁰³

For Hector was to the tenth year delay'd.
His white-maned steeds, that bow'd beneath the
yoke,

He cheer'd to courage, with a gentle stroke;
Then urged his fiery chariot on the foe:

And rising shook his lance, in act to throw.¹¹⁰
But first he cried, O youth, be proud to bear
Thy death, ennobled by Pelides' spear.

The lance pursued the voice without delay;
Nor did the whizzing weapon miss the way,
But pierced his cuirass, with such fury sent;¹¹⁵

And sign'd his bosom with a purple dint.
At this the seed of Neptune: Goddess-born,
For ornament, not use, these arms are worn;

This helm, and heavy buckler, I can spare,
As only decorations of the war:¹²⁰
So Mars is arm'd for glory, not for need.

'Tis somewhat more from Neptune to proceed,
Than from a daughter of the sea to spring:
Thy sire is mortal; mine is ocean's king.

Secure of death, I should condemn thy dart,<¹²⁵
Though naked, and impassible depart:
He said, and threw; the trombling weapon pass'd

Through nine bull-hides, each under other placed,
On his broad shield, and stuck within the last.
Achilles wrench'd it out; and sent again¹³⁰

The hostile gift: the hostile gift was vain.
He tried a third, a tough well-chosen spear;
The inviolable body stood sincere,

Though Cygnus then did no defence provide,
But scornful offer'd his unshielded side.¹³⁵

Not otherwise the impatient hero fared,
Than as a bull, encompass'd with a guard,
Amid the circus roars: provoked from far,
By sight of scarlet, and a sanguine war:

They quit their ground; his bended horns clude;
In vain pursuing, and in vain pursued.¹⁴¹

Before to farther fight he would advance,
 He stood considering, and survey'd his lance.
 Doubts if he welded not a wooden spear
 Without a point. he look'd, the point was there.
 This is my hand, and this my lance, he said, ¹⁴⁶
 By which so many thousand foes are dead.
 Oh, whither is their usual virtue fled!
 I had it once; and the Lyrnessian wall,
 And Tenedos confess'd it in their fall. ¹⁵⁰
 Thy streams, Caicus, roll'd a crimson flood;
 And Thebes ran red with her own natives' blood.
 Twice Telephus employ'd their piercing steel,
 To wound him first, and afterward to heal.
 The vigour of this arm was never vain: ¹⁵⁵
 And that my wonted prowess I retain,
 Witness these heaps of slaughter on the plain.
 He said, and, doubtful of his former deeds,
 To some new trial of his force proceeds.
 He chose Menetes from among the rest; ¹⁶⁰
 At him he lanced his spear, and pierced his
 breast:

On the hard earth the Lycian knock'd his head,
 And lay supine; and forth the spirit fled.
 Then thus the hero: Neither can I blame
 The hand, or javelin; both are still the same. ¹⁶⁵
 The same I will employ against this foe;
 And wish but with the same success to throw.
 So spoke the chief; and while he spoke he threw;
 The weapon with unerring fury flew;
 At his left shoulder aim'd: nor entrance found:
 But back, as from a rock, with swift rebound ¹⁷¹
 Harmless return'd: a bloody mark appear'd,
 Which with false joy the flatter'd hero cheer'd.
 Wound there was none; the blood that was in
 view,

The lance before from slain Menetes drew. ¹⁷⁵
 Headlong he leaps from off his lofty car,
 And in close fight on foot renews the war.
 Raging with high disdain repeats his blows;
 Nor shield nor armour can their force oppose;
 Huge cantlets of his buckler strew the ground, ¹⁸⁰
 And no defence in his bored arms is found.
 But on his flesh no wound or blood is seen;
 The sword itself is blunted on the skin.

This vain attempt the chief no longer bears; ¹⁸⁵
 But round his hollow temples and his ears
 His buckler beats; the son of Neptune, stunn'd
 With these repeated buffets, quits his ground;
 A sickly sweat succeeds, and shades of night;
 Inverted nature swims before his sight: ¹⁹⁰
 The insulting victor presses on the more,
 And treads the steps the vanquish'd trod before,
 Nor rest, nor respite gives. A stone there lay
 Behind his trembling foe, and stopp'd his way:
 Achilles took the advantage which he found,
 O'er-turn'd, and push'd him backward on the ¹⁹⁵
 ground.

His buckler held him under, while he press'd,
 With both his knees above, his panting breast:
 Unlaced his helm: about his chin the twist
 He tied; and soon the strangled soul dismiss'd.

With eager haste he went to strip the dead; ²⁰⁰
 The vanquish'd body from his arms was fled.
 His sea-god sire, to immortalise his fame,
 Had turn'd it to the bird that bears his name.

A truce succeeds the labours of this day, ²⁰⁵
 And arms suspended with a long delay.
 While Trojan walls are kept with watch and ward;
 The Greeks before their trenches mount the
 guard.

The feast approach'd; when to the blue-eyed maid
 His vows for Cygnus slain the victor paid,
 And a white heifer on her altar laid. ²¹⁰
 The reeking entrails on the fire they threw;
 And to the gods the grateful odour flew:
 Heaven had its part in sacrifice: the rest
 Was broil'd and roasted for the future feast.
 The chief invited guests were set around: ²¹⁵
 And, hunger first assuaged, the bowls were
 crown'd,
 Which in deep draughts their cares and labours
 drown'd.

The mellow harp did not their ears employ:
 And mute was all the warlike symphony.
 Discourse, the food of souls, was their delight, ²²⁰
 And pleasing chat prolong'd the summer's night.
 The subject, deeds of arms; and valour shown,
 Or on the Trojan side, or on their own.
 Of dangers undertaken, fame achieved,
 They talk'd by turns; the talk by turns re- ²²⁵
 lieved.

What things but these could fierce Achilles tell,
 Or what could fierce Achilles bear so well?
 The last great act perform'd, of Cygnus slain,
 Did most the martial audience entertain: ²³⁰
 Wondering to find a body, free by fate
 From steel, and which could ev'n that steel rebute:
 Amazed, their admiration they renew;
 And scarce Polides could believe it true.

Then Nestor, thus: What once this age has
 known,
 In fated Cygnus, and in him alone, ²³⁵
 These eyes have seen in Ceneus long before,
 Whose body not a thousand swords could bore.
 Ceneus, in courage, and in strength, excell'd,
 And still his Othrys with his fame is fill'd:
 But what did most his martial deeds adorn, ²⁴⁰
 (Though since he changed his sex) a woman
 born.

A novelty so strange, and full of fate,
 His listening audience ask'd him to relate.
 Achilles thus commends their common suit;
 O father, first for prudence in repute, ²⁴⁵
 Tell, with that eloquence, so much thy own,
 What thou hast heard, or what of Ceneus known:
 What was he, whence his change of sex begun,
 What trophies, join'd in wars with thee, he won?
 Who conquer'd him, and in what fatal strife ²⁵⁰
 The youth, without a wound, could lose his life?

Neleides then: Though tardy age, and time,
 Have shrunk my sinews, and decay'd my prime;
 Though much I have forgotten of my store,
 Yet not exhausted, I remember more. ²⁵⁵
 Of all that arms achieved, or peace design'd,
 That action still is fresher in my mind
 Than aught beside. If reverend age can give
 To faith a sanction, in my third I live.

'Twas in my second century, I survey'd ²⁶⁰
 Young Ceneis, then a fair Thessalian maid:
 Ceneis the bright was born to high command;
 A princess, and a native of thy land,
 Divine Achilles: every tongue proclaim'd
 Her beauty, and her eyes all hearts inflamed. ²⁶⁵
 Peleus, thy sire, perhaps had sought her bed,
 Among the rest; but he had either led
 Thy mother then, or was by promise tied;
 But she to him, and all, alike her love denied.

It was her fortune once, to take her way ²⁷⁰
 Along the sandy margin of the sea:
 The Power of ocean view'd her as she pass'd.

And, loved as soon as seen, by force embraced.
 So fame reports. Her virgin treasure seized,
 And his new joys the ravisher so pleased, 278
 That thus, transported, to the nymph he cried;
 Ask what thou wilt, no prayer shall be denied.
 This also fame relates: the haughty fair,
 Who not the rape ev'n of a god could bear,
 This answer, proud, return'd: To mighty wrongs
 A mighty recompense, of right, belongs. 281
 Give me no more to suffer such a shame;
 But change the woman for a better name;
 One gift for all: she said; and while she spoke,
 A stern, majestic, manly tone she took. 285
 A man she was: and as the godhead swore,
 To Cæneus turn'd, who Cænis was before.
 To this the lover adds, without request,
 No force of steel should violate his breast.
 Glad of the gift, the new-made warrior goes; 290
 And arms among the Greeks, and longs for equal
 foes.

Now brave Pirithous, bold Ixion's son,
 The love of fair Hippodame had won.
 The cloud-begotten race, half-men, half-beast,
 Invited, came to grace the nuptial feast: 295
 In a cool cave's recess the treat was made,
 Whose entrance trees with spreading boughs
 o'ershad.

They sat: and, summon'd by the bridegroom, came,
 To mix with those, the Lapithæan name:
 Nor wanted I: the roofs with joy resound: 300
 And Hymen, lo Hymen, rung around,
 Raised altars shone with holy fires; the bride,
 Lovely herself (and lovely by her side
 A very of bright nymphs, with sober grace,)
 Came glittering like a star, and took her place. 305
 Her heavenly form beheld, all wish'd her joy;
 And little wanted, but in vain their wishes all
 employ.

For one, most brutal of the brutal brood,
 Or whether wine or beauty fired his blood,
 Or both at once, beheld with lustful eyes 310
 The bride; at once resolved to make his prize.
 Down went the board; and fastening on her hair,
 He seized with sudden force the frightened fair.
 'Twas Eurytus began: his bestial kind
 His crime pursued; and each as pleased his 315
 mind,

Or her, whom chance presented, took: the feast
 An image of a taken town express'd.

The cave resounds with female shrieks; we
 rise,

Mad with revenge, to make a swift reprise:
 And Theseus first: What frenzy has possess'd, 320
 O Eurytus, he cried, thy brutal breast,
 To wrong Pirithous, and not him alone.
 But, while I live, two friends conjoin'd in one?

To justify his threat, he thrusts aside
 The crowd of Centaurs, and redeems the bride. 325
 The monster nought replied: for words were
 vain:

And deeds could only deeds unjust maintain:
 But answers with his hand; and forward press'd,
 With blows redoubled, on his face and breast. 330
 An ample goblet stood, of antique mould,
 And rough with figures of the rising gold;
 The hero snatch'd it up, and toss'd in air,
 Full at the front of the foul ravisher:
 He falls, and falling vomits forth a flood
 Of wine, and foam, and brams, and mingled 335
 blood.

Half-roaring, and half-neighing through the hall,
 Arms, arms, the double-form'd with fury call,
 To wreak their brother's death: a medley flight
 Of bowls and jars, at first, supply the fight,
 Once instruments of feasts, but now of fate; 340
 Wine animates their rage, and arms their hate.

Bold Amycus, from the robb'd vestry, brings
 The chalices of heaven, and holy things
 Of precious weight: a scone, that hung on high,
 With tapers fill'd, to light the sacristsy, 345
 Torn from the cord, with his unhallow'd hand
 He threw amid the Lapithæan band.
 On Celadon the ruin fell, and left

His face of feature and of form bereft:
 So, when some brawny sacrificer knocks, 350
 Before an altar led, an offer'd ox,
 His eye-balls rooted out are thrown to ground;
 His nose dismantled in his mouth is found,
 His jaws, cheeks, front, one undistinguish'd wound

This, Belates, the avenger, could not brook; 355
 But, by the foot, a maple-board he took,
 And hurl'd at Amycus: his chin is bent
 Against his chest, and down the Centaur sent;
 Whom sputtering bloody teeth, the second blow
 Of his drawn sword dispatch'd to shades below. 360

Grineus was near; and cast a shadeful look
 On the side-altar, censured with sacred smoke,
 And bright with flaming fires: The gods, he cried,
 Have with their holy trade our hands supplied:
 Why use we not their gifts? Then from the floor
 An altar-stone he heaved, with all the load it 365
 bore:

Altar and altar's freight together flew
 Where thickest throng'd the Lapithæan crew;
 And, at once, Broteas and Oryus slew:
 Oryus' mother, Mycale, was known 370
 Down from her sphere to draw the labouring
 moon.

Exadius cried, Unpunish'd shall not go
 This fact, if arms are found against the foe.
 He look'd about, where on a pine were spread 375
 The votive horns of a stag's branching head,
 At Grineus these he throws: so just they fly,
 That the sharp antlers stuck in either eye:
 Breathless and blind he fell; with blood besmear'd,
 His eye-balls beaten out hung dangling on his 380
 beard.

Fierce Rhætus, from the hearth, a burning brand 380
 Selects, and whirling waves; till, from his hand,
 The fire took flame, then dash'd it from the right,
 On fair Charaxus' temples, near the sight:
 The whistling pest came on, and pierced the bone,
 And caught the yellow hair, that shrivell'd while 385
 it shone;

Caught, like dry stubble fired, or like sere-wood;
 Yet from the wound ensued no purple flood;
 But look'd a bubbling mass of frying blood.
 His blazing locks sent forth a crackling sound,
 And hiss'd, like red-hot iron within the smithy 390
 drown'd.

The wounded warrior shook his flaming hair,
 Then (what a team of horse could hardly rear)
 He heaves the threshold-stone; but could not
 throw;

The weight itself forbade the threaten'd blow;
 Which, dropping from his lifted arms, came down
 Full on Cometes' head, and crush'd his crown. 395
 Nor Rhætus then retain'd his joy, but said,
 So by their fellows may our foes be sped,
 Then with redoubled strokes he plies his head:

The burning lever not deludes his pains, 400
 But drives the batter'd skull within the brains.
 Thus flush'd, the conqueror, with force renew'd,
 Evagrus, Dryas, Corythus, pursued :
 First, Corythus, with downy cheeks, he slew ;
 Whose fall when fierce Evagrus had in view, 405
 He cried, What palm is from a beardless prey ?
 Rhatus prevents what more he had to say ;
 And drove within his mouth the fiery death,
 Which enter'd hissing in, and choked his breath.
 At Dryas next he flew ; but weary chance 410
 No longer would the same success advance.
 But while he whirl'd in fiery circles round
 The brand, a sharpen'd stake strong Dryas found ;
 And in the shoulder's joint inflicts the wound.
 The weapon stuck, which roaring out with pain
 He drew ; nor longer durst the fight maintain, 416
 But turn'd his back for fear, and fled again.
 With him fled Orneus, with like dread possess'd ;
 Thaurus and Medon, wounded in the breast, 420
 And Mermeros, in the late race renown'd,
 Now limping ran, and tardy with his wound.
 Pholus and Melaneus from fight withdrew,
 And Abas main'd, who boars encountering slew :
 And augur Astylos, whose art in vain
 From fight dissuaded the four-footed train, 425
 Now beat the hoof with Nessus on the plain ;
 But to his fellow cried, Be safely slow,
 Thy death deferr'd is due to great Alcides' bow.
 Meantime strong Dryas urged his chance so
 well,
 That Lycidas, Areos, Imbreus fell ; 430
 All, one by one, and fighting face to face :
 Crenæus fled, to fall with more disgrace :
 For, fearful while he look'd behind, he bore,
 Betwixt his nose and front, the blow before.
 Amid the noise and tumult of the fray, 435
 Snoring and drunk with wine, Aphidas lay.
 Ev'n then the bowl within his hand he kept,
 And on a bear's rough hide securely slept.
 Him Phorbas with his flying dart transfix'd :
 Take thy next draught with Stygian waters mix'd,
 And sleep thy fill, the insulting victor cried ; 441
 Surprised with death unfelt, the Centaur died :
 The ruddy vomit, as he breathed his soul,
 Repass'd his throat, and fill'd his empty bowl.
 I saw Petræus' arms employ'd around 445
 A well-grown oak, to root it from the ground.
 This way, and that, he wrench'd the fibrous bands,
 The trunk was like a sapling in his hands,
 And still obey'd the bent : while thus he stood,
 Pirithous' dart drove on, and nail'd him to the
 wood. 450
 Lycus and Chromys fell, by him oppress'd :
 Helops and Dictys added to the rest
 A nobler palm : Helops, through either ear
 Transfix'd, received the penetrating spear.
 This Dictys saw ; and seized with sudden fright, 455
 Leapt headlong from the hill of steepy height ;
 And crush'd an ash beneath, that could not bear
 his weight.
 The shatter'd tree receives his fall, and strikes,
 Within his full-blown paunch, the sharpen'd spikes.
 Strong Aphareus had heaved a mighty stone, 460
 The fragment of a rock, and would have thrown ;
 But Theseus, with a club of harden'd oak,
 The cubit-bone of the bold Centaur broke ;
 And left him maim'd ; nor seconded the stroke.
 Then leapt on tall Bianor's back ; (who bore 465
 No mortal burden but his own, before.)

Press'd with his knees his sides ; the double man,
 His speed with spurs increased, unwilling ran.
 One hand the hero fasten'd on his locks ;
 His other plied him with repeated strokes. 470
 The club hung round his ears, and batter'd brows ;
 He falls, and lashing up his heels, his rider throws.
 The same Herculean arms Nedyminus wound,
 And lay by him Lycotas on the ground ;
 And Hippasus, whose beard his breast invades, 475
 And Ripheus, haunter of the woodland shades.
 And Tereus, used with mountain bears to strive ;
 And from their dens to draw the indignant beasts
 alive.
 Demoleon could not bear this hateful sight,
 Or the long fortune of the Athenian knight : 480
 But pull'd with all his force, to disengage
 From earth a pine, the product of an age :
 The root stuck fast ; the broken trunk he sent
 At Theseus : Theseus frustrates his intent,
 And leaps aside, by Pallas warn'd, the blow 485
 To shun : (for so he said ; and we believed it so.)
 Yet not in vain the enormous weight was cast ;
 Which Crantor's body sunder'd at the waist.
 Thy father's squire, Achilles, and his care ;
 Whom, conquer'd in the Dolopeian war, 490
 Their king, his present run to prevent,
 A pledge of peace implored, to Peleus sent.
 Thy sire, with grieving eyes, beheld his fate :
 And cried, Not long, loved Crantor, shalt thou
 wait
 Thy vow'd revenge. At once he said, and threw
 His ashen-spear, which quiver'd as it flew, 495
 With all his force and all his soul applied :
 The sharp point enter'd in the Centaur's side :
 Both hands, to wrench it out, the monster join'd ;
 And wrench'd it out ; but left the steel behind.
 Stuck in his lungs it stood : enraged he rears 501
 His hoofs, and down to ground thy father bears.
 Thus trampled under foot, his shield defends
 His head ; his other hand the lance protends.
 Ev'n while he lay extended on the dust, 505
 He sped the Centaur with one single thrust.
 Two more his lance before transfix'd from far ;
 And two his sword had slain in closer war.
 To these was added Dorylas : who spread
 A bull's two goring horns around his head. 51
 With these he push'd ; in blood already dyed :
 Him, fearless, I approach'd, and thus dened :
 Now, monster, now, by proof it shall appear,
 Whether thy horns are sharper, or my spear.
 At this, I threw : for want of other ward, 515
 He lifted up his hand, his front to guard.
 His hand it pass'd, and fix'd it to his brow :
 Loud shouts of ours attend the lucky blow :
 Him Peleus finish'd, with a second wound,
 Which through the navel pierced : he reel'd
 around, 520
 And dragg'd his dangling bowels on the ground :
 Trod what he dragg'd, and what he trod he
 crush'd :
 And to his mother-earth, with empty belly,
 rush'd.
 Nor could thy form, O Cyllarus, foreshow
 Thy fate ; (if form to monsters men allow :) 525
 Just bloom'd thy beard, thy beard of golden
 hue :
 Thy locks, in golden waves, about thy shoulders
 flew.
 Sprightly thy look : thy shapes in every part
 So clean, as might instruct the sculptor's art :

As far as man extended : where began
The beast, the beast was equal to the man.
Add but a horse's head and neck, and he,
O Castor, was a courser worthy thee.
So was his back proportion'd for the seat ;
So rose his brawny chest ; so swiftly moved his
feet.

Coal-black his colour, but like jet it shone ;
His legs and flowing tail were white alone.
Beloved by many maidens of his kind,
But fair Hylonome possess'd his mind ;
Hylonome, for features, and for face,
Excelling all the nymphs of double race :
Nor less her blandishments, than beauty, move ;
At once both loving, and confessing love.
For him she dress'd, for him with female care
She comb'd, and set in curls, her auburn hair.
Of roses, violets, and lilies mix'd,
And sprigs of flowing rosemary betwixt,
She form'd the chaplet that adorn'd her front :
In waters of the Pegasus fount,
And in the streams that from the fountain play,
She wash'd her face, and bathed her twice a day.
The scarf of furs, that hung below her side,
Was ermine, or the panther's spotted pride ;
Spoils of no common beast : with equal flame
They loved : their sylvan pleasures were the
same :

All day they hunted ; and when day expired,
Together to some shady cave retired.
Invited, to the nuptials both repair :
And, side by side, they both engage in war.

Uncertain from what hand, a flying dart
At Cyllarus was sent, which pierced his heart.
The javelin drawn from out the mortal wound,
He flunth with staggering steps, and seeks the
ground :

The fair within her arms received his fall,
And strove his wandering spirits to recal :
And while her hand the streaming blood opposed,
Join'd face to face, his lips with hers she closed.
Stifled with kisses, a sweet death he dies ;
She fills the fields with undistinguish'd cries :
At least her words were in her clamour drown'd ;
For my stunn'd ears received no vocal sound.
In madness of her grief, she seized the dart
New-drawn, and reeking from her lover's heart ;
To her bare bosom the sharp point applied,
And wounded fell : and falling by his side,
Embraced him in her arms, and thus embracing
died.

Ev'n still, methinks, I see Phaeocomes ;
Strange was his habit, and as odd his dress.
Six lions' hides, with thongs together fast,
His upper part defended to his waist ;
And where man ended, the continued vest,
Spread on his back, the hous and trappings of a
beast.

A stump too heavy for a team to draw,
(It seems a fable, though the fact I saw.)
He threw at Pholon ; the descending blow
Divides the skull, and cleaves his head in two.
The brains, from nose and mouth, and either ear,
Came issuing out, as through a cullender
The curdled milk : or from the press the whey,
Driven down by weights above, is drain'd away.
But him, while stooping down to spoil the
slain,
Pierced through the paunch, I tumbled on the
plain.

Then Chthonius and Teleboas I slew :
A fork the former arm'd ; a dart his fellow threw
The javelin wounded me ; (behold the scar)
Then was my time to seek the Trojan war ;
Then I was Hector's match in open field,
But he was then unborn ; at least a child ;
Now, I am nothing. I forbear to tell
By Periphanthes how Pyretus fell ;
The Centaur by the knight : nor will I stay
On Amphix, or what deaths he dealt that day :
What honour, with a pointless lance, he won,
Stuck in the front of a four-footed man.
What fame young Macareus obtain'd in fight :
Or dwell on Nessus, now return'd from flight.
How prophet Mopsus not alone divin'd,
Whose valour equall'd his foreseeing mind.
Already Cæneus, with his conquering hand,
Had slaughter'd five the boldest of their band :
Pyrachus, Helymus, Antimachus,
Bromus the brave, and stronger Stipheclus ;
Their names I number'd, and remember well,
No trace remaining, by what wounds they fell.
Latreus, the bulkiest of the double race,
Whom the spoil'd arms of slain Halesus grace,
In years retaining still his youthful might,
Though his black hairs were interspersed with
white,

Betwixt the embattled ranks began to prance,
Proud of his helm, and Macedonian lance ;
And rode the ring around ; that either host
Might hear him, while he made this empty boast :
And from a strumpet shall we suffer shame ?

For Cænis still, not Cæneus is thy name :
And still the native softness of thy kind
Prevails, and leaves the woman in thy mind.
Remember what thou wert : what price was paid
To change thy sex : to make thee not a maid :
And but a man in show : go, card and spin ;
And leave the business of the war to men.

While thus the boaster exercised his pride,
The fatal spear of Cæneus reach'd his side :
Just in the mixture of the kinds it ran ;
Betwixt the nether beast and upper man.
The monster mad with rage, and stung with
smart,

His lance directed at the hero's heart :
It strook ; but bounded from his harden'd breast,
Like hail from tiles, which the safe house invest ;
Nor seem'd the stroke with more effect to come,
Than a small pebble falling on a drum.
He next his fauchion tried, in closer fight ;
But the keen fauchion had no power to bite.
He thrust ; the blunted point return'd again :
Since downright blows, he cried, and thrusts are
vain,

I'll prove his side : in strong embraces held,
He proved his side ; his side the sword repell'd :
His hollow belly echoed to the stroke ;
Untouch'd his body, as a solid rock ;
Aim'd at his neck at last, the blade in shivers
broke.

The impassive knight stood idle, to deride
His rage, and offer'd oft his naked side :
At length, Now, monster, in thy turn, he cried,
Try thou the strength of Cæneus : at the word
He thrust ; and in his shoulder plunged the
sword.
Then writhed his hand ; and as he drove it
down,
Deep in his breast, made many wounds in one.

The Centaurs saw, enraged, the unhoped success;
And, rushing on, in crowds, together press;
At him, and him alone, their darts they threw:
Repulsed they from his fated body flew. 660
Amazed they stood; till Monychus began:
O shame, a nation conquer'd by a man!
A woman-man; yet more a man is he,
Than all our race; and what he was, are we.
Now, what avail our nerves? the united force, 665
Of two the strongest creatures, man and horse?
Nor goddess-born, nor of Ixion's seed
We seem; (a lover built for Juno's bed;)
Master'd by this half man. Whole mountains

throw
With woods at once, and bury him below. 670
This only way remains. Nor need we doubt
To choke the soul within, though not to force it out.
Heap weights, instead of wounds. He chanced to see

Where southern storms had rooted up a tree;
This, raised from earth, against the foe he
threw; 675

The example shown, his fellow-brutes pursue.
With forest-loads the warrior they invade;
Othrys and Pelion soon were void of shade;
And spreading groves were naked mountains
made.

Press'd with the burden, Cæneus pants for breath;
And on his shoulders bears the wooden death. 681

To heave the intolerable weight he tries;
At length it rose above his mouth and eyes;
Yet still he heaves: and struggling with despair,
Shakes all aside, and gains a gulp of air: 685

A short relief, which but prolongs his pain;
He faints by fits; and then resumes again:
At last, the burden only nods above,

As when an earthquake stirs the Idæan grove.
Doubtful his death: he suffocated seem'd. 690
To most; but otherwise our Mopsus deem'd:
Who said he saw a yellow bird arise

From out the pile, and cleave the liquid skies:
I saw it too, with golden feathers bright,
Nor e'er before beheld so strange a sight. 695

Whom Mopsus viewing, as it soar'd around
Our troop, and heard the pinions' rattling sound,
All hail, he cried, thy country's grace and love;
Once first of men below, now first of birds above.
Its author to the story gave belief: 700

For us, our courage was increased by grief:
Ashamed to see a single man, pursued
With odds, to sink beneath a multitude:
We push'd the foe, and forced to shameful fight;
Part fell: and part escaped by favour of the night.

This tale, by Nestor told, did much displease 705
Tlepolemus, the seed of Hercules:

For, often he had heard his father say,
That he himself was present at the fray;
And more than shared the glories of the day. 710

Old Chronicle, he said, among the rest,
You might have named Alcides at the least:
Is he not worth your praise? The Pylian prince
Sigh'd ere he spoke; then made this proud defence.

My former woes, in long oblivion drown'd, 715
I would have lost; but you renew the wound:
Better to pass him o'er, than to relate
The cause I have your mighty sire to hate.

His fame has fill'd the world, and reach'd the sky;
(Which, oh, I wish, with truth, I could deny!) 720
We praise not Hector; though his name, we know,
Is great in arms; 'tis hard to praise a foe.

He, your great father, lovell'd to the ground
Messenia's towers: nor better fortune found
Elis, and Pylus; that, a neighbouring state, 72
And this, my own: both guileless of their fate.

To pass the rest, twelve, wanting one, he slew,
My brethren, who their birth from Neleus drew.
All youths of early promise, had they lived;
By him they perish'd: I alone survived. 730
The rest were easy conquest: but the fate
Of Periclymenos is wondrous to relate.
To him our common grandsire of the main
Had given to change his form, and, chang'd,
resume again.

Varied at pleasure, every shape he tried; 735
And in all beasts Alcides still defied:
Vanquish'd on earth, at length he soar'd above;
Changed to the bird that bears the bolt of Jove:
The new dissembled eagle, now ended

With beak and pounces, Hercules pursued, 740
And cuff'd his manly cheeks, and tore his face;
Then, safe retired, and tower'd in empty space.
Alcides bore not long his flying foe:
But bending his inevitable bow,

Reach'd him in air, suspended as he stood; 745
And in his pinion fix'd the feather'd wood.
Light was the wound; but in the sinew hung
The point; and his disabled wing unstrung.
He wheel'd in air, and stretch'd his vans in
vain;

His vans no longer could his flight sustain: 750
For while one gather'd wind, one unsupplied
Hung drooping down; nor poised his other side.
He fell: the shaft that slightly was impress'd,
Now from his heavy fall with weight increased,
Drove through his neck, aslant; he spurns the
ground, 755

And the soul issues through the weazen's wound,
Now, brave commander of the Rhodian seas,

What praise is due from me to Hercules?
Silence is all the vengeance I decree
For my slain brothers; but 'tis peace with thee. 760

Thus with a flowing tongue old Nestor spoke:
Then to full bows each other they provoke:
At length with weariness and wine oppress'd,
They rise from table, and withdraw to rest.

The sire of Cygnus, monarch of the main, 765
Meantime, laments his son in battle slain:
And vows the victor's death, nor vows in vain.

For nine long years the smother'd pain he bore;
(Achilles was not ripe for fate before:)
Then when he saw the promised hour was near, 770

He thus bespoke the god, that guides the year.
Immortal offspring of my brother Jove;

My brightest nephew, and whom best I love,
Whose hands were join'd with mine, to raise the
wall

Of tottering Troy, now nodding to her fall; 775
Dost thou not mourn our power employ'd in
vain;

And the defenders of our city slain?
To pass the rest, could noble Hector lie
Unpitied, dragg'd around his native Troy?

And yet the murderer lives: himself by far 780
A greater plague than all the wasteful war:
He lives; the proud Pelides lives, to boast
Our town destroy'd, our common labour lost!

Oh, could I meet him! But I wish too late, 785
To prove my trident is not in his fate.
But let him try (for that's allow'd) thy dart,
And pierce his only penetrable part.

Apollo bows to the superior throne;
And to his uncle's anger adds his own.
Then, in a cloud involved, he takes his flight;⁷⁹⁰
Where Greeks and Trojans mix'd in mortal fight;
And found out Paris, lurking where he stood,
And stain'd his arrows with plebeian blood:
Phœbus to him alone the god confess'd,
Then to the recreant knight he thus address'd:⁷⁹⁵
Dost thou not blush, to spend thy shafts in vain
On a degenerate and ignoble train?
If fame, or better vengeance, be thy care,
There aim: and, with one arrow, end the war.

He said; and show'd from far the blazing shield
And sword, which but Achilles none could wield;⁸⁰¹
And how he mov'd a god, and mov'd the stand-
ing field.

The deity himself directs aright
The venom'd shaft; and wings the fatal flight.

Thus fell the foremost of the Grecian name;⁸⁰⁵
And he, the base adulterer, boasts the fame.

A spectacle to glad the Trojan train;
And please old Priam, after Hector slain...
If by a female hand he had foreseen
He was to die, his wish had rather been⁸¹⁰
The lance and double axe of the fair warrior
queen.

And now, the terror of the Trojan field,
The Grecian honour, ornament, and shield,
High on a pile, the unconquer'd chief is plac'd:
The god, that arm'd him first, consumed at last.⁸¹⁵
Of all the mighty man, the small remains
A little urn, and scarcely fill'd, contains.
Yet great in Homer, still Achilles lives;
And, equal to himself, himself survives.

His buckler owns its former lord; and brings
New cause of strife betwixt contending kings;⁸²¹
Who worthiest, after him, his sword to wield,
Or wear his armour, or sustain his shield.
E'en Diomedes sat mute, with downcast eyes;
Conscious of wanted worth to win the prize:⁸²⁵
Nor Menelaus presumed these arms to claim,
Nor he the king of men, a greater name.
Two rivals only rose: Laertes' son,
And the vast bulk of Ajax Telamon.
The king, who cherish'd each with equal love,⁸³⁰
And from himself all envy would remove,
Left both to be determined by the laws;
And to the Grecian chiefs transferr'd the cause.

THE SPEECHES OF

AJAX AND ULYSSES.

FROM THE THIRTEENTH BOOK OF

OID'S METAMORPHOSES.*

THE chiefs were set, the soldiers crown'd the field:
To these the master of the seven-fold shield
Upstart'd fierce: and kindled with disdain,
Eager to speak, unable to contain

* The Metamorphoses (as well as the Fasti of Ovid) have preserved, it must be owned, many curious particulars of ancient history, philosophy, and mythology. For Ovid was a great and learned antiquarian, which, from the levity and sportiveness of some of his poems, one would not

His boiling rage, he roll'd his eyes around⁵
The shore, and Grecian galleys haled aground.
Then stretching out his hands, O Jove, he cried,
Must then our cause before the fleet be tried?
And dares Ulysses for the prize contend,
In sight of what he durst not once defend?¹⁰
But basely fled, that memorable day,
When I from Hector's hands redeem'd the flaming
prey.

So much 'tis safer at the noisy bar
With words to flourish, than engage in war.
By different methods we maintain'd our right,¹⁵
Nor am I made to talk, nor he to fight.
In bloody fields I labour to be great;
His arms are a smooth tongue, and soft deceit
Nor need I speak my deeds, for those you see.
The sun and day are witnesses for me.²⁰
Let him who fights unseen relate his own,
And vouch the silent stars, and conscious moon.
Great is the prize demanded, I confess,
But such an abject rival makes it less.
That gift, those honours, he but hoped to gain,²⁵
Can leave no room for Ajax to be vain:
Losing he wins, because his name will be
Ennobled by defeat, who durst contend with me.
Were mine own valour question'd, yet my blood
Without that plea would make my title good:³⁰
My sire was Telamon, whose arms, employ'd
With Hercules, these Trojan walls destroy'd;
And who before, with Jason, sent from Greece,
In the first ship brought home the golden fleece:
Great Telamon from Æacus derives³⁵
His birth (the inquisitor of guilty lives
In shades below; where Sisyphus, whose son
This thief is thought, rolls up the restless heavy
stone.)

Just Æacus the king of gods above
Begot: thus Ajax is the third from Jove.⁴⁰
Nor should I seek advantage from my lue,
Unless (Achilles) it were mix'd with thine:
As next of kin Achilles' arms I claim;
This fellow would ingraft a foreign name
Upon our stock, and the Sisyphian seed⁴⁵
By fraud and theft asserts his father's breed.
Then must I lose these arms, because I came
To fight uncall'd, a voluntary name?
Nor shunn'd the cause, but offer'd you my aid,
While he long lurking was to war betray'd:⁵⁰
Forc'd to the field he came, but in the rear;
And feign'd distraction to conceal his fear:
Till one more cunning caught him in the snare,
(Ill for himself) and dragg'd him into war.
Now let a hero's arms a coward vest,⁵⁵
And he, who shunn'd all honours, gain the best;
And let me stand excluded from my right,
Robb'd of my kinsman's arms, who first appear'd
in fight.

Better for us, at home he had remain'd,
Had it been true the madness which he feign'd,⁶⁰

suspect. An old French translator of Ovid, Thomas Vallois, called the Metamorphoses the Bible of the poets; his work was printed at Paris, in black letter, 1523. The Abbé Panier published a magnificent edition in 4to. 4 vols 1767, with historical and mythological illustrations—Benserade made a kind of travestie of Ovid in Rondeaux, printed in 4to. with beautiful sculptures. The Abbé Bellegarde translated at the same time Ovid's Metamorphoses, and the poem Thomas à Kempis. Perhaps he was ordered by his confessor to undertake the latter work as an act of penance; as Dryden was ordered by his confessor to write the Hind and Panther, as an expiation for having written the Spanish Friar. Dr JOSEPH WARTON.

Or so believed ; the less had been our shame,
The less his counsell'd crime, which brands the
Grecian name ;

Nor Philoctetes had been left inclosed
In a bare isle, to wants and pains exposed,
Where to the rocks, with solitary groans, 65
His sufferings and our baseness he bemoans ;
And wishes (so may Heaven his wish fulfil)
The due reward to him who caused his ill.
Now he, with us to Troy's destruction sworn,
Our brother of the war, by whom are borne 70
Alcides' arrows, pent in narrow bounds,
With cold and hunger pinch'd, and pain'd with
wounds,

To find him food and clothing, must employ
Against the birds the shafts due to the fate of
Troy.

Yet still he lives, and lives from treason free, 75
Because he left Ulysses' company :
Poor Palamede might wish, so void of aid
Rather to have been left, than so to death
betray'd.

The coward bore the man immortal spite,
Who shamed him out of madness into fight : 80
Nor daring otherwise to vent his hate,
Accused him first of treason to the state ;
And then, for proof, produced the golden store
Himself had hidden in his tent before :
Thus of two champions he deprived our host, 85
By exile one, and one by treason lost.

Thus fights Ulysses, thus his fame extends,
A formidable man, but to his friends :
Great, for what greatness is in words and sound :
Even faithful Nestor less in both is found : 90
But that he might without a rival reign,
He left his faithful Nestor on the plain ;
Forsook his friend ev'n at his utmost need,
Who tired and tardy, with his wounded steed,
Cried out for aid, and call'd him by his name ; 95
But cowardice has neither ears nor shame :
Thus fled the good old man, bereft of aid,
And, for as much as lay in him, betray'd.
That this is not a fable forged by me,
Like one of his, an Ulyssean lie, 100
I vouch ev'n Diomed, who, though his friend,
Cannot that act excuse, much less defend :
He call'd him back aloud, and tax'd his fear ;
And sure enough he heard, but durst not hear.

The gods with equal eyes on mortals look ; 105
He justly was forsaken, who forsook :
Wanted that succour he refused to lend,
Found every fellow such another friend :
No wonder, if he roar'd that all might hear,
His elocution was increased by fear : 110
I heard, I ran, I found him out of breath,
Pale, trembling, and half dead with fear of
death.

Though he had judged himself by his own laws,
And stood condemn'd, I help'd the common
cause :

With my broad buckler hid him from the foe ; 115
(Ev'n the shield trembled as he lay below :)
And from impending fate the coward freed :
Good heaven forgive me for so bad a deed !
If still he will persist, and urge the strife,
First let him give me back his forfeit life ; 120
Let him return to that opprobrious field :
Again creep under my protecting shield :
Let him lie wounded, let the foe be near.
And let his quivering heart confess his fear ;

There put him in the very jaws of fate ; 125
And let him plead his cause in that estate :
And yet, when snatch'd from death, when from
below

My lifted shield I loosed, and let him go,
Good heavens, how light he rose, with what a
bound

He sprung from earth, forgetful of his wound : 130
How fresh, how eager then his feet to ply ;
Who had not strength to stand, had speed to fly !

Hector came on, and brought the gods along ;
Fear seized alike the feeble and the strong :
Each Greek was an Ulysses ; such a dread 135
Th' approach, and ev'n the sound, of Hector bred :
Him, flesh'd with slaughter, and with conquest
crown'd,

I met, and overturn'd him to the ground.
When after, matchless as he deem'd in night,
He challenged all our host to single fight, 140
All eyes were fix'd on me : the lots were thrown
But for your champion I was wish'd alone :
Your vows were heard, we fought, and neither
yield ;

Yet I return'd unvanquish'd from the field.
With Jove to friend th' insulting Trojan came, 145
And menaced us with force, our fleet with flame :
Was it the strength of this tongue-valiant lord,
In that black hour, that saved you from the
sword ;

Or was my breast exposed alone, to brave
A thousand swords, a thousand ships to save ? 150
The hopes of your return ! and can you yield,
For a saved fleet, less than a single shield ?
Think it no boast, O Grecians, if I deem
These arms want Ajax, more than Ajax them ;
Or, I with them an equal honour share ; 155
They honour'd to be worn, and I to wear.

Will he compare my courage with his flight !
As well he may compare the day with night.
Night is indeed the province of his reign :
Yet all his dark exploits no more contain 160
Than a spy taken, and a sleeper slain ;
A priest made prisoner. Pallas made a prey :
But none of all these actions done by day :
Nor aught of these was done, and Diomed away.

If on such petty merits you confer 165
So vast a prize, let each his portion share ;
Make a just dividend : and if not all,
The greater part to Diomed will fall.
But why for Ithacus such arms as those,
Who naked and by night invades his foes ? 170
The glittering helm by moonlight will proclaim
The latent robber, and prevent his game :
Nor could he hold his twittering head upright
Beneath that motion, or sustain the weight ;
Nor that right arm could toss the beamy lance ; 175
Much less the left that ampler shield advance ;
Ponderous with precious weight, and rough with
cost

Of the round world in rising gold emboss'd.
That orb would ill become his hand to wield,
And look as for the gold he stole the shield ; 180
Which should your error on the wretch bestow,
It would not frighten, but allure the foe :
Why ask he what avails him not in fight,
And would but cumber and retard his flight, 185
In which his only excellence is placed !
You give him death, that intercept his haste.
Add, that his own is yet a maiden-shield,
Nor the least dint has suffer'd in the field,

Guiltless of fight : mine batter'd, hew'd, and
bored,
Worn out of service, must forsake his lord. 190
What farther need of words our right to scan?
My arguments are deeds; let action speak the
man.

Since from a champion's arms the strife arose,
So cast the glorious prize amid the foes;
Then send us to redeem both arms and shield, 195
And let him wear who wins 'em in the field.

He said : a murmur from the multitude,
Or somewhat like a stifled shout, ensued :
Till from his seat arose Laertes' son,
Look'd down awhile, and paused ere he begun; 200
Then to the expecting audience raised his look,
And not without prepared attention spoke :
Soft was his tone, and sober was his face;
Action his words, and words his action grace.

If heaven, my lords, had heard our common
prayer, 205

These arms had caused no quarrel for an heir;
Still great Achilles had his own possess'd,
And we with great Achilles had been bless'd.
But since hard fate, and heaven's severe decree, 210
Have ravish'd him away from you and me,
(At this he sigh'd, and wiped his eyes, and
drew,

Or seem'd to draw, some drops of kindly dew,
Who better can succeed Achilles lost,
Than he who gave Achilles to your host?
This only I request, that neither he 215
May gain, by being what he seems to be,
A stupid thing, nor I may lose the prize,
By having sense, which heaven to him denies :
Since, great or small, the talent I enjoy'd
Was ever in the common cause employ'd : 220
Nor let my wit, and wonted eloquence,
Which often has been used in your defence
And in my own, this only time be brought
To bear against myself, and deem'd a fault.
Make not a crime, where nature made it none; 225
For every man may freely use his own.
The deeds of long-descended ancestors
Are but by grace of imputation ours,
Theirs in effect : but since he draws his line
From Jove, and seems to plead a right divine; 230
From Jove, like him, I claim my pedigree,
And am descended in the same degree :
My sire Laertes was Arcestius' heir,
Arcestius was the son of Jupiter :

No parricide, no banish'd man, is known
In all my line : let him excuse his own.
Hermes ennobles too my mother's side,
By both my parents to the gods allied;
But not because that on the female part
My blood is better, dare I claim desert,
Or that my sire from parricide is free,
But judge by merit betwixt him and me :
The prize be to the best; provided yet,
That Ajax for a while his kin forget,
And his great sire, and greater uncle's name, 245
To fortify by them his feeble claim :
Be kindred and relation laid aside,
And honour's cause by laws of honour tried :
For, if he plead proximity of blood,
That empty title is with ease withstood. 250
Pelesus, the hero's sire, more nigh than he,
And Pyrrhus his undoubted progeny,
Inherit first these trophies of the field;
To Scyros, or to Phthia, send the shield.

And Teucer has an uncle's right; yet he 255
Waves his pretensions, nor contends with me.

Then, since the cause on pure desert is placed,
Whence shall I take my rise, what reckon last?
I not presume on every act to dwell,
But take these few, in order as they fell. 260

Thetis, who knew the fates, applied her care
To keep Achilles in disguise from war;
And till the threatening influence were past,
A woman's habit on the hero cast :

All eyes were cozen'd by the borrow'd vest, 265
And Ajax (never wiser than the rest)
Found no Pelides there : at length I came
With proffer'd wares to this pretended dame;

She, not discover'd by her mien or voice,
Betray'd her manhood by her manly choice; 270
And while on female toys her fellows look,
Grasp'd in her warlike hand, a javelin shook;
Whom, by this act reveal'd, I thus bespoke :

O goddess-born ! resist not heaven's decree,
The fall of Ilium is reserved for thee; 275
Then seized him, and, produced in open light,
Sent blushing to the field the fatal knight.

Mine then are all his actions of the war;
Great Telephus was conquer'd by my spear,
And after cured : to me the Thebans owe, 280
Lesbos and Tenedos, their overthrow;

Scyros and Cylla : not on all to dwell,
By me Lyrnesus and strong Chrysa fell :
And since I sent the man who Hector slew,
To me the noble Hector's death is due : 285

Those arms I put into his living hand,
Those arms, Pelides dead, I now demand.
When Greece was injured in the Spartan prince,
And met at Aulis to revenge the offence,

'Twas a dead calm, or adverse blasts, that reign'd,
And in the port the wind-bound fleet detain'd : 290
Bad signs were seen, and oracles severe
Were daily thunder'd in our general's ear :

That by his daughter's blood we must appease
Diana's kindled wrath, and free the seas. 295
Affection, interest, fame, his heart assail'd;
But soon the father o'er the king prevail'd

Bold, on himself he took the pious crime,
As angry with the gods, as they with him.
No subject could sustain their sovereign's look, 300
Till this hard enterprise I undertook :

I only durst th' imperial power control,
And undermined the parent in his soul;
Forced him to exert the king for common good,
And pay our ransom with his daughter's blood. 305

Never was cause more difficult to plead,
Than where the judge against himself decreed :
Yet this I won by dint of argument;

The wrongs his injured brother underwent,
And his own office, shamed him to consent. 310
'Twas harder yet to move the mother's mind,
And to this heavy task was I design'd :

Reasons against her love I knew were vain :
I circumvented whom I could not gain :
Had Ajax been employ'd, our slacken'd sails 315
Had still at Aulis waited happy gales.

Arrived at Troy, your choice was fix'd on me,
A fearless envoy, fit for a bold embassy :
Secure, I enter'd through the hostile court,
Glittering with steel, and crowded with resort : 320

There, in the midst of arms, I plead our cause,
Urge the foul rape, and violated laws;
Accuse the foes, as authors of the strife,
Reproach the ravisher, demand the wife.

Priam, Antenor, and the wiser few, 323
I moved; but Paris and his lawless crew
Scarcely held their hands, and lifted swords: but
stood

In act to quench their impious thirst of blood:
This Menelaus knows; exposed to share
With me the rough prelude of the war. 330

Endless it were to tell what I have done,
In arms, or counsel, since the siege begun.
The first encounters past, the foe repell'd,
They skulk'd within the town, we kept the field.
War seem'd asleep for nine long years; at length,
Both sides resolved to push, we tried our
strength. 336

Now what did Ajax while our arms took breath,
Versed only in the gross mechanic trade of
death?

If you require my deeds, with ambush'd arms
I trapp'd the foe, or tired with false alarms; 340
Secured the ships, drew lines along the plain,
The fainting cheer'd, chastised the rebel train,
Provided forage, our spent arms renew'd;
Employ'd at home, or sent abroad, the common
cause pursued.

The king, deluded in a dream by Jove, 345
Despair'd to take the town, and order'd to remove.
What subject durst arraign the power supreme,
Producing Jove to justify his dream?

Ajax might wish the soldiers to retain
From shameful flight, but wishes were in vain;

As wanting of effect had been his words, 351
Such as of course his thundering tongue affords.
But did this boaster threaten, did he pray,
Or by his own example urge their stay?

None, none of these, but run himself away. 355
I saw him run, and was ashamed to see;
Who plied his feet so fast to get aboard as he?
Then speeding through the place, I made a stand,
And loudly cried, O base degenerate band,

To leave a town already in your hand! 360
After so long expense of blood, for fame,
To bring home nothing but perpetual shame!
These words, or what I have forgotten since,
(For grief inspired me then with eloquence)
Reduced their minds; they leave the crowded
port, 365

And to their late forsaken camp resort;
Dismay'd the council met: this man was there,
But mute, and not recover'd of his fear:
Thersites tax'd the king, and loudly rail'd,
But his wide opening mouth with blows I seal'd.
Then, rising, I excite their souls to fame, 371
And kindle sleeping virtue into flame;
From thence, whatever he perform'd in fight
Is justly mine, who drew him back from flight.

Which of the Grecian chiefs consorts with
these? 375

But Diomedes desires my company,
And still communicates his praise with me.
As guided by a god, secure he goes,
Arm'd with my fellowship, amid the foes:
And sure no little merit I may boast, 380
Whom such a man selects from such an host;
Unforced by lots I went without affright,
To dare with him the dangers of the night:
On the same errand sent, we met the spy
Of Hector, double-tongued, and used to lie; 385
Him I despatch'd, but not till, undermined,
I drew him first to tell what treacherous Troy
desigu'd:

My task perform'd, with praise I had retired,
But not content with this, to greater praise
aspired;

Invaded Rhœsus, and his Thracian crew, 390
And him, and his, in their own strength, I slew;
Return'd a victor, all my vows complete,
With the king's chariot, in his royal seat:
Refuse me now his arms, whose fiery steeds
Were promised to the spy for his nocturnal
deeds: 396

And let dull Ajax bear away my right,
When all his days outbalance this one night.
Nor fought I darkling still: the sun beheld
With slaughter'd Lycians when I strew'd the
field:

You saw, and counted as I pass'd along, 400
Alastor, Cromius, Ceraunos the strong,
Alcander, Prytanis, and Halius,
Noemon, Charopes, and Ennomus,
Choon, Chersidamas; and five beside,
Men of obscure descent, but courage tried: 405
All these this hand laid breathless on the ground;
Nor want I proofs of many a manly wound:
All honest, all before believe not me;
Words may deceive, but credit what you see.

At this he bared his breast, and show'd his
scars, 410

As of a furrow'd field, well plough'd with wars;
Nor is this part unexercised, said he;

That giant bulk of his from wounds is free:
Safe in his shield, he fears no foe to try,

And better manages his blood than I: 415
But this avails me not; our boaster strove
Not with our foes alone, but partial Jove,

To save the fleet: this I confess is true,
(Nor will I take from any man his due);

But thus assuming all, he robs from you. 420
Some part of honour to your share will fall;
He did the best indeed, but did not all.

Patroclus in Achilles' arms, and thought
The chief he seem'd, with equal ardour fought;

Preserved the fleet, repell'd the raging fire, 425
And forced the fearful Trojans to retire.

But Ajax boasts that he was only thought
A match for Hector, who the combat sought:

Sure he forgets the king, the chiefs, and me; 430
All were as eager for the fight as he;

He but the ninth, and, not by public voice,
Or ours prefer'd, was only fortune's choice:

They fought; nor can our hero boast th' event,
For Hector from the field unwounded went.

Why am I forced to name that fatal day, 435
That snatch'd the prop and pride of Greece away?

I saw Pelides sink, with pious grief,
And ran in vain, alas! to his relief;

For the brave soul was fled: full of my friend,
I rush'd amid the war, his relics to defend: 440

Nor ceased my toil till I redeem'd the prey,
And, loaded with Achilles, march'd away:

Those arms, which on these shoulders then I
bore,

'Tis just you to these shoulders should restore.
You see I want not nerves, who could sustain 445

The ponderous ruins of so great a man:
Or if in others equal force you find,

None is endued with a more grateful mind.
Did Thetis then, ambitious in her care,

These arms thus labour'd for her son prepare, 450
That Ajax after him the heavenly gift should
wear?

For that dull soul to stare, with stupid eyes,
On the learn'd, unintelligible prize !
What are to him the sculptures of the shield,
Heaven's planets, earth, and ocean's watery field ?
The Pleiads, Hyads ; less, and greater Bear,
Undipp'd in seas ; Orion's angry star ;
Two differing cities, grav'd on either hand !
Would he wear arms he cannot understand !

Beside, what wise objections he prepares
Against my late accession to the war ?
Does not the fool perceive his argument
Is with more force against Achilles bent ?
For, if dissembling be so great a crime,
The fault is common, and the same in him :
And if he taxes both of long delay,
My guilt is less, who sooner came away.
His pious mother, anxious for his life,
Detain'd her son ; and me, my pious wife.
To them the blossoms of our youth were due :
Our ripen'd manhood we reserved for you.
But grant me guilty, 'tis not much my care,
When with so great a man my guilt I share :
My wit to war the matchless hero brought,
But by this fool he never had been caught.

Nor need I wonder, that on me he threw
Such foul aspersions, when he spares not you :
If Palamede unjustly fell by me,
Your honour suffer'd in th' unjust decree :
I but accused, you doom'd : and yet he died,
Convinced of treason, and was fairly tried.
You heard not he was false ; your eyes beheld
The traitor manifest ; the bribe reveal'd.

That Philoctetes is on Lemnos left,
Wounded, forlorn, of human aid bereft,
Is not my crime, or not my crime alone ;
Defend your justice, for the fact's your own :
'Tis true, the advice was mine ; that staying
there

He might his weary limbs with rest repair,
From a long voyage free, and from a longer
war.

He took the counsel, and he lives at least ;
The event declares I counsel'd for the best :
Though faith is all in ministers of state ;
For who can promise to be fortunate ?
Now since his arrows are the fate of Troy,
Do not my wit, or weak address, employ ;
Send Ajax there, with his persuasive sense,
To mollify the man, and draw him thence :
But Xanthus shall run backward ; Ida stand
A leafless mountain ; and the Grecian band
Shall fight for Troy ; if, when my counsels fail,
The wit of heavy Ajax can prevail.

Hard Philoctetes, exercise thy spleen
Against thy fellows, and the king of men ;
Curse my devoted head, above the rest,
And I wish in arms to meet me breast to breast :
Yet I the dangerous task will undertake,
And either die myself, or bring thee back.

Nor doubt the same success, as when before
The Phrygian prophet to these tents I bore,
Surprised by night, and forced him to declare
In what was plac'd the fortune of the war ;
Heaven's dark decrees and answers to display,
And how to take the town, and where the secret
lay :

Yet this I compass'd, and from Troy convey'd
The fatal image of their guardian maid ;
That work was mine ; for Pallas, though our friend,
Yet while she was in Troy, did Troy defend.

Now what has Ajax done, or what design'd ?
A noisy nothing, and an empty wind.
If he be what he promises in show,
Why was I sent, and why fear'd he to go ?
Our boasting champion thought the task not light
To pass the guards, commit himself to night,
Not only through a hostile town to pass,
But scale, with steep ascent, the sacred place ;
With wandering steps to search the citadel,
And from the priests their patroness to steal :
Then through surrounding foes to force my way.
And bear in triumph home the heavenly prey ;
Which had I not, Ajax in vain had held.
Before that monstrous bulk, his sevenfold shield.
That night to conquer Troy I might be said,
When Troy was liable to conquest made.

Why point'st thou to my partner of the war ?
Tydides had indeed a worthy share
In all my toil, and praise ; but when thy might
Our ships protected, didst thou singly fight ?
All join'd, and thou of many wert but one ;
I ask'd no friend, nor had, but him alone ;
Who, had he not been well assured, that art
And conduct were of war the better part,
And more avail'd than strength, my valiant friend
Had urg'd a better right than Ajax can pretend.
As good at least Eurypylus may claim,
And the more moderate Ajax of the name ;
The Cretan king, and his brave charioteer,
And Menelaus bold with sword and spear ;
All these had been my rivals in the shield,
And yet all these to my pretensions yield.

Thy boisterous hands are then of use, when I
With this directing head those hands apply.
Brawn without brain is thine : my prudent care
Foresees, provides, administers the war :
Thy province is to fight ; but when shall be
The time to fight, the king consults with me :
No dram of judgment with thy force is join'd ;
Thy body is of profit, and my mind.
By how much more the ship her safety owes
To him who steers, than him that only rows,
By how much more the captain merits praise
Than he who fights, and fighting but obeys ;
By so much greater is my worth than thine,
Who canst but execute what I design.

What gain'st thou, brutal man, if I confess
Thy strength superior, when thy wit is less ?
Mind is the man : I claim my whole desert
From the mind's vigour, and the immortal part

But you, O Grecian chiefs, reward my care,
Be grateful to your watchman of the war :
For all my labours in so long a space,
Sure I may plead a title to your grace :
Enter the town ; I then unbarr'd the gates,
When I removed their tutelary fates.
By all our common hopes, if hopes they be
Which I have now reduced to certainty ;
By falling Troy, by yonder tottering towers,
And by their taken gods, which now are ours ;
Or if there yet a farther task remains,
To be perform'd by prudence or by pains ;
If yet some desperate action rests behind,
That asks high conduct, and a dauntless mind ;
If aught be wanting to the Trojan doom,
Which none but I can manage and o'ercome ;
Award those arms I ask, by your decree :
Or give to this what you refuse to me.

He ceased : and, ceasing, with respect he bow'd,
And with his hand at once the fatal statue show'd

Heaven, air, and ocean rung with loud applause,
 And by the general vote he gain'd his cause.⁵⁹⁰
 Thus conduct won the prize, when courage fail'd,
 And eloquence o'er brutal force prevail'd.

THE DEATH OF AJAX

HE who could often, and alone, withstand
 The foe, the fire, and Jove's own partial hand,⁵⁹⁵
 Now cannot his unmaster'd grief sustain,
 But yields to rage, to madness, and disdain;
 Then snatching out his fuchion, Thou, said he,
 Art mine; Ulysses lays no claim to thee.
 O often tried, and ever trusty sword,
 Now do thy last kind office to thy lord:⁶⁰⁰
 'Tis Ajax who requests thy aid, to show
 None but himself, himself could overthrow.
 He said, and with so good a will to die
 Did to his breast the fatal point apply,
 It found his heart, a way till then unknown,⁶⁰⁵
 Where never weapon enter'd but his own:
 No hands could force it thence, so fix'd it stood.
 'Till out it rush'd, expell'd by streams of spouting
 blood.
 The fruitful blood produced a flower, which grew
 On a green stem, and of a purple hue:⁶¹⁰
 Like his, whom unaware Apollo slew.
 Inscribed in both, the letters are the same;
 But those express the grief, and these the name.

THE STORY OF

ACIS, POLYPHEMUS, AND GALATEA.

FROM THE THIRTEENTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.

ACIS, the lovely youth, whose loss I mourn,
 From Faunus and the nymph Symethis born,
 Was both his parents' pleasure; but to me
 Was all that love could make a lover be.
 The Gods our minds in mutual bands did join:⁵
 I was his only joy, and he was mine.
 Now sixteen summers the sweet youth had seen;
 And doubtful down began to shade his chin;
 When Polyphemus first disturb'd our joy,
 And loved me fiercely as I loved the boy.¹⁰
 Ask not which passion in my soul was higher,
 My last aversion, or my first desire:
 Nor this the greater was, nor that the less;
 Both were alike, for both were in excess.
 Thee, Venus, thee both heaven and earth obey:¹⁵
 Immense thy power, and boundless is thy sway.
 The Cyclops, who defied th' ethereal throne,
 And thought no thunder louder than his own,
 The terror of the woods, and wilder far
 Than wolves in plains, or bears in forests are,²⁰
 Th' inhuman host, who made his bloody feasts
 On mangled members of his butcher'd guests,
 Yet felt the force of love, and fierce desire,
 And burn'd for me with unrelenting fire:

Forgot his caverns, and his woolly care,²⁵
 Assumed the softness of a lover's air;
 And comb'd, with teeth of rakes, his rugged hair.
 Now with a crooked scythe he heard he sleeks,
 And mows the stubborn stubble of his cheeks.
 Now in the crystal stream he looks, to try³⁰
 His simagres, and rolls his glaring eye.
 His cruelty and thirst of blood are lost,
 And ships securely sail along the coast.

The prophet Telemus (arrived by chance
 Where Ætna's summits to the seas advance,³⁵
 Who mark'd the tracks of every bird that flew,
 And sure presages from their flying drew,)
 Foretold the Cyclops, that Ulysses' hand
 In his broad eye should thrust a flaming brand.
 The giant, with a scornful grin, replied,⁴⁰
 Vain augur, thou hast falsely prophesied;
 Already Love his flaming brand has toss'd;
 Looking on two fair eyes, my sight I lost.
 Thus, warn'd in vain, with stalking pace he strode,
 And stamp'd the margin of the briny flood⁴⁵
 With heavy steps; and, weary, sought again
 The cool retirement of his gloomy den.

A promontory, sharpening by degrees,
 Ends in a wedge, and overlooks the seas:
 On either side, below, the water flows:⁵⁰
 This airy walk the giant-lover chose;
 Here on the midst he sat; his flocks, unled,
 Their shepherd follow'd, and securely fed.
 A pine so burly, and of length so vast,
 That sailing ships required it for a mast,⁵⁵
 He wielded for a staff, his steps to guide:
 But laid it by, his whistle while he tried.
 A hundred reeds, of a prodigious growth,
 Scarce made a pipe proportion'd to his mouth:
 Which when he gave it wind, the rocks around.
 And watery plains, the dreadful hiss resound.⁶¹
 I heard the ruffian shepherd rudely blow,
 Where, in a hollow cave, I sat below;
 On Acis' bosom I my head reclined:
 And still preserve the poem in my mind.⁶⁵

O lovely Galatea, whiter far
 Than falling snows, and rising lilies are;
 More flowery than the meads; as crystal bright;
 Erect as alders, and of equal height:
 More wanton than a kid; more sleek thy skin⁷⁰
 Than orient shells, that on the shores are seen:
 Than apples fairer, when the boughs they laden;
 Pleasing as winter suns, or summer shade:
 More grateful to the sight than goodly plains;
 And softer to the touch than down of swans,⁷⁵
 Or curds new turn'd; and sweeter to the taste
 Than swelling grapes, that to the vintage haste:
 More clear than ice, or running streams, that stray
 Through garden plots, but, ah! more swift than they.

Yet, Galatea, harder to be broke⁸⁰
 Than bullocks, unreclaim'd to bear the yoke:
 And far more stubborn than the knotted oak:
 Like sliding streams, impossible to hold;
 Like them fallacious; like their fountains, cold:
 More warping than the willow, to decline⁸⁵
 My warm embrace; more brittle than the vine;
 Immoveable, and fix'd in thy disdain:
 Rough as these rocks, and of a harder grain:
 More violent than is the rising flood;
 And the praised peacock is not half so proud:⁹⁰
 Fierce as the fire, and sharp as thistles are;
 And more outrageous than a mother-bear:
 Deaf as the billows to the vows I make;
 And more revengeful than a trodden snake

In swiftnest fleetest than the flying hind,
Or driven tempests, or the driving wind.
All other faults with patience I can bear;
But swiftiness is the vice I only fear.

Yet, if you knew me well, you would not shun
My love, but to my wish'd embraces run:
Would languish in your turn, and court my stay;
And much repent of your unwise delay.

My palace, in the living rock, is made
By nature's hand; a spacious pleasing shade;
Which neither heat can pierce, nor cold invade.
My garden fill'd with fruits you may behold,
And grapes in clusters, imitating gold;
Some blushing bunches of a purple hue:
And these, and those, are all reserved for you.
Red strawberries in shades expecting stand,
Proud to be gather'd by so white a hand;
Autumnal cornels latter fruit provide,
And plums, to tempt you, turn their glossy side:
Not those of common kinds; but such alone,
As in Phœcian orchards might have grown:
Nor chestnuts shall be wanting to your food,
Nor garden-fruits, nor wildings of the wood;
The laden boughs for you alone shall bear;
And yours shall be the product of the year.

The flocks, you see, are all my own; beside
The rest that woods and winding valleys hide;
And those that folded in the caves abide.
Ask not the numbers of my growing store;
Who knows how many, knows he has no more.
Nor will I praise my cattle; trust not me,
But judge yourself, and pass your own decree:
Behold their swelling dugs; the sweepy weight
Of ewes, that sink beneath the milky freight;
In the warm folds their tender lambskins lie;
Apart from kids, that call with human cry.
New milk in nut-brown bowls is duly served
For daily drink; the rest for cheese reserved.
Nor are these household dainties all my store:
The fields and forests will afford us more;
The deer, the hare, the goat, the savage boar:
All sorts of venison; and of birds the best;
A pair of turtles taken from the nest.
I walk'd the mountains, and two cubs I found,
Whose dam had left 'em on the naked ground;
So like, that no distinction could be seen;
So pretty, they were presents for a queen;
And so they shall; I took them both away;
And keep, to be companions of your play.

Oh raise, fair nymph, your beauteous face above
The waves; nor scorn my presents, and my love.
Come, Galatea, come, and view my face;
I late beheld it in the watery glass,
And found it lovelier than I fear'd it was.
Survey my towering stature, and my size:
Not Jove, the Jove you dream, that rules the skies,
Bears such a bulk, or is so largely spread:
My locks (the plenteous harvest of my head)
Hang o'er my manly face; and dangling down,
As with a shady grove, my shoulders crown.
Nor think, because my limbs and body bear
A thick-set underwood of bristling hair,
My shape deform'd: what fouler sight can be
Than the bald branches of a leafless tree?
Foul is the steed without a flowing mane;
And birds, without their feathers, and their train.
Wool decks the sheep; and man receives a grace
From bushy limbs, and from a bearded face.
My forehead with a single eye is fill'd,
Round as a ball, and ample as a shield.

The glorious lamp of heaven, the radiant sun,
Is nature's eye; and she's content with one.
Add, that my father sways your seas, and I,
Like you, am of the watery family.

I make you his, in making you my own;
You I adore, and kneel to you alone:
Jove, with his fabled thunder, I despise,
And only fear the lightning of your eyes.
Frown not, fair nymph; yet I could bear to be
Disdain'd, if others were disdain'd with me.
But to repulse the Cyclops, and prefer
The love of Acis, heavens! I cannot bear.
But let the stripling please himself; nay more,
Please you, though that's the thing I most abhor;
The boy shall find, if e'er we cope in fight,
These giant limbs endued with giant might.
His living bowels from his belly torn,
And scatter'd limbs, shall on the flood be borne,
Thy flood, ungrateful nymph; and fate shall find
That way for thee and Acis to be join'd.
For, oh! I burn with love, and thy disdain
Augments at once my passion and my pain.
Translated Ætna flames within my heart,
And thou, inhuman, wilt not ease my smart.

Lamenting thus in vain, he rose, and strode
With furious paces to the neighbouring wood:
Restless his feet, distracted was his walk;
Mad were his motions, and confused his talk.
Mad as the vanquish'd bull, when forced to yield
His lovely mistress, and forsake the field.

Thus far unseen I saw: when, fatal chance
His looks directing, with a sudden glance,
Acis and I were to his sight betray'd;
Where, nought suspecting, we securely play'd.
From his wide mouth a bellowing cry he cast;
I see, I see! but this shall be your last.
A roar so loud made Ætna to rebound;
And all the Cyclops labour'd in the sound.
Affrighted with his monstrous voice, I fled,
And in the neighbouring ocean plung'd my head.
Poor Acis turn'd his back, and, Help, he cried,
Help, Galatea! help, my parent gods,
And take me dying to your deep abodes!
The Cyclops follow'd; but he sent before
A rib, which from the living rock he tore.
Though but an angle reach'd him of the stone,
The mighty fragment was enough alone
To crush all Acis; 'twas too late to save,
But what the fates allow'd to give, I gave:
That Acis to his lineage should return;
And roll, among the river gods, his urn.
Straight issued from the stone a stream of blood;
Which lost the purple, mingling with the flood.
Then like a troubled torrent it appear'd:
The torrent too, in little space, was clear'd.
The stone was cleft, and through the yawning
chink

New reeds arose, on the new river's brink.
The rock, from out its hollow womb, disclosed
A sound like water in its course opposed:
When (wondrous to behold) full in the flood
Up starts a youth, and navel-high he stood.
Horns from his temples rise; and either horn
Thick wreaths of reeds (his native growth) adorn.
Were not his stature taller than before,
His bulk augmented, and his beauty more,
His colour blue, for Acis he might pass:
And Acis changed into a stream he was.
But mine no more, he rolls along the plains
With rapid motion, and his name retains.

OF THE

PYTHAGOREAN PHILOSOPHY;

FROM THE FIFTEENTH BOOK OF

OVID'S METAMORPHOSES.*

The Fourteenth Book concludes with the death and deification of Romulus; the Fifteenth begins with the election of Numa to the crown of Rome. On this occasion, Ovid, following the opinion of some authors, makes Numa the scholar of Pythagoras; and to have begun his acquaintance with that philosopher at Crotona, a town in Italy; from thence he makes a digression to the moral and natural philosophy of Pythagoras: on both which our author enlarges; and which are the most learned and beautiful parts of the *Metamorphoses*.

A KING is sought to guide the growing state,
 One able to support the public weight,
 And fill the throne where Romulus had sat.
 Renown, which oft bespeaks the public voice,
 Had recommended Numa to their choice: 5
 A peaceful, pious prince; who, not content
 To know the Sabine rites, his study bent
 To cultivate his mind: to learn the laws
 Of nature, and explore their hidden cause.
 Urged by this care, his country he forsook, 10
 And to Crotona thence his journey took.
 Arrived, he first inquired the founder's name
 Of this new colony, and whence he came.
 Then thus a senior of the place replies,
 (Well read, and curious of antiquities,) 15
 'Thy said, Alcides hither took his way
 From Spain, and drove along his conquer'd prey;
 Then, leaving in the fields his grazing cows,
 He sought himself some hospitable house.
 Good Croton entertain'd his godlike guest; 20
 While he repair'd his weary limbs with rest.
 The hero, thence departing, bless'd the place;
 And here, he said, in Time's revolving race,
 A rising town shall take its name from thee.
 Revolving Time fulfill'd the prophecy: 25
 For Myscelos, the justest man on earth,
 Alemon's son, at Argos had his birth:
 Him Hercules, arm'd with his club of oak,
 O'ersadow'd in a dream, and thus bespoke:
 Go, leave thy native soil, and make abode 30
 Where Æsaris rolls down his rapid flood.
 He said; and sleep forsook him, and the god.
 Trembling he waked, and rose with anxious
 heart;
 His country laws forbade him to depart:
 What should he do? 'Twas death to go away; 35
 And the god menaced if he dared to stay:
 All day he doubted, and, when night came on,
 Sleep, and the same forewarning dream, begun:
 Once more the god stood threatening o'er his
 head;
 With added curses if he disobey'd. 40
 Twice warn'd, he studied flight; but would con-
 vey,
 At once, his person and his wealth away.
 Thus while he linger'd, his design was heard;
 A speedy process form'd, and death declared.

* It is a singular circumstance, that neither *Lucretius* nor *Pope* finished their philosophical poems. Ovid has not set forth the Pythagorean philosophy so well as *Lucretius* the Epicurean. DR. J. WATSON.

Witness there needed none of his offence, 45
 Against himself the wretch was evidence:
 Condemn'd, and destitute of human aid,
 To him, for whom he suffer'd, thus he pray'd:
 O Power, who has deserved in heaven a throne,
 Not given, but by thy labours made thy own, 50
 Pity thy suppliant, and protect his cause,
 Whom thou hast made obnoxious to the laws.
 A custom was of old, and still remains,
 Which life or death by suffrages ordains;
 White stones and black within an urn are cast; 55
 The first absolve, but fate is in the last.
 The judges to the common urn bequeath
 Their votes, and drop the sable signs of death;
 The box receives all black; but pour'd from
 thence
 The stones came candid forth, the hue of inno- 60
 cence.

Thus Alimonides his safety won,
 Preserved from death by Alcumena's son:
 Then to his kinsman god his vows he pays,
 And cuts with prosperous gales th' Ionian seas:
 He leaves Tarentum, favour'd by the wind, 65
 And Thurine bays, and Temises, behind;
 Soft Sibaris, and all the capes that stand
 Along the shore, he makes in sight of land;
 Still doubling, and still coasting, till he found
 The mouth of Æsaris, and promised ground: 70
 Then saw where, on the margin of the flood,
 The tomb that held the bones of Croton stood:
 Here, by the god's command, he built and wall'd
 The place predicted; and Crotona call'd:
 Thus fame, from time to time, delivers down 75
 The sure tradition of th' Italian town.
 Here dwelt the man divine whom Samos bore,
 But now self-banish'd from his native shore,
 Because he hated tyrants, nor could bear
 The chains which none but servile souls will 80
 wear:
 He, though from heaven remote, to heaven could
 move,
 With strength of mind, and tread th' abyss above;
 And penetrate, with his interior light,
 Those upper depths, which Nature hid from sight:
 And what he had observed, and learn'd from 85
 thence,
 Loved in familiar language to dispense.

The crowd with silent admiration stand,
 And heard him, as they heard their god's com-
 mand;
 While he discoursed of heaven's mysterious laws,
 The world's original, and nature's cause; 90
 And what was God, and why the fleecy snows
 In silence fell, and rattling winds arose;
 What shook the steadfast earth, and whence
 begun
 The dance of planets round the radiant sun;
 If thunder was the voice of angry Jove, 95
 Or clouds, with nitre pregnant, burst above:
 Of these, and things beyond the common reach,
 He spoke, and charm'd his audience with his
 speech.

He first the taste of flesh from tables drove,
 And argued well, if arguments could move. 100
 O mortals! from your fellows' blood abstain,
 Nor taint your bodies with a food profane:
 While corn and pulse by nature are bestow'd,
 And planted orchards bend their willing load;
 While labour'd gardens wholesome herbs produce,
 And teeming vines afford their generous juice; 105

Nor turdier fruits of cruder kind are lost,
 But tamed with fire, or mellow'd by the frost;
 While kine to pails distended udders bring,
 And bees their honey redolent of spring; 110
 While earth not only can your needs supply,
 But, lavish of her store, provides for luxury;
 A guiltless feast administers with ease,
 And without blood is prodigal to please.
 Wild beasts their maws with their slain brethren 115
 fill,

And yet not all, for some refuse to kill:
 Sheep, goats, and oxen, and the nobler steed.
 On browse, and corn, the flowery meadows feed.
 Bears, tigers, wolves, the lion's angry brood,
 Whom Heaven indued with principles of blood, 120
 He wisely sunder'd from the rest, to yell
 In forests, and in lonely caves to dwell,
 Where stronger beasts oppress the weak by might,
 And all in prey and purple feasts delight.

O impious use! to Nature's laws opposed, 125
 Where bowels are in other bowels closed:
 Where, fatten'd by their fellows' fat, they thrive;
 Maintain'd by murder, and by death they live.
 'Tis then for nought that mother earth provides
 The stores of all she shows, and all she hides, 130
 If men with fleshy morsels must be fed,
 And chew with bloody teeth the breathing bread:
 What else is this but to devour our guests,
 And barbarously renew Cyclopean feasts!
 We, by destroying life, our life sustain; 135
 And gorge th' ungodly maw with meats obscene.

Not so the golden age, who fed on fruit,
 Nor durst with bloody meals their mouths 140
 pollute.

Then birds in airy space might safely move,
 And timorous hares on heaths securely rove: 140
 Nor needed fish the guileful hooks to fear,
 For all was peaceful, and that peace sincere.
 Whoever was the wretch (and cursed be he)
 That envied first our food's simplicity;
 Th' essay of bloody feasts on brutes began, 145
 And after forged the sword to murder man.
 Had he the sharpen'd steel alone employ'd
 On beasts of prey that other beasts destroy'd,
 Or men invaded with their fangs and paws,
 This had been justified by Nature's laws, 150
 And self-defence: but who did feasts begin
 Of flesh, he stretch'd necessity to sin.
 To kill man-killers, man has lawful power,
 But not th' extended licence to devour.

All habits gather by unseen degrees, 155
 As brooks make rivers, rivers run to seas.
 The sow, with her broad snout for rooting up
 Th' entrusted seed, was judged to spoil the crop,
 And intercept the sweating farmer's hope:
 The covetous churl, of unforgiving kind, 160
 Th' offender to the bloody priest resign'd:
 Her hunger was no plea; for that she died.
 The goat came next in order, to be tried:
 The goat had crop'd the tendrils of the vine:
 In vengeance laity and clergy join, 165
 Where one has lost his profit, one his wine.
 Here was, at least, some shadow of offence:
 The sheep was sacrificed on no pretence,
 But meek and unresisting innocence:
 A patient, useful creature, born to bear 170
 The warm and woolly fleece, that clothed her
 murderer,
 And daily to give down the milk she bred,
 A tribut' for the grass on which she fed.

Living, both food and raiment she supplies,
 And is of least advantage when she dies. 175

How did the toiling ox his death deserve,
 A downright simple drudge, and born to serve?
 O tyrant! with what justice canst thou hope
 The promise of the year, a plenteous crop;
 When thou destroy'st thy labouring steer, who 180
 till'd,

And plough'd with pains, thy else ungrateful field!
 From his yet reeking neck to draw the yoke,
 (That neck with which the surly clods he broke),
 And to the hatchet yield thy husbandman,
 Who finish'd autumn, and the spring began! 185
 Nor this alone; but, heaven itself to bribe,
 We to the gods our impious acts ascribe:
 First recompense with death their creatures' toil,
 Then call the bless'd above to share the spoil:
 The fairest victim must the powers appease: 190
 (So fatal 'tis sometimes too much to please!)
 A purple fillet his broad brows adorns,
 With flowery garlands crown'd, and gilded
 horns:

He hears the murderous prayer the priest prefers,
 But understands not 'tis his doom he hears. 195
 Beholds the meal betwixt his temples cast;
 (The fruit and product of his labours past);
 And in the water views, perhaps, the knife
 Uplifted, to deprive him of his life;
 Then, broken up alive, his entrails sees 200
 Torn out, for priests to inspect the gods' decrees.
 From whence, O mortal men! this gust of
 blood

Have you derived, and interdicted food?
 Be taught by me this dire delight to shun,
 Warn'd by my precepts, by my practice won: 205
 And when you eat the well-deserving beast,
 Think, on the labourer of your field you feast!

Now since the god inspires me to proceed,
 Be that, whatever inspiring power, obey'd. 210
 For I will sing of mighty mysteries,
 Of truths conceal'd before from human eyes,
 Dark oracles unveil, and open all the skies.
 Pleased as I am to walk along the sphere
 Of shining stars, and travel with the year,
 To leave the heavy earth, and scale the height 215
 Of Atlas, who supports the heavenly weight:
 To look from upper light, and thence survey
 Mistaken mortals wandering from the way,
 And, wanting wisdom, fearful for the state
 Of future things, and trembling at their fate. 220

Those I would teach; and by right reason
 bring

To think of death, as but an idle thing.
 Why thus affrighted at an empty name,
 A dream of darkness, and fictitious flame?
 Vain themes of wit, which but in poems pass, 225
 And fables of a world that never was!
 What feels the body when the soul expires,
 By time corrupted, or consumed by fires?
 Nor dies the spirit, but new life repents
 In other forms, and only changes seats. 230
 Ev'n I, who these mysterious truths declare,
 Was once Euphorbus in the Trojan war;
 My name and lineage I remember well,
 And how in fight by Sparta's king I fell.
 In Argive Juno's fane I late beheld 235
 My buckler hung on high, and own'd my former
 shield.

Then death, so call'd, is but old matter dress'd
 In some new figure, and a varied vest:

Thus all things are but alter'd, nothing dies;
 And here and there th' unbodied spirit flies, 240
 By time, or force, or sickness dispossess'd,
 And lodges, where it lights, in man or beast;
 Or hunts without, till ready lumbs it find,
 And actuates those according to their kind; 245
 From tenement to tenement is toss'd;
 The soul is still the same, the figure only lost:
 And as the soften'd wax new seals receives,
 This face assumes, and that impression leaves;
 Now call'd by one, now by another name;
 The form is only changed, the wax is still the 250
 same:

So death, so call'd, can but the form deface,
 Th' immortal soul flies out in empty space,
 To seek her fortune in some other place.

Then let not piety be put to flight,
 To please the taste of glutton appetite; 255
 But suffer inmate souls secure to dwell,
 Lest from their seats your parents you expel;
 With ravid hunger feed upon your kind,
 Or from a beast dislodge a brother's mind.

And since, like Tiphys, parting from the shore,
 In ample seas I sail, and depths untried before, 261
 This let me further add, that nature knows
 No steadfast station, but or ebbs or flows:
 Ever in motion; she destroys her old,
 And casts new figures in another mould. 265
 Ev'n times are in perpetual flux; and run,
 Like rivers from their fountain, rolling on;
 For time, no more than streams, is at a stay:
 The flying hour is ever on her way;
 And as the fountain still supplies her store, 270
 The wave behind impels the wave before;
 Thus in successive course the minutes run,
 And urge their predecessor minutes on,
 Still moving, ever new: for former things
 Are set aside, like abdicated kings: 275
 And every moment alters what is done,
 And innovates some act till then unknown.

Darkness, we see, emerges into light,
 And shining suns descend to sable night;
 Ev'n heaven itself receives another dye, 280
 When wearied animals in slumbers lie
 Of midnight ease; another, when the grey
 Of morn preludes the splendour of the day.
 The disk of Phœbus, when he climbs on high,
 Appears at first but as a bloodshot eye; 285
 And when his chariot downward drives to bed,
 His ball is with the same suffusion red;
 But mounted high in his meridian race
 All bright he shines, and with a better face:
 For there, pure particles of ether flow, 290
 Far from th' infection of the world below.

Nor equal light th' unequal moon adorns,
 Or in her waxing or her waning horns;
 For every day she wanes, her face is less,
 But, gathering into globe, she fattens at increase. 296

Perceiv'st thou not the process of the year, 298
 How the four seasons in four forms appear,
 Resembling human life in every shape they wear?
 Spring first, like infancy, shoots out her head, 300
 With milky juice requiring to be fed:
 Helpless, though fresh, and wanting to be led.
 The green stem grows in stature and in size,
 But only feeds with hope the farmer's eyes;

Then laughs the childish year with flowerets
 crown'd,
 And lavishly perfumes the fields around, 305
 But no substantial nourishment receives;
 Infirm the stalks, unsolid are the leaves.

Proceeding onward whence the year began,
 The Summer grows adult, and ripens into man. 310
 This season, as in men, is most replete
 With kindly moisture, and prolific heat.

Autumn succeeds, a sober tepid age,
 Not froze with fear, nor boiling into rage;
 More than mature, and tending to decay,
 When our brown locks repine to mix with odious 315
 grey.

Last, Winter creeps along with tardy pace,
 Sour is his front, and furrow'd is his face.
 His scalp, if not dishonour'd quite of hair,
 The ragged fleece is thin, and thin is worse th' 320
 bare.

Ev'n our own bodies daily change receive, 322
 Some part of what was theirs before they leave;
 Nor are to-day what yesterday they were:
 Nor the whole same to-morrow will appear.

Time was when we were sow'd, and just began,
 From some few fruitful drops, the promise of a 325
 man;

Then Nature's hand (fermented as it was)
 Moulded to shape the soft coagulated mass;
 And when the little man was fully form'd,
 The breathless embryo with a spirit warm'd;
 But when the mother's throes begin to come, 330
 The creature, pent within the narrow room,
 Breaks his blind prison, pushing to repair
 His stifled breath, and draw the living air;
 Cast on the margin of the world he lies,
 A helpless babe, but by instinct he cries. 335

He next essays to walk, but, downward press'd,
 On four feet imitates his brother beast:
 By slow degrees he gathers from the ground
 His legs, and to the rolling chair is bound;
 Then walks alone; a horseman now become, 340
 He rides a stick, and travels round the room.
 In time he vaunts among his youthful peers;
 Strong-boned, and strung with nerves, in pride of
 years,

He runs with mettle his first merry stage;
 Maintains the next, abated of his rage, 345
 But manages his strength, and spares his age.
 Heavy the third, and stiff, he sinks apace,
 And, though 'tis down-hill all, but creeps along
 the race.

Now sapped on the verge of death he stands,
 Contemplating his former feet and hands; 350
 And, Milo-like, his slacken'd sinews sees,
 And wither'd arms, once fit to cope with Hercules,
 Unable now to shake, much less to tear, the trees.

So Helen wept, when her too faithful glass
 Reflected to her eyes the ruins of her face: 355
 Wondering what charms her ravishers could spy,
 To force her twice, or ev'n but once enjoy!

Thy teeth, devouring Time, thine, envious Age,
 On things below still exercise your rage:
 With venom'd grinders you corrupt your meat, 360
 And then, at lingering meals, the morsels eat

Nor those, which elements we call, abide,
 Nor to this figure, nor to that, are tied;
 For this eternal world is said of old 365
 But four prolific principles to hold,
 Four different bodies; two to heaven ascend
 And other two down to the centre tend:

Ver. 261. *In ample seas I sail, and depths untried before.*
 Pythagoras, it is said, wrote a poem on the universe, in
 hexameter verses, mentioned by Diog. Laertius, viii. 7. Dr.
 J. WARTON.

Fire, first, with wings expanded, mounts on high,
Pure, void of weight, and dwells in upper sky;
Then Air, because unclogg'd in empty space,
Flies after fire, and claims the second place:
But weighty Water, as her nature guides,
Lies on the lap of Earth, and mother Earth subsides.

All things are mix'd with these, which all contain,

And into these are all resolved again;
Earth rarefies to dew; expanded more
The subtle dew in air begins to soar;
Spreads as she flies, and weary of her name
Extenuates still, and changes into flame;
Thus having by degrees perfection won,
Restless they soon untwist the web they spun,
And fire begins to lose her radiant hue,
Mix'd with gross air, and air descends to dew;
And dew, condensing, does her form forego,
And sinks, a heavy lump of earth, below.

Thus are their figures never at a stand,
But changed by Nature's innovating hand;
All things are alter'd, nothing is destroy'd,
The shifted scene for some new show employ'd.

Then, to be born, is to begin to be
Some other thing we were not formerly;
And what we call to die, is not to appear,
Or be the thing that formerly we were.
Those very elements which we partake
Alive, when dead, some other bodies make:
Translated grow, have sense, or can discourse;
But death on deathless substance has no force.

That forms are changed I grant, that nothing can

Continue in the figure it began:
The golden age to silver was debased:
To copper that; our metal came at last.

The face of places, and their forms, decay;
And that is solid earth that once was sea:
Seas, in their turn, retreating from the shore,
Make solid land what ocean was before;
And far from strands are shells of fishes found,
And rusty anchors fix'd on mountain ground:
And what were fields before, now wash'd and worn
By falling floods from high, to valleys turn,
And, crumbling still, descend to level lands;
And lakes, and trembling bogs, are barren sands:
And the parch'd desert floats in streams unknown;
Wondering to drink of waters not her own.

Here Nature living fountains opes; and there,
Scals up the wombs where living fountains were;
Or earthquakes stop their ancient course, and bring

Diverted streams to feed a distant spring.
So Lycus, swallow'd up, is seen no more,
But far from thence knocks out another door.
Thus Erasinus dives; and blind in earth
Runs on, and gropes his way to second birth;
Starts up in Argos' meads, and shakes his locks
Around the fields, and fattens all the flocks.
So Mysus by another way is led,
And, grown a river, now disdains his head:
Forgets his humble birth, his name forsakes,
And the proud title of Caicus takes.
Large Amenane, impure with yellow sands,
Runs rapid often, and as often stands;
And here he threatens the drunken fields to drown,
And there his dugs deny to give their liquor down.

Anigros once did wholesome draughts afford,
But now his deadly waters are abhor'd:

Since, hurt by Hercules, as fame resounds,
The Centaur in his current wash'd his wounds.
The streams of Hypanis are sweet no more,
But, brackish, lose their taste they had before.
Antissa, Pharos, Tyre, in seas were pent,
Once isles, but now increase the continent;
While the Leucadian coast, mainland before,
By rushing seas is sever'd from the shore.
So Zancle to th' Italian earth was tied,
And men once walk'd where ships at anchor ride;

Till Neptune overlook'd the narrow way,
And in disdain pour'd in the conquering sea.
Two cities that adorn'd th' Achaean ground,
Boris and Helice, no more are found,
But whelm'd beneath a lake, are sunk and drown'd;
And boatmen through the crystal water show,
To wondering passengers, the walls below.

Near Trezen stands a hill, exposed in air
To winter winds, of leafy shadows bare:
This once was level ground: but (strange to tell)
Th' included vapours, that in caverns dwell,
Labouring with colic pangs, and close confined,
In vain sought issue from the rumbling wind:
Yet still they heaved for vent, and heaving still
Enlarged the concave, and shot up the hill;
As breath extends a bladder, or the skins
Of goats are blown to enclose the hoarded wines.
The mountain yet retains a mountain's face,
And gather'd rubbish heals the hollow space.

Of many wonders, which I heard or knew,
Retrenching most, I will relate but few:
What, are not springs with qualities opposed
Indued at seasons, and at seasons lost?
Thrice in a day thine, Ammon, change their form,
Cold at high noon, at morn and evening warm:
Thine, Athaman, will kindle wood, if thrown
On the piled earth, and in the waning moon.
The Thracians have a stream, if any try
The taste, his harden'd bowels petrify;
Whate'er it touches it converts to stones,
And makes a marble pavement where it runs.
Grathis, and Sibaris her sister flood,
That slide through our Calabrian neighbour wood,
With gold and amber dye the shining hair,
And thither youth resort; (for who would not be fair?)

But stranger virtues yet in streams we find;
Some change not only bodies, but the mind:
Who has not heard of Salmacis obscene,
Whose waters into women soften men?
Of Æthiopian lakes, which turn the brain
To madness, or in heavy sleep constrain?
Clytorean streams the love of wine expel,
(Such is the virtue of th' abstemious well),
Whether the colder nymph that rules the flood
Extinguishes, and balks the drunken god;
Or that Melampus (so have some assured)
When the mad Pretides with charms he cured,
And powerful herbs, both charms and simples cast

Into the sober spring, where still their virtues last.

Unlike effects Lyncestis will produce;
Who drinks his waters, though with moderate use,
Reels as with wine, and sees with double sight:
His heels too heavy, and his head too light.
Ladon, once Pheneos, an Arcadian stream,
(Ambiguous in th' effects, as in the name)
By day is wholesome beverage; but is thought
By night infected, and a deadly draught.

Thus running rivers, and the standing lake,
Now of these virtues, now of those partake :
Time was (and all things time and fate obey)
When fast Ortygia floated on the sea ;
Such were Cyanean isles, when Typhis steer'd 505
Betwixt their straits, and their collision fear'd ;
They swam where now they sit ; and, firmly join'd,
Secure of rooting up, resist the wind.
Nor Ætna vomiting sulphureous fire
Will ever belch ; for sulphur will expire, 510
(The veins exhausted of the liquid store :)
Time was she cast no flames ; in time will cast no more.

For whether earth 's an animal, and air
Imbibes, her lungs with coolness to repair,
And what she sucks remits ; she still requires 515
Inlets for air, and outlets for her fires ;
When tortured with convulsive fits she shakes,
That motion chokes the vent, till other vent she makes :

Or when the winds in hollow caves are closed,
And subtle spirits find that way opposed, 520
They toss up flints in air ; the flints that hide
The seeds of fire, thus toss'd in air, collide,
Kindling the sulphur, till, the fuel spent,
The cave is cool'd, and the fierce winds relent.
Or whether sulphur, catching fire, feeds on 525
Its unctuous parts, till, all the matter gone,
The flames no more ascend ; for earth supplies
The fat that feeds them ; and when earth denies
That food, by length of time consumed, the fire
Famish'd for want of fuel must expire. 530

A race of men there are, as fame has told,
Who shivering suffer Hyperborean cold,
Till, nine times bathing in Minerva's lake,
Soft feathers to defend their naked sides they take.
'Tis said the Scythian wives (believe who will) 535
Transform themselves to birds by magic skill ;
Smear'd over with an oil of wondrous might,
That adds new pinions to their airy flight.

But this by sure experiment we know,
That living creatures from corruption grow : 540
Hide in a hollow pit a slaughter'd steer,
Bees from his putrid bowels will appear ;
Who like their parents haunt the fields, and bring
Their honey-harvest home, and hope another spring.
The warlike steed is multiplied, we find, 545
To wasps and hornets of the warrior kind.
Cut from a crab his crooked claws, and hide
The rest in earth, a scorpion thence will glide,
And shoot his sting, his tail in circles toss'd
Refers the limbs his backward father lost. 550
And worms, that stretch on leaves their filmy loom,
Crawl from their bags, and butterflies become.
Ev'n slime begets the frogs' loquacious race :
Short of their feet at first, in little space
With arms and legs indued, long leaps they take, 555
Raised on their hinder part, and swim the lake,
And waves repel : for nature gives their kind,
To that intent, a length of legs behind.

The cubs of bears a living lump appear,
When whelp'd, and no determined figure wear. 560
Their mother licks them into shape, and gives
As much of form as she herself receives.

The grubs from their sexangular abode
Crawl out unfinish'd, like the maggot's brood :
Trunks without limbs ; till time at leisure brings 565
The thighs they wanted, and their tardy wings.
The bird who draws the car of Juno, vain
Of her crown'd head, and of her starry train ;

And he that bears th' artillery of Jove,
The strong pounced eagle, and the billing dove ; 570
And all the feather'd kind, who could suppose
(But that from sight, the surest sense, he knows)
They, from th' included yolk, not ambient white
arose.

There are who think the marrow of a man,
(Which in the spine, while he was living, ran) 575
When dead, the pith corrupted, will become
A snake, and hiss within the hollow tomb.

All these receive their birth from other things ;
But from himself the phoenix only springs :
Self-born, begotten by the parent flame 580
In which he burn'd, another and the same :
Who not by corn or herbs his life sustains,
But the sweet essence of amomum drains ;
And watches the rich gums Arabia bears,
While yet in tender dew they drop their tears. 585
He (his five centuries of life fulfill'd)
His nest on oaken boughs begins to build,
Or trembling tops of palm ; and first he draws
The plan with his broad bill and crooked claws,
Nature's artificers ; on this the pile 590
Is form'd, and rises round ; then with the spoil
Of cassia, cinnamon, and stems of nard,
(For softness strew'd beneath) his funeral bed is rear'd :

Funeral and bridal both ; and all around
The borders with corruptless myrrh are crown'd :
On this incumbent ; till ethereal flame 595
First catches, then consumes the costly frame ;
Consumes him too, as on the pile he lies ;
He lived on odours, and in odours dies.

An infant phoenix from the former springs, 600
His father's heir, and from his tender wings
Shakes off his parent dust ; his method he pursues,
And the same lease of life on the same terms
renews :

When grown to manhood he begins his reign,
And with stiff pinions can his flight sustain, 605
He lightens of its load the tree that bore
His father's royal sepulchre before,
And his own cradle : this with pious care
Placed on his back, he cuts the buxom air,
Seeks the sun's city, and his sacred church, 610
And decently lays down his burden in the porch.

A wonder more amazing would we find ?
Th' hyæna shows it, of a double kind,
Varying the sexes in alternate years, 615
In one begets, and in another bears.
The thin camelion, fed with air, receives
The colour of the thing to which he cleaves.

India, when conquer'd, on the conquering god
For planted vines the sharp-eyed lynx bestow'd,
Whose urine, shed before it touches earth, 620
Congeals in air, and gives to gems their birth.
So coral, soft and white in ocean's bed,
Comes harden'd up in air, and glows with red.

All changing species should my song recite,
Before I ceased, would change the day to night. 625
Nations and empires flourish and decay,
By turns command, and in their turns obey ;
Time softens hardy people ; time again
Hardens to war a soft, unwarlike train.
Thus Troy, for ten long years, her foes withstood, 630
And daily bleeding bore the expense of blood :
Now for thick streets it shows an empty space,
Or, only fill'd with tombs of her own perish'd
race,
Herself becomes the sepulchre of what she was.

Mycenæ, Sparta, Thebes of mighty fame, 635
 Are vanish'd out of substance into name,
 And Dardan Rome, that just begins to rise
 On Tiber's banks, in time shall mate the skies;
 Widening her bounds, and working on her way,
 Ev'n now she meditates imperial sway : 640
 Yet this is change, but she by changing thrives,
 Like moons new born, and in her cradle strives
 To fill her infant-horns : an hour shall come
 When the round world shall be contain'd in
 Rome.

For thus old saws foretel ; and Helenus 645
 Anchises' drooping son enliven'd thus,
 When Ilium now was in a sinking state,
 And he was doubtful of his future fate :
 O goddess-born, with thy hard fortune strive ;
 Troy never can be lost, and thou alive. 650
 Thy passage thou shalt free through fire and
 sword,

And Troy in foreign lands shall be restored.
 In happier fields a rising town I see,
 Greater than what'er was, or is, or e'er shall be :
 And heaven yet owes the world a race derived
 from thee. 655

Sages and chiefs, of other lineage born,
 The city shall extend, extended shall adorn :
 But from Iulus he must draw his birth,
 By whom thy Rome shall rule the conquer'd earth :
 Whom heaven will lend mankind on earth to
 reign, 660

And late require the precious pledge again.
 This Helenus to great Æneas told,
 Which I retain, e'er since in other mould
 My soul was clothed ; and now rejoice to view
 My country walls rebuilt, and Troy revived anew,
 Raised by the fall ; decreed by loss to gain ; 665
 Enslaved but to be free, and conquer'd but to reign.
 'Tis time my hard-mouth'd coursers to control,

Apt to run riot, and transgress the goal ;
 And therefore I conclude : whatever lies 670
 In earth, or flits in air, or fills the skies,
 All suffer change, and we, that are of soul
 And body mix'd, are members of the whole.
 Then when our sires, or grandsires, shall forsake
 The forms of men, and brutal figures take, 675
 Thus housed, securely let their spirits rest,
 Nor violate thy father in the beast,
 Thy friend, thy brother, any of thy kin ;
 If none of these, yet there's a man within :

Oh, spare to make a Thyestean meal, 680
 To enclose his body, and his soul expel.

Ill customs by degrees to habits rise,
 Ill habits soon become exalted vice :
 What more advance can mortals make in sin,
 So near perfection, who with blood begin ? 685
 Deaf to the calf that lies beneath the knife,
 Looks up, and from her butcher begs her life :
 Deaf to the harmless kid, that, ere he dies,
 All methods to procure thy mercy tries,
 And imitates in vain thy children's cries. 690
 Where will he stop, who feeds with household
 bread,

Then eats the poultry which before he fed ?
 Let plough thy steers ; that when they lose their
 breath,
 To Nature, not to thee, they may impute their
 death.

Let goats for food their loaded udders lend, 695
 And sheep from winter-cold thy sides defend :
 But neither springes, nets, nor snares employ,
 And be no more ingenious to destroy.
 Free as in air, let birds on earth remain,
 Nor let insidious glue their wings constrain ; 700
 Nor opening hounds the trembling stag affright,
 Nor purple feathers intercept his flight ;
 Nor hooks conceal'd in baits for fish prepare,
 Nor lines to heave 'em twinkling up in air.

Take not away the life you cannot give : 705
 For all things have an equal right to live.
 Kill noxious creatures, where 'tis sin to save ;
 This only just prerogative we have :
 But nourish life with vegetable food,
 And shun the sacrilegious taste of blood. 710

These precepts by the Samian sage were taught,
 Which godlike Numa to the Sabines brought,
 And thence transferr'd to Rome, by gift his
 own :

A willing people, and an offer'd throne.
 Oh, happy monarch, sent by heaven to bless 715
 A savage nation with soft arts of peace,
 To teach religion, rapine to restrain,
 Give laws to lust, and sacrifice ordain :
 Himself a saint, a goddess was his bride,
 And all the Muses o'er his acts preside. 720

Ver. 715. *Oh, happy monarch,*] It is impossible not to be
 struck with the elegance and harmony of these six last
 lines. Dr. J. WATSON.

TRANSLATIONS FROM OVID'S EPISTLES.

PREFACE CONCERNING OVID'S EPISTLES.

THE life of Ovid being already written in our language before the translation of his *Metamorphoses*, I will not presume so far upon myself, to think I can add any thing to Mr. Sandys his undertaking. The English reader may there be satisfied, that he flourished in the reign of Augustus Cæsar; that he was extracted from an ancient family of Roman Knights; that he was born to the inheritance of a splendid fortune; that he was designed to the study of the law, and had made considerable progress in it before he quitted that profession for this of Poetry, to which he was more naturally formed. The cause of his banishment is unknown; because he was himself unwilling further to provoke the emperor, by ascribing it to any other reason than what was pretended by Augustus, which was, the lasciviousness of his *Elegies* and his *Art of Love*. It is true, they are not to be excused in the severity of manners, as being able to corrupt a larger empire, if there were any, than that of Rome; yet this may be said in behalf of Ovid, that no man has ever treated the passion of love with so much delicacy of thought and of expression, or searched into the nature of it more philosophically than he. And the emperor, who condemned him, had as little reason as another man to punish that fault with so much severity, if at least he were the author of a certain Epigram, which is ascribed to him, relating to the cause of the first civil war betwixt himself and Mark Antony the triumvir, which is more fulsome than any passage I have met with in our Poet. To pass by the naked familiarity of his expressions to Horace, which are cited in that author's life, I need only mention one notorious act of his in taking Livia to his bed, when she was not only married, but with child by her husband then living. But deeds, it seems, may be justified by arbitrary power, when words are questioned in a Poet. There is another guess of the grammarians, as far from truth as the first from reason: they will have him banished for some favours which, they say, he received from Julia, the daughter of Augustus, whom they think he celebrates under the name of Corinna in his *Elegies*: but he who will observe the verses, which are made to that mistress, may gather from the whole contexture of them, that Corinna was not a woman of the highest quality. If Julia were then married to Agrippa, why should our Poet make his petition to Isis for her safe delivery, and afterwards condole her miscarriage; which, for aught he knew, might be by her own husband? Or, indeed, how durst he be so bold to make the least discovery of such a crime, which was no less than capital, especially committed against a person of Agrippa's rank? Or, if it were before her marriage, he would sure have been more discreet than to have published an accident which must have been fatal to them both. But what most confirms me against this opinion is, that Ovid himself complains, that the true person of Corinna was found out by the fame of his verses to her: which if it had been Julia, he durst not have owned; and, besides, an immediate punishment must have followed. He seems himself more truly to have touched at the cause of his exile in those obscure verses;

"Cur aliquid vidi, cur noxia lumina feci?" &c.

Namely, that he had either seen, or was conscious to somewhat, which had procured him his disgrace. But neither am I satisfied that this was the incest of the emperor with his own daughter: for Augustus was of a nature too vindictive to have contented himself with so small a revenge, or so

unsafe to himself, as that of simple banishment; but would certainly have secured his crimes from public notice by the death of him who was witness to them. Neither have historians given us any light into such an action of this emperor: nor would he (the greatest politician of his time) in all probability, have managed his crimes with so little secrecy, as not to shun the observation of any man. It seems more probable that Ovid was either the confidant of some other passion, or that he had stumbled by some inadvertency upon the privacies of Livia, and seen her in a bath: for the words

"Sine veste Dianam"

agree better with Livia, who had the fame of chastity, than with either of the Julias, who were both noted of incontinency. The first verses, which were made by him in his youth, and recited publicly, according to the custom, were, as he himself assures us, to Corinna: his banishment happened not till the age of fifty: from which it may be deduced, with probability enough, that the love of Corinna did not occasion it; nay, he tells us plainly, that his offence was that of error only, not of wickedness; and in the same paper of verses also, that the cause was notoriously known at Rome, though it be left so obscure to after ages.

But to leave conjectures on a subject so uncertain, and to write somewhat more authentic of this Poet: that he frequented the court of Augustus, and was well received in it, is most undoubted: all his Poems bear the character of a court, and appear to be written, as the French call it, *Cavalièrement*: add to this, that the titles of many of his Elegies, and more of his Letters in his banishment, are addressed to persons well known to us, even at this distance, to have been considerable in that court.

Nor was his acquaintance less with the famous Poets of his age, than with the noblemen and ladies. He tells you himself, in a particular account of his own life, that Macer, Horace, Tibullus, Propertius, and many others of them, were his familiar friends, and that some of them communicated their writings to him; but that he had only seen Virgil.

If the imitation of nature be the business of a Poet, I know no author, who can justly be compared with ours, especially in the description of the passions. And to prove this, I shall need no other judges than the generality of his readers; for all passions being inborn with us, we are almost equally judges, when we are concerned in the representation of them. Now I will appeal to any man who has read this Poet, whether he finds not the natural emotion of the same passion in himself, which the Poet describes in his feigned persons? His thoughts, which are the pictures and results of those passions, are generally such as naturally arise from those disorderly motions of our spirits. Yet, not to speak too partially in his behalf, I will confess, that the copiousness of his wit was such, that he often writ too pointedly for his subject, and made his persons speak more eloquently than the violence of their passion would admit; so that he is frequently witty out of season; leaving the imitation of nature, and the cooler dictates of his judgment, for the false applause of fancy. Yet he seems to have found out this imperfection in his riper age: for why else should he complain, that his *Metamorphoses* was left unfinished? Nothing, sure, can be added to the wit of that Poem, or of the rest: but many things ought to have been retrenched; which I suppose would have been the business of his age, if his misfortunes had not come too fast upon him. But take him uncorrected, as he is transmitted to us, and it must be acknowledged, in spite of his Dutch friends, the commentators, even of Julius Scaliger himself, that Seneca's censure will stand good against him;

"Nescivit quod bene cessit relinquere;"

he never knew how to give over, when he had done well; but continually varying the same sense an hundred ways, and taking up in another place, what he had more than enough inculcated before, he sometimes cloy his readers, instead of satisfying them; and gives occasion to his translators, who dare not cover him, to blush at the nakedness of their father. This, then, is the allay of Ovid's writings, which is sufficiently recompensed by his other excellencies: nay, this very fault is not without its beauties; for the most severe censor cannot but be pleased with the prodigality of his wit, though, at the same time, he could have wished that the master of it had been a better manager. Every thing which he does becomes him; and, if sometimes he appears too gay, yet there is a secret gracefulness of youth which accompanies his writings, though the staidness and sobriety of age be wanting. In the most material part, which is the conduct, it is certain that he seldom has miscarried; for if his Elegies be compared with those of Tibullus and Propertius, his contemporaries, it will be found, that

those poets seldom designed before they writ; and though the language of Tibullus be more polished, and the learning of Propertius, especially in his fourth book, more set out to ostentation: yet their common practice was to look no farther before them than the next line; whence it will inevitably follow, that they can drive to no certain point, but ramble from one subject to another, and conclude with somewhat, which is not of a piece with their beginning:—

“*Purpureus latè qui splendet, unus et alter
Assuitur pannus,*”

as Horace says: though the verses are golden, they are but patched into the garment. But our Poet has always the goal in his eye, which directs him in his race: some beautiful design, which he first establishes, and then contrives the means, which will naturally conduct him to his end. This will be evident to judicious readers in his Epistles, of which somewhat, at least in general, will be expected.

The title of them in our late editions is *Epistolæ Heroidum*, the Letters of the Heroines. But Heinsius has judged more truly, that the inscription of our author was barely, *Epistles*; which he concludes from his cited verses, where Ovid asserts this work as his own invention, and not borrowed from the Greeks, whom (as the masters of their learning) the Romans usually did imitate. But it appears not from their writings that any of the Grecians ever touched upon this way, which our Poet therefore justly has vindicated to himself. I quarrel not at the word *Heroidum*, because it is used by Ovid in his *Art of Love*:—

“*Jupiter ad veteres supplex Heroidas ibat,*”

But, sure, he could not be guilty of such an oversight, to call his work by the name of *Heroines*, when there are divers men, or heroes, as, namely, Paris, Leander, and Acontius, joined in it. Except Sabinus, who writ some answers to Ovid's letters,

(“*Quam celer è toto rediit meus orbe Sabinus*”)

I remember not any of the Romans, who have treated on this subject, save only Propertius; and that but once, in his Epistle of Arethusa to Lycotas, which is written so near the style of Ovid, that it seems to be but an imitation, and therefore ought not to defraud our Poet of the glory of his invention.

Concerning the Epistles, I shall content myself to observe these few particulars: first, that they are generally granted to be the most perfect pieces of Ovid, and that the style of them is tenderly passionate and courtly; two properties well agreeing with the persons, which were heroines and lovers. Yet, where the characters were lower, as in *Enone* and *Hero*, he has kept close to nature, in drawing his images after a country life, though, perhaps, he has romanised his Grecian dames too much, and made them speak, sometimes, as if they had been born in the city of Rome, and under the empire of Augustus. There seems to be no great variety in the particular subjects which he has chosen; most of the Epistles being written from ladies who were forsaken by their lovers: which is the reason that many of the same thoughts come back upon us in divers letters; but of the general character of women, which is modesty, he has taken a most becoming care; for his amorous expressions go no further than virtue may allow, and therefore may be read, as he intended them, by matrons without a blush.

Thus much concerning the Poet: it remains that I should say somewhat of poetical translations in general, and give my opinion (with submission to better judgments) which way of version seems to be the most proper.

All translation, I suppose, may be reduced to these three heads:—

First, that of *Metaphrase*, or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another. Thus, or near this manner, was Horace his *Art of Poetry* translated by Ben Jonson. The second way is that of *Paraphrase*, or translation with latitude, where the author is kept in view by the translator, so as never to be lost, but his words are not so strictly followed as his sense; and that too is admitted to be amplified, but not altered. Such is Mr. Waller's translation of Virgil's Fourth *Æneid*. The third way is that of *imitation*, where the translator (if now he has not lost that name) assumes the liberty, not only to vary from the words and sense, but to forsake them both as

he sees occasion ; and taking only some general hints from the original, to run divisions on the ground-work, as he pleases. Such is Mr. Cowley's practice in turning two odes of Pindar, and one of Horace, into English.

Concerning the first of these methods, our master Horace has given us this caution :—

"Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres——"

"Nor word for word too faithfully translate,"

as the Earl of Roscommon has excellently rendered it. Too faithfully is, indeed, pedantically : it is a faith, like that which proceeds from superstition, blind and zealous. Take it in the expression of Sir John Denham to Sir Richard Fanshaw, on his version of the Pastor Fido :—

"That servile path thou nobly dost decline,
Of tracing word by word, and line by line.
A new and nobler way thou dost pursue,
To make translations and translators too ;
They but preserve the ashes, thou the flame ;
True to his sense, but truer to his fame."

It is almost impossible to translate verbally and well at the same time ; for the Latin (a most severe and compendious language) often expresses that in one word, which either the barbarity or the narrowness of modern tongues cannot supply in more. It is frequent, also, that the conceit is couched in some expression which will be lost in English.

"Atque fidem venti vela fidemque ferent."

What Poet of our nation is so happy as to express this thought literally in English, and to strike wit, or almost sense, out of it ?

In short, the verbal copier is incumbered with so many difficulties at once, that he can never disentangle himself from all. He is to consider, at the same time, the thought of his author, and his words, and to find out the counterpart to each in another language ; and, besides this, he is to confine himself to the compass of numbers, and the slavery of rhyme. It is much like dancing on ropes with fettered legs : a man can shun a fall by using caution ; but the gracefulness of motion is not to be expected ; and when we have said the best of it, it is but a foolish task ; for no sober man would put himself into a danger for the applause of escaping without breaking his neck. We see Ben Jonson could not avoid obscurity in his literal translation of Horace, attempted in the same compass of lines : nay, Horace himself could scarce have done it to a Greek poet :—

"Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio :"

either perspicuity or gracefulness will frequently be wanting. Horace has, indeed, avoided both these rocks in his translation of the three first lines of Homer's *Odyssey*, which he has contracted into two :—

"Dic mihi, musa, virum, capta post tempora Trojæ
Qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes."

"Muse, speak the man, who, since the siege of Troy,
So many towns, such change of manners saw."—ROSCOMMON.

But then the sufferings of Ulysses, which are a considerable part of that sentence, are omitted :—

[Ὅς μάλα πολλά πάσχει.]

The consideration of these difficulties, in a servile, literal, translation, not long since made two of our famous wits, Sir John Denham, and Mr. Cowley, to contrive another way of turning authors into our tongue, called, by the latter of them. *Imitation*. As they were friends, I suppose they communicated their thoughts on this subject to each other ; and, therefore, their reasons for it are little different. Though the practice of one is much more moderate. I take imitation of an author, in their

sense, to be an endeavour of a later Poet to write like one who has written before him on the same subject; that is, not to translate his words, or to be confined to his sense, but only to set him as a pattern, and to write as he supposes that author would have done, had he lived in our age, and in our country. Yet I dare not say that either of them have carried this libertine way of rendering authors (as Mr. Cowley calls it) so far as my definition reaches. For in the Pindaric Odes, the customs and ceremonies of ancient Greece are still preserved. But I know not what mischief may arise hereafter from the example of such an innovation, when writers of unequal parts to him shall imitate so bold an undertaking. To add and to diminish what we please, which is the way avowed by him, ought only to be granted to Mr. Cowley, and that too only in his translation of Pindar; because he alone was able to make him amends, by giving him better of his own, whenever he refused his author's thoughts. Pindar is generally known to be a dark writer, to want connexion, (I mean as to our understanding,) to soar out of sight, and leave his reader at a gaze. So wild and ungovernable a Poet cannot be translated literally; his genius is too strong to bear a chain, and, *Saunders-like*, he shakes it off. A genius so elevated and unconfined as Mr. Cowley's was but necessary to make Pindar speak English, and that was to be performed by no other way than imitation. But if Virgil, or Ovid, or any regular intelligible authors be thus used, it is no longer to be called their work, when neither the thoughts nor words are drawn from the original; but instead of them there is something new produced, which is almost the creation of another hand. By this way, it is true, somewhat that is excellent may be invented, perhaps more excellent than the first design; though Virgil must be still excepted, when that perhaps takes place. Yet he who is inquisitive to know an author's thoughts will be disappointed in his expectation. And it is not always that a man will be contented to have a present made him, when he expects the payment of a debt. To state it fairly: imitation of an author is the most advantageous way for a translator to show himself, but the greatest wrong which can be done to the memory and reputation of the dead. Sir John Denham (who advised more liberty than he took himself) gives his reason for his innovation, in his admirable preface before the translation of the second *Æneid*: "Poetry is of so subtle a spirit, that, in pouring out of one language into another, it will all evaporate; and, if a new spirit be not added in the transfusion, there will remain nothing but a *Caput Mortuum*." I confess this argument holds good against a literal translation; but who defends it? Imitation and verbal version are, in my opinion, the two extremes, which ought to be avoided; and, therefore, when I have proposed the mean betwixt them, it will be seen how far his argument will reach.

No man is capable of translating Poetry who, besides a genius to that art, is not a master both of his author's language and of his own: nor must we understand the language only of the Poet, but his particular turn of thoughts and expression, which are the characters that distinguish and, as it were, individuate him from all other writers. When we are come thus far, it is time to look into ourselves, to conform our genius to his, to give his thought either the same turn, if our tongue will bear it, or, if not, to vary but the dress, not to alter or destroy the substance. The like care must be taken of the more outward ornaments, the words. When they appear (which is but seldom) literally graceful, it were an injury to the author that they should be changed: but since every language is so full of its own proprieties, that what is beautiful in one, is often barbarous, nay sometimes nonsense, in another, it would be unreasonable to limit a translator to the narrow compass of his author's words. It is enough if he choose out some expression which does not vitiate the sense. I suppose he may stretch his chain to such a latitude; but, by innovation of thoughts, methinks, he breaks it. By this means the spirit of an author may be transfused, and yet not lost: and thus it is plain, that the reason alleged by Sir John Denham has no farther force than to expression: for thought, if it be translated truly, cannot be lost in another language; but the words that convey it to our apprehension (which are the image and ornament of that thought) may be so ill chosen, as to make it appear in an unhandsome dress, and rob it of its native lustre. There is, therefore, a liberty to be allowed for the expression; neither is it necessary that words and lines should be confined to the measure of their original. The sense of an author, generally speaking, is to be sacred and inviolable. If the fancy of Ovid be luxuriant, it is his character to be so; and if I retrench it, he is no longer Ovid. It will be replied, that he receives advantage by this lopping of his superfluous branches; but I rejoine, that a translator has no such right. When a painter copies from the life, I suppose he has no privilege to alter features, and lineaments, under pretence that his picture will look better: perhaps the face, which he has drawn would be more exact, if the eyes or nose were altered; but it is his business to

make it resemble the original. In two cases only there may a seeming difficulty arise; that is, if the thought be notoriously trivial, or dishonest: but the same answer will serve for both, that then they ought not to be translated:

——— "Et quæ
Desperes tractata nitescere posse, relinquo."

Thus I have ventured to give my opinion on this subject against the authority of two great men, but I hope without offence to either of their memories; for I both loved them living, and reverence them now they are dead. But if, after what I have urged, it be thought by better judges, that the praise of a translation consists in adding new beauties to the piece, thereby to recompense the loss which it sustains by change of language, I shall be willing to be taught better, and to recant. In the meantime, it seems to me, that the true reason why we have so few versions which are tolerable, is not from the too close pursuing of the author's sense, but because there are so few who have all the talents which are requisite for translation, and that there is so little praise, and so small encouragement, for so considerable a part of learning.

CANACE TO MACAREUS.

EPISTLE XI.

THE ARGUMENT.

Macareus and Canace, son and daughter to Æolus, god of the Winds, loved each other incestuously: Canace was delivered of a son, and committed him to her nurse, to be secretly conveyed away. The infant crying out, by that means was discovered to Æolus, who, enraged at the wickedness of his children, commanded the babe to be exposed to wild beasts on the mountains: and withal sent a sword to Canace, with this message, That her crimes would instruct her how to use it. With this sword she slew herself: but before she died, she writ the following letter to her brother Macareus, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Apollo.

If streaming blood my fatal letter stain,
Imagine, ere you read, the writer slain;
One hand the sword, and one the pen employs,
And in my lap the ready paper lies.
Think in this posture thou beholdest me write: ⁵
In this my cruel father would delight.
Oh! were he present, that his eyes and hands
Might see, and urge, the death which he commands!
Than all the raging winds more dreadful he,
Unmoved, without a tear, my wounds would see.
Jove justly placed him on a stormy throne, ¹¹
His people's temper is so like his own.
The North and South, and each contending blast,
Are underneath his wide dominion cast:
Those he can rule; but his tempestuous mind ¹⁵
Is, like his airy kingdom, unconfined.
Ah! what avail my kindred gods above,
That in their number I can reckon Jove!
What help will all my heavenly friends afford,
When to my breast I lift the pointed sword? ²⁰
That hour which join'd us came before its time:
In death we had been one without a crime.
Why did thy flames beyond a brother's move?
Why loved I thee with more than sister's love?
For I loved too; and knowing not my wound, ²⁵
A secret pleasure in thy kisses found:

My cheeks no longer did their colour boast,
My food grew loathsome, and my strength I lost.
Still ere I spoke, a sigh would stop my tongue;
Short were my slumbers, and my nights were long. ³⁰
I knew not from my love these griefs did grow,
Yet was, alas! the thing I did not know.
My wily nurse, by long experience, found,
And first discover'd to my soul its wound.
'Tis love, said she; and then my downcast eyes, ³⁵
And guilty dumbness, witness'd my surprise.
Forced at the last, my shameful pain I tell.
And, oh, what follow'd we both know too well!
"When half denying, more than half content,
"Embraces warm'd me to a full consent, ⁴⁰
"Then with tumultuous joys my heart did beat,
"And guilt, that made them anxious, made them
great."

But now my swelling womb heaved up my breast,
And rising weight my sinking limbs oppress'd.
What herbs, what plants, did not my nurse pro-
duce, ⁴⁵

To make abortion by their powerful juice?
What medicines tried we not, to thee unknown?
Our first crime common; this was mine alone.
But the strong child, secure in his dark cell, ⁵⁰
With nature's vigour did our arts repel.
And now the pale-faced empress of the night
Nine times had fill'd her orb with borrow'd light.
Not knowing 'twas my labour, I complain
Of sudden shootings, and of grinding pain:
My throes came thicker, and my cries increased, ⁵⁵
Which with her hand the conscious nurse sup-
press'd.

To that unhappy fortune was I come,
Pain urged my clamours, but fear kept me dumb.
With inward struggling I restrain'd my cries,
And drunk the tears that trickled from my eyes. ⁶⁰
Death was in sight; Lucina gave no aid:
And ev'n my dying had my guilt betray'd.
Thou canst, and in thy countenance sate despair;
Rent were thy garments all, and torn thy hair:

Yet feigning comfort, which thou could'st not
give,

(Press'd in thy arms, and whispering me to live :)
For both our sakes (said'st thou) preserve thy life ;
Live, my dear sister, and my dearer wife.
Roused by that name, with my last pangs I strove:
Such power have words, when spoke by those we
love.

The babe, as if he heard what thou hadst sworn,
With hasty joy sprung forward to be born
What helps it to have weather'd out one storm ?
Fear of our father does another form.

High in his hall, rock'd in a chair of state,
The king with his tempestuous council sate.

Through this large room our only passage lay,
By which we could the new-born babe convey.
Swathed in her lap, the bold nurse bore him out.
With olive branches cover'd round about ;

And muttering prayers, as holy rites she meant,
Through the divided crowd unquestion'd went.

Just at the door, th' unhappy infant cried :
The grandsire heard him, and the theft he spied.

Swift as a whirlwind to the nurse he flies,
And deafs his stormy subjects with his cries.

With one fierce puff he blows the leaves away :
Exposed, the self-discover'd infant lay.

The noise reach'd me, and my presaging mind
Too soon its own approaching woes divin'd.

Not ships at sea with winds are shaken more,
Nor seas themselves, when angry tempests roar,

Than I, when my loud father's voice I hear :
The bed beneath me trembled with my fear.

He rush'd upon me, and divulg'd my stain ;
Scarce from my murder could his hands refrain.

I only answer'd him with silent tears ;
They flow'd : my tongue was frozen up with fears.

His little grandchild he commands away,
To mountain wolves and every bird of prey.

The babe cried out, as if he understood,
And begg'd his pardon with what voice he could.

By what expressions can my grief be shown ?
(Yet you may guess my anguish by your own)

To see my bowels, and, what yet was worse,
Your bowels too, condemn'd to such a curse !

Out went the king ; my voice its freedom found,
My breasts I beat, my blubber'd cheeks I wound.

And now appear'd the messenger of death ;
Sad were his looks, and scarce he drew his
breath,

To say, " Your father sends you "—(with that word
His trembling hands presented me a sword :)
" Your father sends you this ; and lets you know,
That your own crimes the use of it will show."

Too well I know the sense those words impart :
His present shall be treasured in my heart.

Are these the nuptial gifts a bride receives !
And this the fatal dower a father gives !

Thou god of Marriage, shun thy own disgrace,
And take thy torch from this detested place :

Instead of that, let furies light their brands,
And fire my pile with their infernal hands.

With happier fortune may my sisters wed ;
Warn'd by the dire example of the dead.

For these, poor babe, what crime could they
pretend ?

How could thy infant innocence offend ?
A guilt there was ; but, oh, that guilt was mine !

Thou suffer'st for a sin that was not thine.
Thy mother's grief and crime ! but just enjoy'd.

Shown to my sight, and born to be destroy'd !

Unhappy offspring of my teeming womb !
Dragg'd headlong from thy cradle to thy tomb !
Thy unoffending life I could not save.

Nor weeping could I follow to thy grave :
Nor on thy tomb could offer my shorn hair ;

Nor show the grief which tender mothers bear.
Yet long thou shalt not from my arms be lost ;

For soon I will o'ertake thy infant ghost.
But thou, my love, and now my love's despair,

Perform his funerals with paternal care.
His scatter'd limbs with my dead body burn ;

And once more join us in the pious urn.
If on my wounded breast thou dropp'st a tear,

Think for whose sake my breast that wound did
bear ;

And faithfully my last desires fulfil,
As I perform my cruel father's will.

HELEN TO PARIS.

EPISTLE XVII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Helen, having received an epistle from Paris, returns the following answer : wherein she seems at first to chide him for his pre-emption in writing as he had done, which could only proceed from his low opinion of her virtue : then owns herself to be sensible of the passion which he had expressed for her, though she much suspected his constancy ; and at last discovers her inclination to be favourable to him, the whole letter showing the extreme artifice of womankind.

WHEN loose epistles violate chaste eyes,
She half consents who silently denies.

How dares a stranger, with designs so vain,
Marriage and hospitable rites profane ?

Was it for this your fleet did shelter find
From swelling seas, and every faithless wind ?

(For though a distant country brought you forth,
Your usage here was equal to your worth.)

Does this deserve to be rewarded so ?
Did you come here a stranger or a foe ?

Your partial judgment may perhaps complain,
And think me barbarous for my just disdain.

Ill-bred then let me be, but not unchaste,
Nor my clear fame with any spot defaced.

Though in my face there's no affected frown,
Nor in my carriage a feign'd niceness shown,

I keep my honour still without a stain,
Nor has my love made any coxcomb vain.

Your boldness I with admiration see :
What hope had you to gain a queen like me ?

Because a hero forced me once away,
Am I thought fit to be a second prey ?

Had I been won, I had deserved your blame,
But sure my part was nothing but the shame.

Yet the base theft to him no fruit did bear,
I 'scaped unhurt by anything but fear.

Rude force might some unwilling kisses gain,
But that was all he ever could obtain.

You on such terms would ne'er have let me go ;
Were he like you, we had not parted so.

Ver. 146. *As I perform*] The subject of this epistle is so very disgusting and offensive, that I could not bring my mind to make any observation upon it, and suppose Dryden translated it only to complete the volume. Dr. J. Warton.

Untouch'd the youth restored me to my friends,
 And modest usage made me some amends.
 'Tis virtue to repent a vicious deed,
 Did he repent, that Paris might succeed?
 Sure 'tis some fate that sets me above wrongs, 35
 Yet still exposes me to busy tongues.
 I'll not complain; for who's displeased with
 love,
 If it sincere, discreet, and constant prove?
 But that I fear; not that I think you base,
 Or doubt the blooming beauties of my face; 40
 But all your sex is subject to deceive,
 And ours, alas! too willing to believe.
 Yet others yield: and love o'ercomes the best:
 But why should I not shine above the rest? 45
 Fair Leda's story seems at first to be
 A fit example ready form'd for me.
 But she was cozen'd by a borrow'd shape,
 And under harmless feathers felt a rape.
 If I should yield, what reason could I use?
 By what mistake the loving crime excuse? 50
 Her fault was in her powerful lover lost;
 But of what Jupiter have I to boast?
 Though you to heroes and to kings succeed,
 Our famous race does no addition need;
 And great alliances but useless prove 55
 To one that comes herself from mighty Jove.
 Go then, and boast in some less haughty place
 Your Phrygian blood, and Priam's ancient race;
 Which I would show I valued, if I durst;
 You are the fifth from Jove, but I the first. 60
 The crown of Troy is powerful, I confess;
 But I have reason to think ours no less.
 Your letter, fill'd with promises of all
 That men can good, and women pleasant call,
 Gives expectation such an ample field, 65
 As would move goddesses themselves to yield.
 But if I e'er offend great Juno's laws,
 Yourself shall be the dear, the only cause:
 Either my honour I'll to death maintain,
 Or follow you, without mean thoughts of gain. 70
 Not that so fair a present I despise;
 We like the gift, when we the giver prize.
 But 'tis your love moves me, which made you take
 Such pains, and run such hazards for my sake.
 I have perceived (though I dissembled too) 75
 A thousand things that love has made you do.
 Your eager eyes would almost dazzle mine,
 In which, wild man, your wanton thoughts would
 shine.
 Sometimes you'd sigh, sometimes disorder'd stand, 80
 And with unusual ardour press my hand;
 Contrive just after me to take the glass,
 Nor would you let the least occasion pass:
 When oft I fear'd, I did not mind alone,
 And blushing sate for things which you have done: 85
 Then murmur'd to myself, He'll for my sake
 Do anything; I hope 'twas no mistake.
 Oft have I read within this pleasing grove,
 Under my name, those charming words, "I love."
 I, frowning, seem'd not to believe your flame; 90
 But now, alas! am come to write the same.
 If I were capable to do amiss,
 I could not but be sensible of this.
 For, oh! your face has such peculiar charms,
 That who can hold from flying to your arms!
 But what I ne'er can have without offence, 95
 May some blest maid possess with innocence.
 Pleasure may tempt, but virtue more should move;
 Oh, learn of me to want the thing you love.

What you desire is sought by all mankind:
 As you have eyes, so others are not blind. 100
 Like you they see, like you my charms adore;
 They wish not less, but you dare venture more.
 Oh! had you then upon our coasts been brought,
 My virgin-love when thousand rivals sought,
 You had I seen, you should have had my voice:
 Nor could my husband justly blame my choice. 105
 For both our hopes, alas! you come too late;
 Another now is master of my fate.
 More to my wish I could have lived with you,
 And yet my present lot can undergo. 110
 Cease to solicit a weak woman's will,
 And urge not her you love to so much ill;
 But let me live contented as I may,
 And make not my unspotted fame your prey.
 Some right you claim, since naked to your eyes 115
 Three goddesses disputed beauty's prize:
 One offer'd valour, t' other crowns; but she
 Obtain'd her cause who, smiling, promised me.
 But first I am not of belief so light
 To think such nymphs would show you such a 120
 sight;
 Yet granting this, the other part is feign'd;
 A bribe so mean your sentence had not gain'd.
 With partial eyes I should myself regard,
 To think that Venus made me her reward:
 I humbly am content with human praise; 125
 A goddess's applause would envy raise.
 But be it as you say; for, 'tis confess'd,
 The men who flatter highest please us best.
 That I suspect it, ought not to displease,
 For miracles are not believed with ease. 130
 One joy I have, that I had Venus' voice,
 A greater yet, that you confirm'd her choice;
 That proffer'd laurels, promised sovereignty,
 Juno and Pallas, you condemn'd for me.
 Am I your empire then, and your renown? 135
 What heart of rock but must by this be won?
 And yet, bear witness, O you Powers above,
 How rude I am in all the arts of love!
 My hand is yet untaught to write to men:
 This is th' essay of my unpractised pen. 140
 Happy those nymphs, whom use has perfect
 made!
 I think all crime, and tremble at a shade.
 E'en while I write, my fearful conscious eyes
 Look often back, misdoubting a surprise.
 For now the rumour spreads among the crowd, 145
 At court it whispers, but in town aloud.
 Dissemble you, whatever you hear 'em say:
 To leave off loving were your better way;
 Yet if you will dissemble it, you may.
 Love secretly: the absence of my lord 150
 More freedom gives, but does not all afford:
 Long is his journey, long will be his stay;
 Call'd by affairs of consequence away.
 To go, or not, when unresolved he stood,
 I bid him make what swift return he could: 155
 Then kissing me, he said, "I recommend
 All to thy care, but most my Trojan friend."
 I smiled at what he innocently said,
 And only answer'd "You shall be obey'd."
 Propitious winds have borne him far from hence,
 But let not this secure your confidence. 160
 Absent he is, yet absent he commands:
 You know the proverb, "Princes have long
 hands."
 My fame's my burden: for the more I'm praised,
 A juster ground of jealousy is rais'd. 165

Were I less fair, I might have been more bless'd :
Great beauty through great danger is possess'd.
To leave me here his venture was not hard,
Because he thought my virtue was my guard. 170
He fear'd my face, but trusted to my life ;
The beauty doubted, but believed the wife.
You bid me use th' occasion while I can,
Put in our hands by the good easy man.
I would, and yet I doubt, 'twixt love and fear ; 174
One draws me from you, and one brings me near.
Our flames are mutual, and my husband's gone ;
The nights are long ; I fear to lie alone.
One house contains us, and weak walls divide,
And you're too pressing to be long denied.
Let me not live, but every thing conspires 180
To join our loves, and yet my fear retires.
You court with words, when you should force
employ :

A rape is requisite to shame-faced joy.
Indulgent to the wrongs which we receive,
Our sex can suffer what we dare not give. 185
What have I said ? for both of us 't were best,
Our kindling fire if each of us suppress'd.
The faith of strangers is too prone to change,
And, like themselves, their wandering passions
range.

Hypsipyle, and the fond Minonian maid, 190
Were both by trusting of their guests betray'd.
How can I doubt that other men deceive,
When you yourself did fair Ænone leave ?
But lest I should upbraid your treachery,
You make a merit of that crime to me. 195
Yet grant you were to faithful love inclined,
Your weary Trojans wait but for a wind.
Should you prevail ; while I assign the night,
Your sails are hoisted, and you take your flight :
Some bawling mariner our love destroys, 200
And breaks asunder our unfinish'd joys.
But I with you may leave the Spartan port,
To view the Trojan wealth and Priam's court :
Shown while I see, I shall expose my fame,
And fill a foreign country with my shame. 205
In Asia what reception shall I find ?
And what dishonour leave in Greece behind ?
What will your brothers, Priam, Hecuba,
And what will all your modest matrons say ?
E'en you, when on this action you reflect, 210
My future conduct justly may suspect ;
And whate'er stranger lands upon your coast,
Conclude me, by your own example, lost.
I from your rage a strumpet's name shall hear,
While you forget what part in it you bear. 215
You, my crime's author, will my crime upbraid :
Deep under ground, oh, let me first be laid !
You boast the pomp and plenty of your land,
And promise all shall be at my command :
Your Trojan wealth, believe me, I despise ; 220
My own poor native land has dearer ties.
Should I be injured on your Phrygian shore,
What help of kindred could I there implore ?
Medea was by Jason's flattery won :
I may, like her, believe, and be undone. 225
Plain honest hearts, like mine, suspect no cheat.
And love contributes to its own deceit.
The ships, about whose sides loud tempests roar,
With gentle winds were wafted from the shore.
Your teeming mother dream'd a flaming brand, 230
Sprung from her womb, consumed the Trojan land.
To second this, old prophecies conspire,
That I must be burnt with Grecian fire.

Both give me fear ; nor is it much allay'd,
That Venus is obliged our loves to aid. 235
For they, who lost their cause, revenge will take ;
And for one friend two enemies you make.
Nor can I doubt, but, should I follow you,
The sword would soon our fatal crime pursue.
A wrong so great my husband's rage would rouse,
And my relations would his cause espouse. 241
You boast your strength and courage ; but, alas !
Your words receive small credit from your face.
Let heroes in the dusty field delight,
Those limbs were fashion'd for another fight. 245
Bid Hector sally from the walls of Troy ;
A sweeter quarrel should your arms employ.
Yet fears like these should not my mind perplex,
Were I as wise as many of my sex.
But time and you may bolder thoughts inspire ;
And I perhaps may yield to your desire. 250
You last demand a private conference ;
These are your words, but I can guess your sense.
Your unripe hopes their harvest must attend :
Be ruled by me, and time may be your friend.
This is enough to let you understand ; 255
For now my pen has tired my tender hand :
My woman knows the secret of my heart,
And may hereafter better news impart.

DIDO TO ÆNEAS.

EPISTLE VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, having, at the destruction of Troy, saved his gods, his father, and son Ascanius, from the fire, put to sea with twenty sail of ships ; and, having been long tossed with tempests, was at last cast upon the shore of Libya, where queen Dido, (flying from the cruelty of Pygmalion, her brother, who had killed her husband Sichæus) had lately built Carthage. She entertained Æneas and his fleet with great civility, fell passionately in love with him, and in the end denied him not the last favours. But Mercury admonishing Æneas to go in search of Italy, (a kingdom promised him by the gods,) he readily prepared to follow him. Dido soon perceived it, and having in vain tried all other means to engage him to stay, at last in despair writes to him as follows.

So, on Meander's banks, when death is nigh,
The mournful swan sings her own elegy.
Not that I hope (for, oh, that hope were vain !)
By words your lost affection to regain.
But, having lost whate'er was worth my care, 5
Why should I fear to lose a dying prayer ?
'Tis then resolved poor Dido must be left,
Of life, of honour, and of love bereft !
While you, with loos'n'd sails, and vows, prepare
To seek a land that flies the searcher's care. 10
Nor can my rising towers your flight restrain,
Nor my new empire, offer'd you in vain.
Built walls you shun, unbuilt you seek ; that land
Is yet to conquer ; but you this command.
Suppose you landed where your wish design'd, 15
Think what reception foreigners would find.
What people is so void of common sense,
To vote succession from a native prince ?
Yet there new sceptres and new loves you seek ;
New vows to plight, and plighted vows to break.

Untouch'd the youth restored me to my friends,
 And modest usage made me some amends
 'Tis virtue to repent a vicious deed;
 Did he repent, that Paris might succeed?
 Sure 'tis some fate that sets me above wrongs, 35
 Yet still exposes me to busy tongues.
 I'll not complain; for who's displeased with
 love,

If it sincere, discreet, and constant prove!
 But that I fear; not that I think you base,
 Or doubt the blooming beauties of my face; 40
 But all your sex is subject to deceive,
 And ours, alas! too willing to believe.
 Yet others yield; and love o'ercomes the best:
 But why should I not shine above the rest?
 Fair Leda's story seems at first to be
 A fit example ready form'd for me.
 But she was cozen'd by a borrow'd shape,
 And under harmless feathers felt a rape.
 If I should yield, what reason could I use?
 By what mistake the loving crime excuse?
 Her fault was in her powerful lover lost;
 But of what Jupiter have I to boast?
 Though you to heroes and to kings succeed,
 Our famous race does no addition need;
 And great alliances but useless prove 55
 To one that comes herself from mighty Jove.
 Go then, and boast in some less haughty place
 Your Phrygian blood, and Priam's ancient race;
 Which I would show I valued, if I durst;
 You are the fifth from Jove, but I the first. 60
 The crown of Troy is powerful, I confess;
 But I have reason to think ours no less.
 Your letter, fill'd with promises of all
 That men can good, and women-pleasant call,
 Gives expectation such an ample field,
 As would move goddesses themselves to yield.
 But if I e'er offend great Juno's laws,
 Yourself shall be the dear, the only cause:
 Either my honour I'll to death maintain,
 Or follow you, without mean thoughts of gain. 70
 Not that so fair a present I despise;
 We like the gift, when we the giver prize.
 But 'tis your love moves me, which made you take
 Such pains, and run such hazards for my sake.
 I have perceived (though I dissembled too) 75
 A thousand things that love has made you do.
 Your eager eyes would almost dazzle mine,
 In which, wild man, your wanton thoughts would
 shine.

Sometimes you'd sigh, sometimes disorder'd stand,
 And with unusual ardour press my hand; 80
 Contrive just after me to take the glass,
 Nor would you let the least occasion pass:
 When oft I fear'd, I did not mind alone,
 And blushing sate for things which you have done:
 Then murmur'd to myself, He'll for my sake 85
 Do anything; I hope 'twas no mistake.
 Oft have I read within this pleasing grove,
 Under my name, those charming words, "I love."
 I, frowning, seem'd not to believe your flame;
 But now, alas! am come to write the same. 90
 If I were capable to do amiss,
 I could not but be sensible of this.
 For, oh! your face has such peculiar charms,
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 May some blest maid possess with innocence.
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 They wish not less, but you dare venture more.
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 Nor could my husband justly blame my choice 106
 For both our hopes, alas! you come too late,
 Another now is master of my fate.
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 Cease to solicit a weak woman's will,
 And urge not her you love to so much ill;
 But let me live contented as I may,
 And make not my unspotted fame your prey.
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 Three goddesses disputed beauty's prize: 116
 One offer'd valour, t' other crowns; but she
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Yet granting this, the other part is feign'd;
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 What heart of rock but must by this be won?
 And yet, bear witness, O you Powers above,
 How rude I am in all the arts of love!
 My hand is yet untaught to write to men:
 This is th' essay of my unpractised pen. 140
 Happy those nymphs, whom use has perfect
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I think all crime, and tremble at a shade.
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 Look often back, misdoubting a surprise.
 For now the rumour spreads among the crowd, 145
 At court it whispers, but in town aloud.
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 I bid him make what swift return he could: 155
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Were both by trusting of their guests betray'd.
How can I doubt that other men deceive,
When you yourself did fair Ænone leave?
But lest I should upbraid your treachery,
You make a merit of that crime to me. 195
Yet grant you were to faithful love inclined,
Your weary Trojans wait but for a wind.
Should you prevail; while I assign the night,
Your sails are hoisted, and you take your flight:
Some bawling mariner our love destroys, 200
And breaks asunder our unfinish'd joys.

But I with you may leave the Spartan port,
To view the Trojan wealth and Priam's court:
Shown while I see, I shall expose my flame,
And fill a foreign country with my shame. 205
In Asia what reception shall I find?
And what dishonour leave in Greece behind?
What will your brothers, Priam, Hecuba,
And what will all your modest matrons say?
E'en you, when on this action you reflect, 210
My future conduct justly may suspect;
And whate'er stranger lands upon your coast,
Conclude me, by your own example, lost.

I from your rage a strumpet's name shall hear, 215
While you forget what part in it you bear.
You, my crime's author, will my crime upbraid:
Deep under ground, oh, let me first be laid!
You boast the pomp and plenty of your land,
And promise all shall be at my command:
Your Trojan wealth, believe me, I despise; 220
My own poor native land has dearer ties.
Should I be injured on your Phrygian shore,
What help of kindred could I there implore?
Medea was by Jason's flattery won:
I may, like her, believe, and be undone. 225
Plain honest hearts, like mine, suspect no cheat.
And love contributes to its own deceit.
The ships, about whose sides loud tempests roar,
With gentle winds were wafted from the shore.
Your teeming mother dream'd a flaming brand, 230
Sprung from her womb, consumed the Trojan land.
To surround this, old prophecies conspire,
That Ilium shall be burnt with Grecian fire.

Both give me fear; nor is it much allay'd,
That Venus is obliged our loves to aid. 235
For they, who lost their cause, revenge will take;
And for one friend two enemies you make.
Nor can I doubt, but, should I follow you,
The sword would soon our fatal crime pursue.
A wrong so great my husband's rage would rouse,
And my relations would his cause espouse. 241
You boast your strength and courage; but, alas!
Your words receive small credit from your face.
Let heroes in the dusty field delight,
Those limbs were fashion'd for another fight. 245
Bid Hector sally from the walls of Troy;
A sweeter quarrel should your arms employ.
Yet fears like these should not my mind perplex,
Were I as wise as many of my sex.
But time and you may bolder thoughts inspire;
And I perhaps may yield to your desire. 250
You last demand a private conference;
These are your words, but I can guess your sense.
Your unripe hopes their harvest must attend:
Be ruled by me, and time may be your friend.
This is enough to let you understand; 255
For now my pen has tired my tender hand:
My woman knows the secret of my heart,
And may hereafter better news impart.

DIDO TO ÆNEAS.

EPISTLE VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Æneas, the son of Venus and Anchises, having, at the destruction of Troy, saved his gods, his father, and son Ascanius, from the fire, put to sea with twenty sail of ships, and, having been long tossed with tempests, was at last cast upon the shore of Libya, where queen Dido, (flying from the cruelty of Pygmalion, her brother, who had killed her husband Sichæus) had lately built Carthage. She entertained Æneas and his fleet with great civility, fell passionately in love with him, and in the end denied him not the last favours. But Mercury admonishing Æneas to go in search of Italy, (a kingdom promised him by the gods,) he readily prepared to follow him. Dido soon perceived it, and having in vain tried all other means to engage him to stay, at last in despair writes to him as follows.

So, on Meander's banks, when death is nigh,
The mournful swan sings her own elegy.
Not that I hope (for, oh, that hope were vain!)
By words your lost affection to regain.
But, having lost whate'er was worth my care, 5
Why should I fear to lose a dying prayer?
'Tis then resolved poor Dido must be left,
Of life, of honour, and of love bereft!
While you, with loosen'd sails, and rows, prepare 10
To seek a land that flies the searcher's care.
Nor can my rising towers your flight restrain,
Nor my new empire, offer'd you in vain.
Built walls you shun, unbuilt you seek; that land
Is yet to conquer; but you this command.
Suppose you landed where your wish design'd, 15
Think what reception foreigners would find.
What people is so void of common sense,
To vote succession from a native prince?
Yet there new sceptres and new loves you seek;
New vows to plight, and plighted vows to break.

When will your towers the height of Carthage
know?
Or when your eyes discern such crowds below?
If such a town and subjects you could see,
Still would you want a wife who loved like me.
For, oh! I burn, like fires with incense bright: 25
Not holy tapers flame with purer light:
Æneas is my thoughts' perpetual theme;
Their daily longing, and their nightly dream.
Yet he's ungrateful and obdurate still:
Fool that I am to place my heart so ill! 30
Myself I cannot to myself restore;
Still I complain, and still I love him more.
Have pity, Cupid, on my bleeding heart,
And pierce thy brother's with an equal dart.
I rave: nor canst thou Venus' offspring be; 35
Love's mother could not bear a son like thee.
From harle'n'd oak, or from a rock's cold womb,
At least thou art from some fierce tigress come;
Or on rough seas, from their foundation torn,
Got by the winds, and in a tempest born: 40
Like that, which now thy trembling sailors fear;
Like that, whose rage should still detain thee here.
Behold how high the foamy billows rise!
The winds and waves are on the ruder side.
To winter weather and a stormy sea 45
I'll owe, what rather I would owe to thee.
Dost thou deserv'st from Heaven's avenging laws;
But I'm unwilling to become the cause.
To shun my love, if thou wilt seek thy fate,
'Tis a dear purchase, and a costly hate. 50
Stay but a little, till the tempest cease.
And the loud winds are lull'd into a peace.
May all thy rage, like theirs, uncountant prove!
And so it will, if there be power in love.
Know'st thou not yet what dangers ships sustain?
So often wreck'd, how dar'st thou tempt the 55
main?
Which, were it smooth, were every wave asleep,
Ten thousand forms of death are in the deep.
In that abyss the gods their vengeance store,
For broken vows of those who falsely swore 60
There winged storms on sea-born Venus wait,
To vindicate the justice of her state.
Thus I to thee the means of safety show;
And, lost myself, would still preserve my foe.
False as thou art, I not thy death design: 65
Oh, rather live, to be the cause of mine!
Should some avenging storm thy vessel tear,
(But Heaven forbid my words should omen bear!)
Then in thy face thy perjured vows would fly;
And my wrong'd ghost be present to thy eye. 70
With threatening looks think thou behold'st me
stare,
Gasping my mouth, and clotted all my hair.
Then, should fork'd lightning and red thunder
fall,
What could'st thou say, but, I deserved 'em all.
Lest this should happen, make not haste away; 75
To shun the danger will be worth thy stay.
Have pity on thy son, if not on me:
My death alone is guilt enough for thee.
What has his youth, what have thy gods deserved,
To sink in seas, who were from fires preserved? 80
But neither gods nor parent didst thou bear;
Smooth stories all to please a woman's ear,
False as the tale of thy romantic life.
Nor yet am I thy first-deluded wife:
Left to pursuing foes Creusa staid, 85
By thee, base man, forsaken and betray'd.

Thus, when thou told'st me, struck my tender heart,
That such requital follow'd such desert.
Nor doubt I but the gods, for crimes like these,
Seven winters kept thee wandering on the seas. 90
Thy starved companions, cast ashore, I fed,
Thyself admitted to my crown and bed.
To harbour strangers, succour the distress'd,
Was kind enough; but, oh, too kind the rest!
Curs'd be the cave which first my ruin brought, 95
Where, from the storm, we common shelter
sought!
A dreadful howling echoed round the place:
The mountain nymphs, thought I, my nuptials
grace.
I thought so then, but now too late I know
The furies yell'd my funerals from below. 100
O chastity and violated fame,
Exact your dues to my dead husband's name!
By death redeem my reputation lost,
And to his arms restore my guilty ghost.
Close by my palace, in a gloomy grove, 105
Is raised a chapel to my murder'd love;
There, wreath'd with boughs and wool, his statue
stands,
The pious monument of artful hands.
Last night, methought, he call'd me from the
dome,
And thrice, with hollow voice, cried, Dido, come.
She comes, thy wife thy lawful summons hears; 111
But comes more slowly, clogg'd with conscious
fears.
Forgive the wrong I offer'd to thy bed;
Strong were his charms who my weak faith misled.
His goddess mother, and his aged sire 115
Borne on his back, did to my fall conspire.
Oh! such he was, and is, that, were he true,
Without a blush I might his love pursue
But cruel stars my birthday did attend;
And as my fortune open'd, it must end. 120
My plighted lord was at the altar slain,
Whose wealth was made my bloody brother's gain.
Friendless, and follow'd by the murderer's hate,
To foreign countries I removed my fate:
And here, a suppliant, from the natives' hands 125
I bought the ground on which my city stands,
With all the coast that stretches to the sea;
E'en to the friendly port that shelter'd thee:
Then raised these walls, which mount into the air,
At once my neighbours' wonder and their fear. 130
For now they arm; and round me leagues are made,
My scarce establish'd empire to invade.
To man my new-built walls I must prepare,
An helpless woman, and unskill'd in war.
Yet thousand rivals to my love pretend; 135
And for my person would my crown defend:
Whose jarring votes in one complaint agree,
That each unjustly is disdain'd for thee.
To proud Hyarbas give me up a prey;
(For that must follow, if thou goest away) 140
Or to my husband's murderer leave my life,
That to the husband he may add the wife.
Go then, since no complaints can move thy mind:
Go, perjured man, but leave thy gods behind.
Touch not those gods, by whom thou art for-
sworn, 145
Who will in impious hands no more be borne:
Thy sacrilegious worship they disdain,
And rather would the Grecian fires sustain.
Perhaps my greatest shame is still to come,
And part of thee lies hid within my womb. 150

The babe unborn must perish by thy hate,
 And perish guiltless in his mother's fate.
 Some god, thou say'st, thy voyage does command :
 Would the same god had barr'd thee from my land !
 The same, I doubt not, thy departure steers, ¹⁵⁵
 Who kept thee out at sea so many years ;
 While thy long labours were a price so great,
 As thou to purchase Troy would'st not repeat.
 But Tyber now thou seek'st, to be at best,
 When there arrived, a poor precarious guest. ¹⁶⁰
 Yet it deludes thy search . perhaps it will
 To thy old age lie undiscover'd still.
 A ready crown and wealth in dower I bring,
 And, without conquering, here thou art a king.
 Here thou to Carthage may'st transfer thy Troy : ¹⁶⁵
 Here young Ascanius may his arms employ ;
 And, while we live secure in soft repose,
 Bring many laurels home from conquer'd foes.
 By Cupid's arrows, I adjure thee stay ;
 By all the gods, companions of thy way. ¹⁷⁰
 So may thy Trojans, who are yet alive,
 Live still, and with no future fortune strive ;
 So may thy youthful son old age attain,
 And thy dead father's bones in peace remain ;
 As thou hast pity on unhappy me, ¹⁷⁵
 Who knew no crime but too much love of thee.
 I am not born from fierce Achilles' line,
 Nor did my parents against Troy combine.
 To be thy wife if I unworthy prove,
 By some inferior name admit my love. ¹⁸⁰
 To be secured of still possessing thee,
 What would I do, and what would I not be !

Our Libyan coasts their certain seasons know,
 When free from tempests passengers may go :
 But now with northern blasts the billows roar, ¹⁸⁵
 And drive the floating sea-weed to the shore.
 Leave to my care the time to sail away ;
 When safe, I will not suffer thee to stay.
 Thy weary men would be with ease content ;
 Their sails are tatter'd, and their masts are spent.
 If by no merit I thy mind can move, ¹⁹¹
 What thou deniest my merit, give my love.
 Stay, till I learn my loss to undergo ;
 And give me time to struggle with my woe.
 If not, know this, I will not suffer long ; ¹⁹⁵
 My life's too loathsome, and my love too strong.
 Death holds my pen, and dictates what I say,
 While cross my lap the Trojan sword I lay.
 My tears flow down ; the sharp edge cuts their
 flood,
 And drinks my sorrows, that must drink my
 blood. ²⁰⁰
 How well thy gift does with my fate agree !
 My funeral pomp is cheaply made by thee.
 To no new wounds my bosom I display :
 The sword but enters where love made the way.
 But thou, dear sister, and yet dearer friend, ²⁰⁵
 Shalt my cold ashes to their urn attend.
 Sichelæus' wife let not the marble boast ;
 I lost that title, when my fame I lost.
 This short inscription only let it bear :
 "Unhappy Dido lies in quiet here. ²¹⁰
 The cause of death, and sword by which she died,
 Æneas gave : the rest her arm supplied."

TRANSLATIONS FROM OVID'S ART OF LOVE.

THE FIRST BOOK OF OVID'S ART OF LOVE.

IN Cupid's school whoe'er would take degree,
 Must learn his rudiments, by reading me.
 Seamen with sailing arts their vessels move ;
 Art guides the chariot ; art instructs to love.
 Of ships and chariots others know the rule ; ⁵
 But I am master in Love's mighty school.
 Cupid indeed is obstinate and wild,
 A stubborn god ; but yet the god's a child :
 Easy to govern in his tender age,
 Like fierce Achilles in his pupillage : ¹⁰
 That hero, born for conquest, trembling stood
 Before the Centaur, and received the rod.
 As Chiron mollified his cruel mind
 With art, and taught his warlike hands to wind

Ver. 1. *In Cupid's school*] We cannot see, without real regret and mortification, such a waste of time and talent as what our author has flung away in translating so loose and flagitious, as well as trifling work of his favourite Ovid, full of some of the most exceptionable and nauseous circumstances of ancient mythology. I most undoubtedly shall make no comment on it, nor on the two succeeding translations. Dr J. WARTON.

The silver strings of his melodious lyre : ¹⁵
 So love's fair goddess does my soul inspire,
 To teach her softer arts ; to soothe the mind,
 And smooth the rugged breasts of human kind.
 Yet Cupid and Achilles, each with scorn
 And rage were fill'd ; and both were goddess-
 born. ²⁰
 The bull, reclaim'd and yoked, the burden
 draws :
 The horse receives the bit within his jaws ;
 And stubborn Love shall bend beneath my sway,
 Though struggling off he strives to disobey.
 He shakes his torch, he wounds me with his
 darts ; ²⁵
 But vain his force, and vainer are his arts.
 The more he burns my soul, or wounds my sight,
 The more he teaches to revenge the spite.
 I boast no aid the Delphian god affords,
 Nor auspice from the flight of chattering birds : ³¹
 Nor Clío, nor her sisters have I seen ;
 As Hesiod saw them on the shady green :
 Experience makes my work ; a truth so tried
 You may believe ; and Venus be my guide.
 Far hence, ye vestals, be, who bind your
 hair ; ³⁵
 And wives, who gowns below your ancles wear.

I sing the brothels loose and unconfin'd,
Th' unpunishable pleasures of the kind;
Which all alike, for love, or money, find.

You, who in Cupid's rolls inscribe your name,
First seek an object worthy of your flame; ⁴¹
Then strive, with art, your lady's mind to gain:
And, last, provide your love may long remain.
On these three precepts all my work shall move:
These are the rules and principles of love. ⁴⁵

Before your youth with marriage is oppress'd,
Make choice of one who suits your humour best:
And such a dam-el drops not from the sky;
She must be sought for with a curious eye.

The wary angler in the winding brook, ⁵⁰
Knows what the fish, and where to bait his
hook.

The fowler and the huntsman know by name
The certain haunts and harbour of their game.
So must the lover beat the likeliest grounds;
Th' assembly where his quarry most abounds. ⁵⁵

Nor shall my novice wander far astray;
These rules shall put him in the ready way.
Thou shalt not sail around the continent,
As far as Persus, or as Paris went:

For Rome alone affords thee such a store, ⁶⁰
As all the world can hardly show thee more.
The face of heaven with fewer stars is crown'd,
Than beauties in the Roman sphere are found.

Whether thy love is bent on blooming youth,
On dawning sweetness in unartful truth; ⁶⁵
Or courts the juicy joys of riper growth;
Here may'st thou find thy full desires in both.

Or if autumnal beauties please thy sight
(An age that knows to give and take delight)
Millions of matrons of the graver sort, ⁷⁰
In common prudence, will not balk the sport.

In summer heats thou need'st but only go
To Pompey's cool and shady portico;
Or Concor'd's fane; or that proud edifice,
Whose turrets near the bawdy suburb rise: ⁷⁵
Or to that other portico, where stands
The cruel father urging his commands,
And fifty daughters wait the time of rest,
To plunge their poniards in the bridegroom's
breast:

Or Venus' temple; where, on annual nights,
They mourn Adonis with Assyrian rites.
Nor shun the Jewish walk, where the foul drove,
On Sabbaths, rest from every thing but love:

Nor Isis' temple; for that sacred whore
Makes others, what to Jove she was before. ⁸⁵
And if the hall itself be not belied,
E'en there the cause of love is often tried;

Near it at least, or in the palace-yard,
From whence the noisy combatants are heard.
The crafty counsellors, in formal gown, ⁹⁰
There gain another's cause, but lose their own.

There eloquence is nonpluss'd in the suit;
And lawyers, who had words at will, are mute.
Venus, from her adjoining temple, smiles,
To see them caught in their litigious wiles. ⁹⁵

Grave senators lead home the youthful dame,
Returning clients, when they patrons came.
But, above all, the playhouse is the place;
There's choice of quarry in that narrow chace.

There take thy stand, and sharply looking out, ¹⁰⁰
Soon may'st thou find a mistress in the rout,
For length of time, or for a single bout.
The theatres are berries for the fair:
Like ants on mole-hills thither they repair;

Like bees to hives, so numerously they throng, ¹⁰⁵
It may be said, they to that place belong.

Thither they swarm, who have the public voice.
There choose, if plenty not distracts thy choice.
To see, and to be seen, in heaps they run;
Some to undo, and some to be undone. ¹¹⁰

From Romulus the rise of plays began,
To his new subjects a commodious man;
Who, his unmarried soldiers to supply,
Took care the commonwealth should multiply: ¹¹⁵

Providing Sabine women for his braves,
Like a true king, to get a race of slaves.
His playhouse not of Parian marble made,
Nor was it spread with purple sails for shade.
The stage with rushes or with leaves they
strew'd:

No scenes in prospect, no machining god. ¹²⁰
On rows of homely turf they sat to see,
Crown'd with the wreaths of every common
tree.

There, while they sat in rustic majesty,
Each lover had his mistress in his eye;
And whom he saw most suiting to his mind, ¹²⁵
For joys of matrimonial rape design'd.

Scarce could they wait the plaudit in their haste;
But, ere the dances and the song were past,
The monarch gave the signal from his throne;
And, rising, bade his merry men fall on. ¹³⁰

The martial crew, like soldiers ready press'd,
Just at the word (the word too was, "The Best")
With joyful cries each other animate;
Some choose, and some at hazard seize their
mate.

As doves from eagles, or from wolves the lambs,
So from their lawless lovers fly the dames. ¹³⁵
Their fear was one, but not one face of fear,
Some rend the lovely tresses of their hair;
Some shriek, and some are struck with dumb de-
spair.

Her absent mother one invokes in vain; ¹⁴⁰
One stands amazed, not daring to complain;
The nimbler trust their feet, the slow remain.
But nought availing, all are captives led,
Trembling and blushing to the genial bed.

She who too long resisted, or denied, ¹⁴⁵
The lusty lover made by force a bride;
And, with superior strength, compell'd her to his
side.

Then soothed her thus:—My soul's far better
part,

Cease weeping, nor afflict thy tender heart:
For what thy father to thy mother was, ¹⁵⁰
That faith to thee, that solemn vow I pass.

Thus Romulus became so popular;
This was the way to thrive in peace and war;
To pay his army, and fresh whores to bring:
Who would not fight for such a gracious king? ¹⁵⁵

Thus love in theatres did first improve;
And theatres are still the scenes of love:
Nor shun the chariot's and the courser's race;
The Circus is no inconvenient place

No need is there of talking on the hand;
Nor nods, nor signs, which lovers understand. ¹⁶⁰
But boldly next the fair your seat provide;
Close as you can to hers, and side by side.

Pleased or displeased, no matter; crowding sit:
For so the laws of public shows permit. ¹⁶⁵
Then find occasion to begin discourse;
Inquire, whose chariot this, and whose that
horse?

To whatsoever side she is inclined,
 Suit all your inclinations to her mind;
 Like what she likes; from thence your court
 begin;

And whom she favours, wish that he may win.
 But when the statues of the deities,
 In chariots roll'd, appear before the prize;
 When Venus comes, with deep devotion rise.
 If dust be on her lap, or grains of sand,

Brush both away with your officious hand.
 If none be there, yet brush that nothing thence;
 And still to touch her lap make some pretence.
 Touch any thing of hers; and if her train
 Sweep on the ground, let it not sweep in vain;

But gently take it up, and wipe it clean;
 And while you wipe it, with observing eyes,
 Who knows but you may see her naked thighs!
 Observe who sits behind her, and beware,
 Lest his encroaching knee should press the fair.
 Light service takes light minds: for some can
 tall

Of favours won, by laying cushions well:
 By fanning faces some their fortune meet;
 And some by laying footstools for their feet.
 These overtures of love the Circus gives;
 Nor at the sword-play less the lover thrives:

For there the son of Venus fights his prize;
 And deepest wounds are oft received from eyes.
 One, while the crowd their acclamations make,
 Or while he bets, and puts his ring to stake,

Is struck from far, and feels the flying dart;
 And of the spectacle is made a part.

Cæsar would represent a naval fight,
 For his own honour, and for Rome's delight.
 From either sea the youths and maidens come;
 And all the world was then contain'd in Rome.
 In this vast concourse, in this choice of game,
 What Roman heart but felt a foreign flame?
 Once more our prince prepares to make us glad:
 And the remaining East to Rome will add.

Rejoice, ye Roman soldiers, in your urn;
 Your ensigns from the Parthians shall return;
 And the slain Crassi shall no longer mourn.
 A youth is sent those trophies to demand,
 And bears his father's thunder in his hand:

Doubt not th' imperial boy in wars unseen;
 In childhood all of Cæsar's race are men.
 Celestial seeds shoot out before their day,
 Prevent their years, and brook no dull delay.

Thus infant Hercules the snakes did press,
 And in his cradle did his sire confess.
 Bacchus, a boy, yet like a hero fought,
 And early spoils from conquer'd India brought.
 Thus you your father's troops shall lead to fight,
 And thus shall vanquish in your father's right.

These rudiments you to your lineage owe;
 Born to increase your titles as you grow.
 Brethren you had, revenge your brethren slain;
 You have a father, and his rights maintain.
 Arm'd by your country's parent, and your own,
 Redeem your country, and restore his throne.
 Your enemies assert an impious cause;
 You fight both for divine and human laws.
 Already in their cause they are o'ercome:
 Subject them, too, by force of arms, to Rome.

Great father Mars with greater Cæsar join,
 To give a prosperous omen to your line:
 One of you is, and one shall be divine.
 I prophesy you shall, you shall o'ercome:
 My verse shall bring you back in triumph home.

Speak in my verse, exhort to loud alarms:
 Oh, were my numbers equal to your arms!
 Then would I sing the Parthians' overthrow;
 Their shot averse sent from a flying bow:

The Parthians, who already flying fight,
 Already give an omen of their flight.
 Oh, when will come the day, by Heaven design'd,
 When thou, the best and fairest of mankind,
 Drawn by white horses shalt in triumph ride,
 With conquer'd slaves attending on thy side;

Slaves, that no longer can be safe in flight;
 O glorious object, O surprising sight,
 O day of public joy, too good to end in night!
 On such a day, if thou, and, next to thee,
 Some beauty sits, the spectacle to see:

If she inquire the names of conquer'd kings,
 Of mountains, rivers, and their hidden springs,
 Answer to all thou know'st; and, if need be,
 Of things unknown seem to speak knowingly;
 This is Euphrates, crown'd with reeds; and
 there

Flows the swift Tigris with his sea-green hair.
 Invent new names of things unknown before;
 Call this Armenia, that the Caspian shore;
 Call this a Mede, and that a Parthian youth;
 Talk probably; no matter for the truth.

In feasts, as at our shows, new means abound;
 More pleasure there, than that of wine, is found.
 The Paphian goddess there her ambush lays;
 And Love betwixt the horns of Bacchus plays:
 Desires increase at every swelling draught;
 Brisk vapours add new vigour to the thought.
 There Cupid's purple wings no fight afford;
 But, wet with wine, he flutters on the board.
 He shakes his pinions, but he cannot move;
 Fix'd he remains, and turns a maudlin Love.

Wine warms the blood, and makes the spirits
 flow;

Care flies, and wrinkles from the forehead go:
 Exalts the poor, invigorates the weak;
 Gives mirth and laughter, and a rosy cheek.
 Bold truths it speaks; and, spoken, dares main-
 tain;

And brings our old simplicity again.
 Love sparkles in the cup, and fills it higher:
 Wine feeds the flames, and fuel adds to fire.
 But choose no mistress in thy drunken fit;
 Wine gilds too much their beauties and their
 wit.

Nor trust thy judgment when the tapers dance;
 But sober, and by day, thy suit advance.
 By daylight Paris judg'd the beauteous three;
 And for the fairest did the prize decree.

Night is a cheat, and all deformities
 Are hid, or lessen'd in her dark disguise.
 The sun's fair light each error will confess,
 In face, in shape, in jewels, and in dress.

Why name I every place where youths abound?
 'Tis loss of time, and a too fruitful ground.
 The Baian baths, where ships at anchor ride,
 And wholesome streams from sulphur fountains
 glide;

Where wounded youths are by experience taught,
 The waters are less healthful than they thought:
 Or Dian's fane which near the suburb lies,
 Where priests, for their promotion, fight a prize.
 That maiden goddess is Love's mortal foe,
 And much from her his subjects undergo.
 Thus far the sportful Muse, with myrtle bound,
 Has sung where lovely lasses may be found.

Now let me sing, how she who wounds your
mind,

With art, may be to cure your wounds inclined.
Young nobles, to my laws attention lend;
And all you vulgar of my school attend.

First then believe, all women may be won; 305
Attempt with confidence, the work is done.
The grasshopper shall first forbear to sing
In summer season, or the birds in spring,
Than women can resist your flattering skill.
E'en she will yield, who swears she never will. 310
To secret pleasure both the sexes move;
But women most, who most dissemble love.

'Twere best for us, if they would first declare,
Avow their passion, and submit to prayer.
The cow, by lowing, tells the bull her flame: 315
The neighing mare invites her stallion to the game.
Man is more temperate in his lust than they,
And, more than women, can his passion sway.
Biblis, we know, did first her love declare,
And had recourse to death in her despair.
Her brother she, her father Myrrha sought,
And loved, but loved not as a daughter ought.
Now from a tree she stills her odorous tears,
Which yet the name of her who shed 'em bears. 320

In Ida's shady vale a bull appear'd, 325
White as the snow, the fairest of the herd;
A beauty-spot of black there only rose,
Betwixt his equal horns and ample brows:
The love and wish of all the Cretan cows.
The queen beheld him as his head he rear'd, 330
And envied every leap he gave the herd.
A secret fire she nourish'd in her breast,
And hated every heifer he caress'd.
A story known, and known for true, I tell;
Nor Crete, though lying, can the truth conceal. 335
She cut him grass; (so much can Love command)
She stroked, she fed him with her royal hand:
Was pleased in pastures with the herd to roam;
And Minos by the bull was overcome.

Cease, queen, with gems t' adorn thy beauteous
brows; 340

The monarch of thy heart no jewel knows.
Nor in thy glass compose thy looks and eyes;
Secure from all thy charms thy lover lies:
Yet trust thy mirror, when it tells thee true,
Thou art no heifer to allure his view. 345
Soon would'st thou quit thy royal diadem
To thy fair rivals, to be horn'd like them.
If Minos please, no lover seek to find;
If not, at least seek one of human kind.

The wretched queen the Cretan court for-
sakes; 350

In woods and wilds her habitation makes:
She curses every beauteous cow she sees;
Ah, why dost thou my lord and master please!
And think'st, ungrateful creature as thou art,
With frisking awkwardly, to gain his heart! 355
She said, and straight commands, with frowning
look,

To put her, undeserving, to the yoke;
Or feigns some holy rites of sacrifice,
And sees her rival's death with joyful eyes;
Then, when the bloody priest has done his
part, 360

Pleased, in her hand she holds the beating heart;
Nor from a scornful taunt can scarce refrain;
So, fool, and strive to please my love again!

Now she would be Europa, Io now:
One bore a bull, and one was made a cow.) 365

Yet she at last her brutal bliss obtain'd,
And in a wooden cow the bull sustain'd;
Fill'd with his seed, accomplish'd her desire,
Till by his form the son betray'd the sire.

If Atræus' wife to incest had not run, 370
(But, ah, how hard it is to love but one!)
His coursers Phœbus had not driven away,
To shun that sight, and interrupt the day.
Thy daughter, Nisus, pull'd thy purple hair,
And barking sea-dogs yet her bowels tear. 375

At sea and land Atrides saved his life,
Yet fell a prey to his adulterous wife.
Who knows not what revenge Medea sought,
When the slain offspring bore the father's fault?
Thus Phoenix did a woman's love bewail;
And thus Hippolytus by Phœdra fell.
These crimes revengeful matrons did commit;
Hotter their lust, and sharper is their wit.
Doubt not from them an easy victory:

Scarce of a thousand dames will one deny. 385
All women are content that men should woo;
She who complains, and she who will not do
Rest then secure, whate'er thy luck may prove,
Not to be hated for declaring love.
And yet how canst thou miss, since womankind 390
Is frail and vain, and still to change inclined?
Old husbands and stale gallants they despise;
And more another's, than their own, they prize.
A larger crop adorns our neighbour's field,
More milk his kine from swelling udders yield. 395

First gain the maid: by her thou shalt be
sure

A free access and easy to procure;
Who knows what to her office does belong,
Is in the secret, and can hold her tongue.
Bribe her with gifts, with promises, and prayers; 400
For her good word goes far in love affairs.
The time and fit occasion leave to her,
When she most aptly can thy suit prefer.
The time for maids to fire their lady's blood,
Is when they find her in a merry mood, 405
When all things at her wish and pleasure move,
Her heart is open then, and free to love.
Then mirth and wantonness to lust betray,
And smooth the passage to the lover's way.
Troy stood the siege, when fill'd with anxious
care: 410

One merry fit concluded all the war.
If some fair rival vex her jealous mind,
Offer thy service to revenge in kind.
Instruct the damsel, while she combs her hair,
To raise the choler of that injured fair; 415
And, sighing, make her mistress understand,
She has the means of vengeance in her hand;
Then, naming thee, thy humble suit prefer,
And swear thou languishest and diest for her.
Then let her lose no time, but push at all; 420
For women soon are raised, and soon they fall.
Give their first fury leisure to relent,
They melt like ice, and suddenly repent.

T' enjoy the maid, will that thy suit advance?
'Tis a hard question, and a doubtful chance. 425
One maid, corrupted, bawds the better for 't;
Another for herself would keep the sport.
Thy business may be further'd or delay'd;
But, by my counsel, let alone the maid.
E'en though she should consent to do the feat, 430
The profit's little, and the danger great.
I will not lead thee through a rugged road;
But where the way lies open, safe, and broad.

Yet if thou find'st her very much thy friend,
 And her good face her diligence commend, 435
 Let the fair mistress have thy first embrace,
 And let the maid come after in her place.

But thus I will advise, and mark my words;
 For 'tis the best advice my skill affords:
 If needs thou with the damsel wilt begin, 440
 Before th' attempt is made, make sure to win;
 For then the secret better will be kept;
 And she can tell no tales when once she's dipp'd.
 'Tis for the fowler's interest to beware,
 The bird entangled should not 'scape the snare. 445
 The fish, once prick'd, avoids the bearded hook,
 And spoils the sport of all the neighbouring brook.
 But if the wench be thine, she makes thy way,
 And, for thy sake, her mistress will betray;
 Tell all she knows, and all she hears her say. 450
 Keep well the counsel of thy faithful spy:
 So shalt thou learn whene'er she treads awry.

All things the stations of their seasons keep,
 And certain times there are to sow and reap.
 Ploughmen and sailors for the season sty, 455
 One to plough land, and one to plough the sea:
 So should the lover wait the lucky day.
 Then stop thy suit, it hurts not thy design:
 But think, another hour she may be thine.
 And when she celebrates her birth at home, 460
 Or when she views the public shows of Rome,
 Know, all thy visits then are troublesome.
 Defer thy work, and put not then to sea,
 For that's a boding and a stormy day.
 Else take thy time, and, when thou canst, begin: 465
 To break a Jewish sabbath, think no sin:
 Nor e'en on superstitious days abstain;
 Not when the Romans were at Allia slain.
 Ill omens in her frowns are understood;
 When she's in humour, every day is good. 470
 But than her birthday seldom comes a worse;
 When bribes and presents must be sent of course;
 And that's a bloody day, that costs thy purse.
 Be stanch; yet parsimony will be vain:
 The craving sex will still the lover drain. 475
 No skill can shift them off, nor art remove;
 They will be begging, when they know we love.
 The merchant comes upon th' appointed day,
 Who shall before thy face his wares display.
 To choose for her she craves thy kind advice; 480
 Then begs again, to bargain for the price:
 But when she has her purchase in her eye,
 She hugs thee close, and kisses thee to buy.
 'Tis what I want, and 'tis a pen'orth too;
 In many years I will not trouble you. 485
 If you complain you have no ready coin;
 No matter, 'tis but writing of a line,
 A little bill, not to be paid at sight;
 Now curse the time when thou wert taught to
 write.

She keeps her birthday; you must send the
 cheer; 490

And she'll be born a hundred times a year.
 With daily lies she dribs thee into cost;
 That earring dropp'd a stone, that ring is lost.
 They often borrow what they never pay;
 Whate'er you lend her, think it thrown away. 495
 Had I ten mouths and tongues to tell each art,
 All would be wearied ere I told a part.

By letters, not by words, thy love begin;
 And ford the dangerous passage with thy pen.
 If to her heart thou aim'st to find the way, 500
 Extremely flatter, and extremely pry.

Priam by prayers did Hector's body gain;
 Nor is an angry god invoked in vain.
 With promised gifts her easy mind bewitch;
 For e'en the poor in promise may be rich. 505
 Vain hopes awhile her appetite will stay;
 'Tis a deceitful, but commodious way.
 Who gives is mad, but make her still believe
 'Twill come, and that's the cheapest way to give.
 E'en barren lands fair promises afford; 510
 But the lean harvest cheats the starving lord.
 Buy not thy first enjoyment, lest it prove
 Of bad example to thy future love:
 But get it gratis; and she'll give thee more,
 For fear of losing what she gave before. 515
 The losing gamester shakes the box in vain,
 And bleeds, and loses on, in hopes to gain.

Write then, and in thy letter, as I said,
 Let her with mighty promises be fed.
 Cydippe by a letter was betray'd, 520
 Writ on an apple to th' unwary maid.
 She read herself into a marriage-vow;
 (And every cheat in love the gods allow.)
 Learn eloquence, ye noble youth of Rome;
 It will not only at the bar o'ercome:
 Sweet words the people and the senate move;
 But the chief end of eloquence is love. 525
 But in thy letter hide thy moving arts;
 Affect not to be thought a man of parts.
 None but vain fools to simple women preach: 530
 A learned letter oft has made a breach.
 In a familiar style your thoughts convey,
 And write such things as present you would say;
 Such words as from the heart may seem to move:
 'Tis wit enough to make her think you love. 535
 If seal'd she sends it back, and will not read,
 Yet hope, in time, the business may succeed.
 In time the steer will to the yoke submit;
 In time the restive horse will bear the bit.
 E'en the hard ploughshare use will wear away;
 And stubborn steel in length of time decay. 540
 Water is soft, and marble hard; and yet
 We see soft water through hard marble eat.
 Though late, yet Troy at length in flames expired;
 And ten years more Penelope had tired. 545
 Perhaps thy lines unanswer'd she retain'd;
 No matter; there's a point already gain'd:
 For she, who reads, in time will answer too;
 Things must be left by just degrees to grow.
 Perhaps she writes, but answers with disdain, 550
 And sharply bids you not to write again;
 What she requires, she fears you should accord;
 The jilt would not be taken at her word.

Meantime, if she be carried in her chair,
 Approach, but do not seem to know she's there. 555
 Speak softly to delude the standers-by;
 Or, if aloud, then speak ambiguously.
 If sauntering in the portico she walk,
 Move slowly too; for that's a time for talk:
 And sometimes follow. Sometimes be her guide:
 But, when the crowd permits, go side by side. 560
 Nor in the playhouse let her sit alone:
 For she's the playhouse and the play in one.
 There thou may'st ogle, or by signs advance
 Thy suit, and seem to touch her hand by chance. 565
 Admire the dancer who her liking gains,
 And pity in the play the lover's pains;
 For her sweet sake the loss of time despise;
 Sit while she sits, and when she rises rise. 570
 But dress not like a fop, nor curl your hair,
 Nor with a pumce make your body bare.

Leave those effeminate and useless toys
To eunuchs, who can give no solid joys.
Neglect becomes a man : this Theseus found :
Uncurl'd, uncomb'd, the nymph his wishes
crown'd. 575

The rough Hippolytus was Phædra's care ;
And Venus thought the rude Adonis fair.
Be not too finical ; but yet be clean ;
And wear well-fashion'd clothes, like other men. 580
Let not your teeth be yellow, or be foul ;
Nor in wide shoes your feet too loosely roll.
Of a black muzzle, and long beard, beware ;
And let a skilful barber cut your hair :
Your nails be pick'd from filth, and even pared ;
Nor let your nasty nostrils bud with beard. 585
Cure your unsavoury breath, gargle your throat,
And free your armpits from the rum and goat.
Dress not, in short, too little or too much ;
And be not wholly French nor wholly Dutch.

Now Bacchus calls me to his jolly rites :
Who would not follow when a god invites ?
He helps the poet, and his pen inspires,
Kind and indulgent to his former fires.

Fair Ariadne wander'd on the shore,
Forsaken now ; and Theseus loved no more : 595
Loose was her gown, dishevell'd was her hair ;
Her bosom naked, and her feet were bare :
Exclaiming, on the water's brink she stood ;
Her briny tears augment the briny flood.
She shriek'd, and wept, and both became her
face : 600

No posture could that heavenly form disgrace.
She beat her breast : The traitor's gone, said she ;
What shall become of poor forsaken me ?
What shall become—she had not time for more,
The sounding cymbals rattled on the shore. 605
She swoons for fear, she falls upon the ground ;
No vital heat was in her body found.

The Mmallonian dames about her stood ;
And sudding satyrs ran before their god.
Silenus on his ass did next appear, 610
And held upon the mane ; (the god was clear)
The drunken sire pursues, the dames retire ;
Sometimes the drunken dames pursue the drunken
sire.

At last he topples over on the plain ;
The satyrs laugh, and bid him rise again. 615
And now the god of wine came driving on,
High on his chariot by swift tigers drawn ;
Her colour, voice, and sense forsook the fair ;
Thrice did her trembling feet for flight prepare,
And thrice affrighted did her flight forbear. 620
She shook, like leaves of corn when tempests
blow,

Or slender reeds that in the marshes grow.
To whom the god : Compose thy fearful mind ;
In me a truer husband thou shalt find.
With heaven I will endow thee, and thy star 625
Shall with propitious light be seen afar,
And guide on seas the doubtful mariner.
He said, and from his chariot leaping light,
Lest the grim tigers should the nymph affright,
His brawny arms around her waist he threw ; 630
(For gods, whate'er they will, with ease can do)
And swiftly bore her thence : th' attending throng
Shout at the sight, and sing the nuptial song.
Now in full bowls her sorrow she may steep :
The bridegroom's liquor lays the bride asleep. 635

But thou, when flowing cups in triumph ride,
And the loved nymph is seated by thy side ;

Invoke the god, and all the mighty powers,
That wine may not defraud thy genial hours.
Then in ambiguous words thy suit prefer, 640
Which she may know were all address'd to her,
In liquid purple letters write her name,
Which she may read, and reading find the flame.
Then may your eyes confess your mutual fires ;
(For eyes have tongues, and glances tell desires,) 645
Whene'er she drinks, be first to take the cup ;
And, where she laid her lips, the blessing sup.
When she to carving does her hand advance,
Put out thy own, and touch it as by chance.
Thy service e'en her husband must attend : 650
(A husband is a most convenient friend.)
Seat the fool cuckold in the highest place ;
And with thy garland his dull temples grace.
Whether below or equal in degree,
Let him be lord of all the company, 655
And what he says be seconded by thee.

'Tis common to deceive through friendship's name :
But, common though it be, 'tis still to blame :
Thus factors frequently their trust betray,
And to themselves their masters' gains convey. 660
Drink to a certain pitch, and then give o'er :
Thy tongue and feet may stumble, drinking more.
Of drunken quarrels in her sight beware ;
Pot-valour only serves to fright the fair.
Eurytion justly fell, by wine oppress'd, 665
For his rude riot at a wedding-feast.

Sing, if you have a voice ; and show your parts
In dancing, if endued with dancing arts.
Do anything within your power to please ;
Nay, e'en affect a seeming drunkenness ; 670
Clip every word ; and if by chance you speak
Too home, or if too broad a jest you break,
In your excuse the company will join,
And lay the fault upon the force of wine.

True drunkenness is subject to offend ; 675
But when 'tis feign'd 'tis oft a lover's friend.
Then safely you may praise her beauteous face,
And call him happy who is in her grace.
Her husband thinks himself the man design'd ;
But curse the cuckold in your secret mind. 680
When all are risen, and prepare to go,
Mix with the crowd, and tread upon her toe.

This is the proper time to make thy court,
For now she's in the vein, and fit for sport.
Lay bashfulness, that rustic virtue, by ; 685
To manly confidence thy thoughts apply.
On Fortune's foretop timely fix thy hold ;
Now speak and speed, for Venus loves the bold.
No rules of rhetoric here I need afford :
Only begin, and trust the following word ; 690
It will be witty of its own accord.

Act well the lover ; let thy speech abound
In dying words, that represent thy wound.
Distrust not her belief ; she will be moved ;
All women think they merit to be loved. 695
Sometimes a man begins to love in jest,
And, after, feels the torment he profess'd.
For your own sakes be pitiful, ye fair ;
For a feign'd passion may a true prepare.
By flatteries we prevail on womankind ; 700

As hollow banks by streams are undermined.
Tell her, her face is fair, her eyes are sweet :
Her taper fingers praise, and little feet.
Such praises e'en the chaste are pleased to hear ;
Both maids and matrons hold their beauty dear. 705
Once naked Pallas with Jove's queen appear'd ;
And still they grieve that Venus was prefer'd

Praise the proud peacock, and he spreads his train :
 Be silent, and he pulls it in again.
 Pleased is the courser in his rapid race ; 710
 Applaud his running, and he mends his pace.
 But largely promise, and devoutly swear ;
 And, if need be, call every god to hear.
 Jove sits above, forgiving with a smile
 The perjuries that easy maids beguile. 715
 He swore to Juno by the Stygian lake :
 Forsworn, he dares not an example make,
 Or punish falsehood, for his own dear sake.
 'Tis for our interest that the gods should be ;
 Let us believe 'em : I believe, they see, 720
 And both reward and punish equally.
 Not that they live above like lazy drones,
 Or kings below, supine upon their thrones.
 Lead then your lives as present in their sight ;
 Be just in dealings, and defend the right ; 725
 By fraud betray not, nor oppress by might.
 But 'tis a venial sin to cheat the fair ;
 All men have liberty of conscience there.
 On cheating nymphs a cheat is well design'd ;
 'Tis a profane and a deceitful kind. 730
 'Tis said, that Egypt for nine years was dry,
 Nor Nile did floods, nor heaven did rain supply.
 A foreigner at length inform'd the king
 That slaughter'd guests would kindly moisture
 bring.
 The king replied : On thee the lot shall fall ; 735
 Be thou, my guest, the sacrifice for all.
 Thus Phalaris Perillus taught to low,
 And made him season first the brazen cow.
 A rightful doom, the laws of nature cry,
 'Tis, the artificers of death should die. 740
 Thus justly women suffer by deceit ;
 Their practice authorises us to cheat.
 Beg her, with tears, thy warm desires to grant ;
 For tears will pierce a heart of adamant.
 If tears will not be squeeze'd, then rub your eye,
 Or 'noint the lids, and seem at least to cry. 745
 Kiss, if you can : resistance if she make,
 And will not give you kisses, let her take.
 Fie, fie, you naughty man ! are words of course :
 She struggles but to be subdued by force. 750
 Kiss only soft, I charge you, and beware
 With your hard bristles not to brush the fair.
 He who has gain'd a kiss, and gains no more,
 Deserves to lose the bliss he got before.
 If once she kiss, her meaning is express'd ; 755
 There wants but little pushing for the rest :
 Which if thou dost not gain, by strength or art,
 The name of clown then suits with thy desert ;
 'Tis downright dulness, and a shameful part.
 Perhaps, she calls it force ; but if she 'scape, 760
 She will not thank you for th' omitted rape.
 The sex is cunning to conceal their fires ;
 They would be forced e'en to their own desires.
 They seem t' accuse you, with a downcast sight,
 But in their souls confess you did them right. 765
 Who might be forced, and yet untouch'd depart,
 Thank with their tongues, but curse you with
 their heart.
 Fair Phoebe and her sister did prefer
 To their dull mates the noble ravisher.
 What Deidamia did, in days of yore,
 The tale is old, but worth the reading o'er.
 When Venus had the golden apple gain'd,
 And the just judge fair Helen had obtain'd :
 When she with triumph was at Troy received,
 The Trojans joyful while the Grecians grieved : 770

They vow'd revenge of violated laws, 770
 And Greece was arming in the cuckold's cause :
 Achilles, by his mother warn'd from war.
 Disguised his sex, and lurk'd among the fair.
 What means Æacides to spin and sew ? 775
 With spear and sword in field thy valour show ;
 And, leaving this, the nobler Pallas know.
 Why dost thou in that hand the distaff wield,
 Which is more worthy to sustain the shield ! 780
 Or with that other draw the woolly twine,
 The same the fates for Hector's thread assign ?
 Brandish thy falchion in thy powerful hand,
 Which can alone the ponderous lance command.
 In the same room by chance the royal maid
 Was lodged, and, by his seeming sex betray'd, 790
 Close to her side the youthful hero laid.
 I know not how his courtship he began ;
 But, to her cost, she found it was a man.
 'Tis thought she struggled, but withal 'tis thought,
 Her wish was to be conquer'd, when she fought. 795
 For when disclosed, and hastening to the field,
 He laid his distaff down, and took the shield,
 With tears her humble suit she did prefer,
 And thought to stay the grateful ravisher.
 She sighs, she sobs, she begs him not to part : 800
 And now 'tis nature, what before was art.
 She strives by force her lover to detain,
 And wishes to be ravish'd once again.
 This is the sex ; they will not first begin,
 But, when compell'd, are pleased to suffer sin. 805
 Is there who thinks that women first should woo ?
 Lay by thy self-conceit, thou foolish beau.
 Begin, and save their modesty the shame ;
 'Tis well for thee if they receive thy flame.
 'Tis decent for a man to speak his mind ; 810
 They but expect th' occasion to be kind.
 Ask, that thou may'st enjoy ; she waits for this ;
 And on thy first advance depends thy bliss.
 E'en Jove himself was forced to sue for love ;
 None of the nymphs did first solicit Jove. 815
 But if you find your prayers increase her pride,
 Strike sail awhile, and wait another tide.
 They fly when we pursue ; but make delay,
 And, when they see you slacken, they will stay.
 Sometimes it profits to conceal your end ; 820
 Name not yourself her lover, but her friend.
 How many skittish girls have thus been caught ?
 He proved a lover who a friend was thought.
 Sailors by sun and wind are swarthy made :
 A tann'd complexion best becomes their trade. 825
 'Tis a disgrace to ploughmen to be fair ;
 Bluff cheeks they have, and weather-beaten hair.
 Th' ambitious youth, who seeks an olive crown,
 Is sun-burnt with his daily toil, and brown.
 But if the lover hopes to be in grace, 830
 Wan be his looks, and meagre be his face.
 That colour from the fair compassion draws :
 She thinks you sick, and thinks herself the cause.
 Orion wander'd in the woods for love :
 His paleness did the nymphs to pity move ; 835
 His ghastly visage argued hidden love.
 Nor fail a night-cap, in full health, to wear ;
 Neglect thy dress, and discompose thy hair.
 All things are decent that in love avail :
 Read long by night, and study to be pale : 840
 Forsake your food, refuse your needful rest ;
 Be miserable, that you may be blest.
 Shall I complain, or shall I warn you most ?
 Faith, truth, and friendship in the world are lost : 845
 A little and an empty name they boast.

Trust not thy friend, much less thy mistress praise:
If he believe, thou may'st a rival raise.
'Tis true, Patroclus, by no lust misled,
Sought not to stain his dear companion's bed.

Nor Pylades Hermione embraced;
E'en Phædra to Pirithous still was chaste.
But hope not thou, in this vile age, to find
Those rare examples of a faithful mind.
The sea shall sooner with sweet honey flow,
Or from the furzes pears and apples grow,
We sin with gust, we love by fraud to gain;
And find a pleasure in our fellow's pain.
From rival foes you may the fair defend;
But, would you ward the blow, beware your friend:
Beware your brother, and your next of kin;
But from your bosom-friend your care begin.

Here I had ended, but experience finds,
That sundry women are of sundry minds;
With various crotchets fill'd, and hard to please:
They therefore must be caught by various ways.
All things are not produced in any soil;
This ground for wine is proper, that for oil.
So 'tis in men, but more in womankind:
Different in face, in manners, and in mind:
But wise men shift their sails with every wind:
As changeful Proteus varied oft his shape,
And did in sundry forms and figures 'scape;
A running stream, a standing tree became,
A roaring lion, or a bleating lamb.
Some fish with harpoons, some with darts are

struck,
Some drawn with nets, some hang upon the hook:
So turn thyself; and imitating them,
Try several tricks, and change thy stratagem.
One rule will not for different ages hold;
The jades grow cunning, as they grow more old.
Then talk not bawdy to the bashful maid;
Broad words will make her innocence afraid.
Nor to an ignorant girl of learning speak;
She thinks you conjure when you talk in Greek.
And hence 'tis often seen, the simple shun
The learn'd, and into vile embraces run.
Part of my task is done, and part to do:
But here 'tis time to rest myself and you.

FROM OVID'S AMOURS.

BOOK I.—ELEG. 1.

For mighty wars I thought to tune my lute,
And make my measures to my subject suit.
Six feet for every verse the Muse design'd:
But Cupid, laughing, when he saw my mind,
From every second verse a foot purloin'd.
Who gave thee, boy, this arbitrary sway,
On subjects, not thy own, commands to lay,
Who Phœbus only and his laws obey?
'Tis more absurd than if the Queen of Love
Should in Minerva's arms to battle move;
Or manly Pallas from that queen should take
Her torch, and o'er the dying lover shake.
In fields as well may Cynthia sow the corn,
Or Ceres wind in woods the bugle-horn.
As well may Phœbus quit the trembling string
For sword and shield and Mars may learn to sing

Already thy dominions are too large;
Be not ambitious of a foreign charge.
If thou wilt reign o'er all, and everywhere,
The god of Music for his harp may fear.
Thus when with soaring wings I seek renown,
Thou pluck'st my pinions, and I flutter down.
Could I on such mean thoughts my Muse employ,
I want a mistress, or a blooming boy.
Thus I complain'd: his bow the stripling bent,
And chose an arrow fit for his intent.
The shaft his purpose fatally pursues:
Now, poet, there's a subject for thy Muse,
He said: too well, alas! he knows his trade;
For in my breast a mortal wound he made.
Far hence, ye proud hexameters, remove,
My verse is paced and trammell'd into love.
With myrtle wreaths my thoughtful brows enclose,
While in unequal verse I sing my woes.

FROM OVID'S AMOURS.

BOOK I.—ELEG. 4.

To his Mistress, whose Husband is invited to a feast with them. The Poet instructs her how to behave herself in his company.

Your husband will be with us at the treat;
May that be the last supper he shall eat.
And am poor I a guest invited there,
Only to see, while he may touch the fair?
To see you kiss and hug your nauseous lord,
While his lewd hand descends below the board?
Now wonder not that Hippodamia's charms,
At such a sight, the Centaurs urged to arms;
That in a rage they threw their cups aside,
Assail'd the bridegroom, and would force the

bride.
I am not half a horse, (I would I were)
Yet hardly can from you my hands forbear.
Take then my counsel; which, observed, may be
Of some importance both to you and me.
Be sure to come before your man be there;
There's nothing can be done; but come however.
Sit next him (that belongs to decency)
But tread upon my foot in passing by.
Read in my looks what silently they speak,
And silly, with your eyes, your answer make.
My lifted eyebrow shall declare my pain:
My right hand to his fellow shall complain;
And on the back a letter shall design;
Besides a note that shall be writ in wine.
Whene'er you think upon our last embrace,
With your forefinger gently touch your face.
If any word of mine offend my dear,
Pull, with your hand, the velvet of your ear.
If you are pleased with what I do or say,
Handle your rings, or with your fingers play.
As suppliants use at altars, hold the board,
Whene'er you wish the devil may take your lord.
When he fills for you, never touch the cup,
But bid th' officious cuckold drink it up.
The waiter on those services employ:
Drink you, and I will snatch it from the boy;
Watching the part where your sweet mouth hath
been,
And thence with eager lips will suck it in.

If he, with clownish manners, thinks it fit
 To taste, and offer you the nasty bit,
 Reject his greasy kindness, and restore
 Th' unsav'ry morsel he had chew'd before.
 Nor let his arms embrace your neck, nor rest
 Your tender cheek upon his hairy breast.
 Let not his hand within your bosom stray,
 And rudely with your pretty bobbies play.
 But, above all, let him no kiss receive;
 That's an offence I never can forgive.
 Do not, oh, do not that sweet mouth resign,
 Lest I rise up in arms, and cry, 'Tis mine.
 I shall thrust in betwixt, and void of fear
 The manifest adulterer will appear.
 These things are plain to sight; but more I doubt
 What you conceal beneath your petticoat.
 Take not his leg between your tender thighs,
 Nor, with your hand, provoke my foe to rise.
 How many love-inventions I deplore,
 Which I myself have practised all before!
 How oft have I been forced the robe to lift
 In company; to make a homely shift
 For a bare bout, ill huddled o'er in haste,
 While o'er my side the fair her mantle cast.
 You to your husband shall not be so kind;
 But, lest you should, your mantle leave behind.
 Encourage him to tope; but kiss him not,
 Nor mix one drop of water in his pot.
 If he be fuddled well, and smores apace,
 Then we may take advice from time and place.
 When all depart, when compliments are loud,
 Be sure to mix among the thickest crowd:
 There I will be, and there we cannot miss,
 Perhaps to grumble, or at least to kiss.
 Alas! what length of labour I employ,
 Just to secure a short and transient joy!
 For night must part us: and when night is come,
 Tuck'd underneath his arm he leads you home.
 He locks you in; I follow to the door,
 His fortune envy, and my own deplore.
 He kisses you, he more than kisses too;
 Th' outrageous cuckold thinks it all his due.
 But add not to his joy by your consent,
 And let it not be given, but only lent.
 Return no kiss, nor move in any sort;
 Make it a dull and a malignant sport.
 Had I my wish, he should no pleasure take,
 But slubber o'er your business for my sake.
 And whate'er fortune shall this night befall,
 Coax me to-morrow, by forswearing all.

FROM OVID'S AMOURS.

BOOK II.—ELEG. 19.

If for thyself thou wilt not watch thy whore,
 Watch her for me, that I may love her more.
 What comes with ease we nauseously receive;
 Who, but a sot, would scorn to love with leave?

With hopes and fears my flames are blown up
 higher;
 Make me despair, and then I can desire.
 Give me a jilt to tease my jealous mind;
 Deceits are virtues in the female kind.
 Corinna my fantastic humour knew.
 Play'd trick for trick, and kept herself still new:
 She, that next night I might the sharper come,
 Fell out with me, and sent me fasting home;
 Or some pretence to lie alone would take;
 When'er she pleased, her head and teeth would
 ache:
 Till having won me to the highest strain,
 She took occasion to be sweet again.
 With what a gust, ye gods, we then embraced!
 How every kiss was dearer than the last!
 Thou, whom I now adore, be edified;
 Take care that I may often be denied.
 Forget the promised hour, or feign some fright;
 Make me lie rough on bulks each other night.
 These are the arts that best secure thy reign,
 And this the food that must my fires maintain.
 Gross easy love does, like gross diet, pall;
 In squeasy stomachs honey turns to gall.
 Had Danaë not been kept in brazen towers,
 Jove had not thought her worth his goldenshowers.
 When Juno to a cow turn'd Io's shape,
 The watchman help'd her to a second leap.
 Let him who loves an easy Whetsome whore.
 Pluck leaves from trees, and drink the common
 shore.
 The jilting harlot strikes the surest blow;
 A truth which I by sad experience know.
 The kind poor constant creature we despise;
 Man but pursues the quarry while it flies.
 But thou, dull husband of a wife too fair,
 Stand on thy guard, and watch the precious
 ware;
 If creaking doors, or barking dogs thou hear,
 Or windows scratch'd, suspect a rival there.
 An orange wench would tempt thy wife abroad;
 Kick her, for she's a letter-bearing bawd:
 In short, be jealous as the devil in hell:
 And set my wit on work to cheat thee well.
 The sneaking city-cuckold is my foe,
 I scorn to strike, but when he wards the blow.
 Look to thy hits, and leave off thy conniving;
 I'll be no drudge to any wittol living:
 I have been patient, and forborne thee long,
 In hope thou would'st not pocket up thy wrong;
 If no affront can rouse thee, understand
 I'll take no more indulgence at thy hand.
 What, ne'er to be forbid thy house, and wife!
 Damn him who loves to lead so ill a life.
 Now I can neither sigh, nor whine, nor pray;
 All those occasions thou hast ta'en away.
 Why art thou so incorrigibly civil!
 Do somewhat I may wish thee at the devil.
 For shame, be no accomplice in my treason;
 A pimping husband is too much in reason.
 Once more wear horns, before I quite for-
 sake her;
 In hopes whereof, I rest thy cuckold-maker.

TRANSLATIONS FROM JUVENAL.

A DISCOURSE

CONCERNING

THE ORIGINAL AND PROGRESS OF SATIRE :

ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES, EARL OF DORSET AND MIDDLESEX,

Lord Chamberlain of His Majesty's Household, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, &c.

MY LORD,

THE wishes and desires of all good men, which have attended your lordship from your first appearance in the world, are at length accomplished, from your obtaining those honours and dignities which you have so long deserved. There are no factions, though irreconcilable to one another, that are not united in their affection to you, and the respect they pay you. They are equally pleased in your prosperity, and would be equally concerned in your afflictions. Titus Vespasian was not more the delight of human kind. The universal empire made him only more known, and more powerful, but could not make him more beloved. He had greater ability of doing good, but your inclination to it is not less; and though you could not extend your beneficence to so many persons, yet you have lost as few days as that excellent emperor; and never had his complaint to make when you went to bed, that the sun had shone upon you in vain, when you had the opportunity of relieving some unhappy man. This, my lord, has justly acquired you as many friends as there are persons who have the honour to be known to you. Mere acquaintance you have none; you have drawn them all into a nearer line; and they who have conversed with you are for ever after inviolably yours. This is a truth so generally acknowledged, that it needs no proof: it is of the nature of a first principle, which is received as soon as it is proposed; and needs not the reformation which Descartes used to his; for we doubt not, neither can we properly say, we think we admire and love you above all other men: there is a certainty in the proposition, and we know it. With the same assurance I can say, you neither have enemies, nor can scarce have any; for they who have never heard of you, can neither love or hate you; and they who have, can have no other notion of you, than that which they receive from the public, that you are the best of men. After this, my testimony can be of no farther use, than to declare it to be daylight at high noon; and all who have the benefit of sight can look up as well, and see the sun.

It is true, I have one privilege which is almost particular to myself, that I saw you in the east at your first arising above the hemisphere: I was as soon sensible as any man of that light, when it was but just shooting out, and beginning to travel upwards to the meridian. I made my early addresses to your lordship, in my "Essay of Dramatic Poetry;" and therein bespoke you to the world, wherein I have the right of a first discoverer. When I was myself in the rudiments of my poetry, without name or reputation in the world, having rather the ambition of a writer, than the skill; when I was drawing the outlines of an art, without any living master to instruct me in it; an art which had been better praised than studied here in England, wherein Shakspeare, who created the stage among us, had rather written happily, than knowingly and justly, and Jonson, who, by studying Horace, had been acquainted with the rules, yet seemed to envy to posterity that knowledge, and, like an inventor of some useful art, to make a monopoly of his learning; when thus, as I may say, before the use of the loadstone, or knowledge of the compass, I was sailing in a vast ocean, without other help than the pole-star of the ancients, and the rules of the French stage amongst the moderns, which are extremely different from ours, by reason of their opposite taste; yet even then, I had the presumption

to dedicate to your lordship—a very unfinished piece, I must confess, and which only can be excused by the little experience of the author, and the modesty of the title—"An Essay." Yet I was stronger in prophecy than I was in criticism; I was inspired to foretell you to mankind, as the restorer of poetry, the greatest genius, the truest judge, and the best patron.

Good sense and good nature are never separated, though the ignorant world has thought otherwise—Good nature, by which I mean beneficence and candour, is the product of right reason; which of necessity will give allowance to the failings of others, by considering that there is nothing perfect in mankind; and by distinguishing that which comes nearest to excellency, though not absolutely free from faults, will certainly produce a candour in the judge. It is incident to an elevated understanding, like your lordship's, to find out the errors of other men; but it is your prerogative to pardon them; to look with pleasure on those things, which are somewhat congenial, and of a remote kindred to your own conceptions; and to forgive the many failings of those, who, with their wretched art, cannot arrive to those heights that you possess, from a happy, abundant, and native genius: which are as inborn to you, as they were to Shakspeare; and, for aught I know, to Homer; in either of whom we find all arts and sciences, all moral and natural philosophy, without knowing that they ever studied them.

There is not an English writer this day living, who is not perfectly convinced, that your lordship excels all others in all the several parts of poetry which you have undertaken to adorn. The most vain, and the most ambitious of our age, have not dared to assume so much, as the competitors of Themistocles: they have yielded the first place without dispute; and have been arrogantly content to be esteemed as second to your lordship; and even that also, with a *longo, sed proximi intervallo*. If there have been, or are any, who go farther in their self-conceit, they must be very singular in their opinion; they must be like the officer in a play, who was called Captain, Lieutenant, and Company. The world will easily conclude, whether such unattended generals can ever be capable of making a revolution in Parnassus.

I will not attempt, in this place, to say anything particular of your Lyric Poems, though they are the delight and wonder of this age, and will be the envy of the next. The subject of this book confines me to satire; and in that, an author of your own quality, (whose ashes I will not disturb,) has given you all the commendation which his self-sufficiency could afford to any man: "The best good man, with the worst-natured muse." In that character, methinks, I am reading Jonson's verses to the memory of Shakspeare; an insolent, sparing, and invidious panegyric: where good nature, the most godlike commendation of a man, is only attributed to your person, and denied to your writings; for they are everywhere so full of candour, that, like Horace, you only expose the follies of men, without arraigning their vices; and in this excel him, that you add that pointedness of thought, which is visibly wanting in our great Roman. There is more of salt in all your verses, than I have seen in any of the moderns, or even of the ancients; but you have been sparing of the gall, by which means you have pleased all readers and offended none. Donne alone, of all our countrymen, had your talent; but was not happy enough to arrive at your versification; and were he translated into numbers, and English, he would yet be wanting in the dignity of expression. That which is the prime virtue, and chief ornament, of Virgil, which distinguishes him from the rest of writers, is so conspicuous in your verses, that it casts a shadow on all your contemporaries; we cannot be seen, or but obscurely, while you are present. You equal Donne in the variety, multiplicity, and choice of thoughts; you excel him in the manner and the words. I read you both with the same admiration, but not with the same delight. He affects the metaphysics, not only in his satires, but in his amorous verses, where nature only should reign; and perplexes the minds of the fair sex with nice speculations of philosophy, when he should engage their hearts, and entertain them with the softnesses of love. In this (if I may be pardoned for so bold a truth) Mr. Cowley has copied him to a fault; so great a one, in my opinion, that it throws his Mistress infinitely below his Pindarics, and his latter compositions, which are undoubtedly the best of his poems, and the most correct. For my own part, I must avow it freely to the world, that I never attempted any thing in satire, wherein I have not studied your writings as the most perfect model. I have continually laid them before me; and the greatest commendation, which my own partiality can give to my productions, is, that they are copies, and no farther to be allowed, than as they have something more or less of the original. Some few touches of your lordship, some secret graces which I have endeavoured to express after your manner, have made whole poems of mine to pass with approbation; but take your verses altogether, and they are inimitable. If therefore

I have not written better, it is because you have not written more. You have not set me sufficient copy to transcribe; and I cannot add one letter of my own invention, of which I have not the example there.

It is a general complaint against your lordship, and I must have leave to upbraid you with it, that, because you need not write, you will not. Mankind, that wishes you so well in all things that relate to your prosperity, have their intervals of wishing for themselves, and are within a little of grudging you the fulness of your fortune: they would be more malicious if you used it not so well, and with so much generosity.

Fame is in itself a real good, if we may believe Cicero, who was perhaps too fond of it; but even fame, as Virgil tells us, acquires strength by going forward. Let Epicurus give indolency as an attribute to his gods, and place in it the happiness of the blest; the divinity which we worship has given us not only a precept against it, but his own example to the contrary. The world, my lord, would be content to allow you a seventh day for rest; or if you thought that hard upon you, we would not refuse you half your time: if you came out, like some great monarch, to take a town but once a year, as it were for your diversion, though you had no need to extend your territories. In short, if you were a bad, or, which is worse, an indifferent poet, we would thank you for our own quiet, and not expose you to the want of yours. But when you are so great and so successful, and when we have that necessity of your writing, that we cannot subsist entirely without it, any more (I may almost say) than the world without the daily course of ordinary providence, methinks this argument might prevail with you, my lord, to forego a little of your repose for the public benefit. It is not that you are under any force of working daily miracles, to prove your being; but now and then somewhat of extraordinary, that is, anything of your production, is requisite to refresh your character.

This, I think, my lord, is a sufficient reproach to you; and should I carry it as far as mankind would authorise me, would be little less than satire. And, indeed, a provocation is almost necessary, in behalf of the world, that you might be induced sometimes to write; and in relation to a multitude of scribblers, who daily pester the world with their insufferable stuff, that they might be discouraged from writing any more. I complain not of their lampoons and libels, though I have been the public mark for many years. I am vindictive enough to have repelled force by force, if I could imagine that any of them had ever reached me; but they either shot at rovers, and therefore missed, or their powder was so weak, that I might safely stand them at the nearest distance. I answered not the "Rehearsal," because I knew the author sat to himself when he drew the picture, and was the very Bayes of his own farce: because also I knew that my betters were more concerned than I was in that satire; and, lastly, because Mr. Smith and Mr. Johnson, the main pillars of it, were two such languishing gentlemen in their conversation, that I could liken them to nothing but to their own relations, those noble characters of men of wit and pleasure about the town. The like considerations have hindered me from dealing with the lamentable companions of their prose and doggrel. I am so far from defending my poetry against them, that I will not so much as expose theirs. And for my morals, if they are not proof against their attacks, let me be thought by posterity, what those authors would be thought, if any memory of them, or of their writings, could endure so long as to another age. But these dull makers of lampoons, as harmless as they have been to me, are yet of dangerous example to the public. Some witty men may perhaps succeed to their designs, and, mixing sense with malice, blast the reputation of the most innocent amongst men, and the most virtuous amongst women.

Heaven be praised, our common libellers are as free from the imputation of wit as of morality; and, therefore, whatever mischief they have designed, they have performed but little of it. Yet these ill writers, in all justice, ought themselves to be exposed; as Persius has given us a fair example in his first satire, which is levelled particularly at them; and none is so fit to correct their faults, as he who is not only clear from any in his own writings, but is also so just, that he will never defame the good; and is armed with the power of verse, to punish and make examples of the bad. But of this I shall have occasion to speak further, when I come to give the definition and character of true satires.

In the meantime, as a counsellor bred up in the knowledge of the municipal and statute laws, may honestly inform a just prince how far his prerogative extends; so I may be allowed to tell your lordship, who, by an undisputed title, are the king of poets, what an extent of power you have, and how lawfully you may exercise it, over the petulant scribblers of this age. As Lord Chamberlain,

I know, you are absolute by your office, in all that belongs to the decency and good manners of the stage. You can banish from thence scurrility and profaneness, and restrain the licentious insolence of poets, and their actors, in all things that shock the public quiet, or the reputation of private persons, under the notion of humour. But I mean not the authority which is annexed to your office; I speak of that only which is inborn and inherent to your person; what is produced in you by an excellent wit, a masterly and commanding genius over all writers: whereby you are empowered, when you please, to give the final decision of wit, to put your stamp on all that ought to pass for current, and set a brand of reprobation on clipped poetry and false coin. A shilling dipped in the Bath may go for gold amongst the ignorant, but the sceptres on the guineas show the difference. That your lordship is formed by nature for this supremacy, I could easily prove, (were it not already granted by the world) from the distinguishing character of your writing; which is so visible to me, that I never could be imposed on to receive for yours, what was written by any others; or to mistake your genuine poetry for their spurious productions. I can farther add, with truth, (though not without some vanity in saying it) that in the same paper, written by divers hands, whereof your lordship's was only part, I could separate your gold from their copper; and though I could not give back to every author his own brass, (for there is not the same rule for distinguishing betwixt bad and bad, as betwixt ill and excellently good) yet I never failed of knowing what was yours, and what was not; and was absolutely certain, that this, or the other part, was positively yours, and could not possibly be written by any other.

True it is, that some bad poems, though not all, carry their owners' marks about them. There is some peculiar awkwardness, false grammar, imperfect sense, or, at the least, obscurity; some brand or other on this buttock, or that ear, that is so notorious who are the owners of the cattle, though they should not sign it with their names. But your lordship, on the contrary, is distinguished not only by the excellency of your thoughts, but by your style and manner of expressing them. A painter, judging of some admirable piece, may affirm, with certainty, that it was of Holbein, or Vandyck; but vulgar designs, and common draughts, are easily mistaken and misapplied. Thus, by my long study of your lordship, I am arrived at the knowledge of your particular manner. In the good poems of other men, like those artists, I can only say, this is like the draught of such a one, or like the colouring of another. In short, I can only be sure, that it is the hand of a good master; but in your performances, it is scarcely possible for me to be deceived. If you write in your strength, you stand revealed at the first view; and should you write under it, you cannot avoid some peculiar graces, which only cost me a second consideration to discover you: for I may say it, with all the severity of truth, that every line of yours is precious. Your lordship's only fault is, that you have not written more; unless I could add another, and that yet greater, but I fear for the public the accusation would not be true,—that you have written, and out of a vicious modesty will not publish.

Virgil has confined his works within the compass of eighteen thousand lines, and has not treated many subjects; yet he ever had, and ever will have, the reputation of the best poet. Martial says of him, that he could have excelled Varius in tragedy, and Horace in lyric poetry, but out of deference to his friends, he attempted neither.

The same prevalence of genius is in your lordship, but the world cannot pardon your concealing it on the same consideration; because we have neither a living Varius, nor a Horace, in whose excellencies, both of poems, odes, and satires, you had equalled them, if our language had not yielded to the Roman majesty, and length of time had not added a reverence to the works of Horace. For good sense is the same in all or most ages; and course of time rather improves nature, than impairs her. What has been may be again: another Homer, and another Virgil, may possibly arise from those very causes which produced the first; though it would be impudence to affirm, that any such have yet appeared.

It is manifest, that some particular ages have been more happy than others in the production of great men in all sorts of arts and sciences: as that of Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes, and the rest, for stage poetry amongst the Greeks; that of Augustus, for heroic, lyric, dramatic, elegiac, and indeed all sorts of poetry, in the persons of Virgil, Horace, Varius, Ovid, and many others; especially if we take into that century the latter end of the Commonwealth, wherein we find Varro, Lucretius, and Catullus; and at the same time lived Cicero, and Sallust, and Cæsar. A famous age in modern times, for learning in every kind, was that of Lorenzo de Medici, and his son Leo the Tenth; wherein painting was revived, and poetry flourished, and the Greek language was restored.

Examples in all these are obvious; but what I would infer is this: that in such an age, it is possible some great genius may arise, to equal any of the ancients; abating only for the language. For great contemporaries whet and cultivate each other; and mutual borrowing, and commerce, makes the common riches of learning, as it does of the civil government.

But suppose that Homer and Virgil were the only of their species, and that nature was so much worn out in producing them, that she is never able to bear the like again, yet the example only holds in heroic poetry: in tragedy and satire, I offer myself to maintain, against some of our modern critics, that this age and the last, particularly in England, have excelled the ancients in both those kinds; and I would instance in Shakspeare of the former, of your lordship in the latter sort.

Thus I might safely confine myself to my native country; but if I would only cross the seas, I might find in France a living Horace and a Juvenal, in the person of the admirable Boileau; whose numbers are excellent, whose expressions are noble, whose thoughts are just, whose language is pure, whose satire is pointed, and whose sense is close; what he borrows from the ancients, he repays with usury of his own, in coin as good, and almost as universally valuable; for, setting prejudice and partiality apart, though he is our enemy, the stamp of a Louis, the patron of all arts, is not much inferior to the medal of an Augustus Cæsar. Let this be said without entering into the interests of factions and parties, and relating only to the bounty of that king to men of learning and merit, a praise so just, that even we, who are his enemies, cannot refuse it to him.

Now if it may be permitted me to go back again to the consideration of epic poetry, I have confessed, that no man hitherto has reached, or so much as approached, to the excellencies of Homer, or of Virgil. I must farther add, that Statius, the best versificator next to Virgil, knew not how to design after him, though he had the model in his eye; that Lucan is wanting both in design and subject, and is besides too full of heat and affectation; that amongst the moderns, Ariosto neither designed justly, nor observed any unity of action, or compass of time, or moderation in the vastness of his draught: his style is luxurious, without majesty or decency, and his adventures without the compass of nature and possibility. Tasso, whose design was regular, and who observed the rules of unity in time and place more closely than Virgil, yet was not so happy in his action: he confesses himself to have been too lyrical, that is, to have written beneath the dignity of heroic verse, in his Episodes of Sophronia, Erminia, and Armida. His story is not so pleasing as Ariosto's; he is too flatulent sometimes, and sometimes too dry: many times unequal, and almost always forced; and, besides, is full of conceits, points of epigram, and witticisms; all which are not only below the dignity of heroic verse, but contrary to its nature: Virgil and Homer have not one of them. And those who are guilty of so boyish an ambition in so grave a subject, are so far from being considered as heroic poets, that they ought to be turned down from Homer to the Anthologia, from Virgil to Martial and Owen's Epigrams, and from Spenser to Fleeno; that is, from the top to the bottom of all poetry. But to return to Tasso: he borrows from the invention of Boiardo, and in his alteration of his poem, which is infinitely for the worse, imitates Homer so very servilely, that (for example) he gives the king of Jerusalem fifty sons, only because Homer had bestowed the like number on king Priam; he kills the youngest in the same manner, and has provided his hero with a Patroclus, under another name, only to bring him back to the wars, when his friend was killed. The French have performed nothing in this kind which is not far below those two Italians, and subject to a thousand more reflections, without examining their St. Louis, their Pucelle, or their Alarique. The English have only to boast of Spenser and Milton, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many censures. For there is no uniformity in the design of Spenser; he aims at the accomplishment of no one action; he raises up a hero for every one of his adventures; and endows each of them with some particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without subordination, or preference. Every one is most valiant in his own legend: only we must do him that justice to observe, that magnanimity, which is the character of Prince Arthur, shines throughout the whole poem, and succours the rest when they are in distress. The original of every knight was then living in the court of Queen Elizabeth; and he attributed to each of them that virtue, which he thought was most conspicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to finish his poem, in the six remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but could not have been perfect, because the model was not true. But Prince Arthur, or his chief patron Sir Philip Sydney, whom he intended to make happy by the marriage of his Gloriana, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and spirit to

accomplish his design. For the rest, his obsolete language, and the ill choice of his stanza, are faults but of the second magnitude; for, notwithstanding the first, he is still intelligible, at least after a little practice; and for the last, he is the more to be admired, that, labouring under such a difficulty, his verses are so numerous, so various, and so harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he professedly imitated, has surpassed him among the Romans, and only Mr. Waller among the English.

As for Mr. Milton, whom we all admire with so much justice, his subject is not that of an heroic poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness; his event is not prosperous, like that of all other epic works; his heavenly machines are many, and his human persons are but two. But I will not take Mr. Rymer's work out of his hands: he has promised the world a critique on that author; wherein, though he will not allow his poem for heroic, I hope he will grant us, that his thoughts are elevated, his words sounding, and that no man has so happily copied the manner of Homer, or so copiously translated his Grecisms, and the Latin elegancies of Virgil. It is true, he runs into a flat of thought, sometimes for a hundred lines together, but it is when he has got into a track of Scripture. His antiquated words were his choice, not his necessity; for therein he imitated Spenser, as Spenser did Chaucer. And though, perhaps, the love of their masters may have transported both too far, in the frequent use of them, yet, in my opinion, obsolete words may then be laudably revived, when either they are more sounding, or more significant, than those in practice; and when their obscurity is taken away, by joining other words to them, which clear the sense; according to the rule of Horace, for the admission of new words. But in both cases a moderation is to be observed in the use of them; for unnecessary coinage, as well as unnecessary revival, runs into affectation; a fault to be avoided on either hand. Neither will I justify Milton for his blank verse, though I may excuse him, by the example of Hannibal Caro, and other Italians, who have used it; for whatever causes he alleges for the abolishing of rhyme, (which I have not now the leisure to examine) his own particular reason is plainly this, that rhyme was not his talent: he had neither the ease of doing it, nor the graces of it; which is manifest in his "*Juvenilia*," or verses written in his youth, where his rhyme is always constrained and forced, and comes hardly from him, at an age when the soul is most pliant, and the passion of love makes almost every man a rhymester, though not a poet.

By this time, my lord, I doubt not but that you wonder, why I have run off from my bias so long together, and made so tedious a digression from satire to heroic poetry. But if you will not excuse it, by the tattling quality of age, which, as Sir William D'Avenant says, is always narrative, yet I hope the usefulness of what I have to say on this subject will qualify the remoteness of it; and this is the last time I will commit the crime of prefaces, or trouble the world with my notions of anything that relates to verse. I have then, as you see, observed the failings of many great wits amongst the moderns, who have attempted to write an epic poem. Besides these, or the like animadversions of them by other men, there is yet a farther reason given, why they cannot possibly succeed so well as the ancients, even though we could allow them not to be inferior either in genius or learning, or the tongue in which they write, or all those other wonderful qualifications which are necessary to the forming of a true accomplished heroic poet. The fault is laid on our religion; they say, that Christianity is not capable of those embellishments which are afforded in the belief of those ancient heathens.

And it is true, that, in the severe notions of our faith, the fortitude of a Christian consists in patience, and suffering, for the love of God, whatever hardships can befall in the world: not in any great attempts, or in performance of those enterprises which the poets call heroic, and which are commonly the effects of interest, ostentation, pride, and worldly honour: that humility and resignation are our prime virtues; and that these include no action, but that of the soul; when as, on the contrary, an heroic poem requires to its necessary design, and as its last perfection, some great action of war, the accomplishment of some extraordinary undertaking; which requires the strength and vigour of the body, the duty of a soldier, the capacity and prudence of a general, and, in short, as much, or more, of the active virtue, than the suffering. But to this the answer is very obvious. God has placed us in our several stations; the virtues of a private Christian are patience, obedience, submission, and the like; but those of a magistrate, or general, or a king, are prudence, counsel, active fortitude, coercive power, awful command, and the exercise of magnanimity, as well as justice. So that this objection hinders not, but that an epic poem, or the heroic action of some great commander, enterprised for the common good, and honour of the Christian cause, and executed happily, may be as well written now, as it was of old by the heathens; provided the poet be endued with the same

talents; and the language, though not of equal dignity, yet as near approaching to it, as our modern barbarism will allow; which is all that can be expected from our own, or any other now extant, though more refined; and therefore we are to rest contented with that only inferiority, which is not possibly to be remedied.

I wish I could as easily remove that other difficulty which yet remains. It is objected by a great French critic, as well as an admirable poet, yet living, and whom I have mentioned with that honour which his merit exacts from me, I mean Boileau, that the machines of our Christian religion, in heroic poetry, are much more feeble to support that weight than those of heathenism. Their doctrine, grounded as it was on ridiculous fables, was yet the belief of the two victorious monarchies, the Grecian and Roman. Their gods did not only interest themselves in the event of wars, (which is the effect of a superior providence) but also espoused the several parties, in a visible corporeal descent, managed their intrigues, and fought their battles sometimes in opposition to each other: though Virgil (more discreet than Homer in that last particular) has contented himself with the partiality of his deities, their favours, their counsels or commands, to those whose cause they had espoused, without bringing them to the outrageousness of blows. Now our religion (says he) is deprived of the greatest part of those machines; at least the most shining in epic poetry. Though St. Michael, in Ariosto, seeks out Discord, to send her among the Pagans, and finds her in a convent of friars, where peace should reign, which indeed is fine satire; and Satan, in Tasso, excites Solymán to an attempt by night on the Christian camp, and brings an host of devils to his assistance; yet the archangel, in the former example, when Discord was restive, and would not be drawn from her beloved monastery with fair words, has the whip-hand of her, drags her out with many stripes, sets her, on God's name, about her business, and makes her know the difference of strength betwixt a nuncio of heaven, and a minister of hell. The same angel, in the latter instance from Tasso, (as if God had never another messenger belonging to the court, but was confined like Jupiter to Mercury, and Juno to Iris) when he sees his time, that is, when half of the Christians are already killed, and all the rest are in a fair way to be routed, stickles betwixt the remainders of God's host, and the race of fiends; pulls the devils backward by the tails, and drives them from their quarry; or otherwise the whole business had miscarried, and Jerusalem remained untaken. This, says Boileau, is a very unequal match for the poor devils, who are sure to come by the worst of it in the combat; for nothing is more easy, than for an Almighty Power to bring his old rebels to reason, when he pleases. Consequently, what pleasure, what entertainment, can be raised from so pitiful a machine, where we see the success of the battle from the very beginning of it; unless that, as we are Christians, we are glad that we have gotten God on our side, to maul our enemies, when we cannot do the work ourselves? For, if the poet had given the faithful more courage, which had cost him nothing, or at least have made them exceed the Turks in number, he might have gained the victory for us Christians, without interesting heaven in the quarrel, and that with as much ease, and as little credit to the conqueror, as when a party of a hundred soldiers defeats another which consists only of fifty.

This, my lord, I confess, is such an argument against our modern poetry, as cannot be answered by those mediums which have been used. We cannot hitherto boast, that our religion has furnished us with any such machines, as have made the strength and beauty of the ancient buildings.

But what if I venture to advance an invention of my own, to supply the manifest defect of our new writers? I am sufficiently sensible of my weakness; and it is not very probable that I should succeed in such a project, whereof I have not had the least hint from any of my predecessors, the poets, or any of their seconds and coadjutors, the critics. Yet we see the art of war is improved in sieges, and new instruments of death are invented daily; something new in philosophy, and the mechanics, is discovered almost every year; and the science of former ages is improved by the succeeding. I will not detain you with a long preamble to that, which better judges will, perhaps, conclude to be little worth.

It is this, in short, that Christian poets have not hitherto been acquainted with their own strength. If they had searched the Old Testament as they ought, they might there have found the machines which are proper for their work; and those more certain in their effect, than it may be the New Testament is, in the rules sufficient for salvation. The perusing of one chapter in the prophecy of Daniel, and accommodating what there they find with the principles of Platonic philosophy, as it is now christianised, would have made the ministry of angels as strong an engine, for the working up heroic poetry, in our religion, as that of the ancients has been to raise theirs by all the fables of their gods, which were only received for truths by the most ignorant and weakest of the people.

It is a doctrine almost universally received by Christians, as well Protestants as Catholics, that there are guardian angels, appointed by God Almighty, as his vicegerents, for the protection and government of cities, provinces, kingdoms, and monarchies; and those as well of heathens, as of true believers. All this is so plainly proved from those texts of Daniel, that it admits of no farther controversy. The prince of the Persians, and that other of the Grecians, are granted to be the guardians and protecting ministers of those empires. It cannot be denied, that they were opposite, and resisted one another. St. Michael is mentioned by his name as the patron of the Jews, and is now taken by the Christians, as the protector-general of our religion. These tutelar genii, who presided over the several people and regions committed to their charge, were watchful over them for good, as far as their commissions could possibly extend. The general purpose, and design of all, was certainly the service of their great Creator. But it is an undoubted truth, that, for ends best known to the Almighty Majesty of heaven, his providential designs for the benefit of his creatures, for the debasing and punishing of some nations, and the exaltation and temporal reward of others, were not wholly known to these his ministers, else why those factious quarrels, controversies, and battles amongst themselves, when they were all united in the same design, the service and honour of their common master? But being instructed only in the general, and zealous of the main design; and, as finite beings, not admitted into the secrets of government, the last resorts of providence, or capable of discovering the final purposes of God, who can work good out of evil as he pleases, and irresistibly sways all manner of events on earth, directing them finally for the best, to his creation in general, and to the ultimate end of his own glory in particular; they must, of necessity, be sometimes ignorant of the means conducing to those ends, in which alone they can jar and oppose each other. One angel, as we may suppose—the Prince of Persia, as he is called, judging, that it would be more for God's honour, and the benefit of his people, that the Median and Persian monarchy, which delivered them from the Babylonish captivity, should still be uppermost; and the patron of the Grecians, to whom the will of God might be more particularly revealed, contending, on the other side, for the rise of Alexander and his successors, who were appointed to punish the backsliding Jews, and thereby to put them in mind of their offences, that they might repent, and become more virtuous, and more observant of the law revealed. But how far these controversies, and appearing enmities, of those glorious creatures may be carried; how these oppositions may be best managed, and by what means conducted, is not my business to show or determine; these things must be left to the invention and judgment of the poet; if any of so happy a genius be now living, or any future age can produce a man, who, being conversant in the philosophy of Plato, as it is now accommodated to Christian use; for (as Virgil gives us to understand by his example) he is the only proper person, of all others, for an epic poem, who, to his natural endowments, of a large invention, a ripe judgment, and a strong memory, has joined the knowledge of the liberal arts and sciences, and particularly moral philosophy, the mathematics, geography and history, and with all these qualifications is born a poet; knows, and can practise the variety of numbers, and is master of the language in which he writes; if such a man, I say, be now arisen, or shall arise, I am vain enough to think, that I have proposed a model to him, by which he may build a nobler, a more beautiful, and more perfect poem, than any yet extant since the ancients.

There is another part of these machines yet wanting; but, by what I have said, it would have been easily supplied by a judicious writer. He could not have failed to add the opposition of ill spirits to the good; they have also their design, ever opposite to that of heaven; and this alone has hitherto been the practice of the moderns: but this imperfect system, if I may call it such, which I have given, will infinitely advance and carry farther that hypothesis of the evil spirits contending with the good. For, being so much weaker, since their fall, than those blessed beings, they are yet supposed to have a permitted power from God of acting ill, as, from their own depraved nature, they have always the will of designing it. A great testimony of which we find in holy writ, when God Almighty suffered Satan to appear in the holy synod of the angels (a thing not hitherto drawn into example by any of the poets), and also gave him power over all things belonging to his servant Job, excepting only life.

Now, what these wicked spirits cannot compass, by the vast disproportion of their forces to those of the superior beings, they may, by their fraud and cunning, carry farther, in a seeming league, confederacy, or subserviency to the designs of some good angel, as far as consists with his purity to suffer such an aid, the end of which may possibly be disguised, and concealed from his finite knowledge.

This is, indeed, to suppose a great error in such a being: yet, since a devil can appear like an angel of light; since craft and malice may sometimes blind, for a while, a more perfect understanding; and lastly, since Milton has given us an example of the like nature, when Satan, appearing like a cherub to Uriel, the intelligence of the sun circumvented him even in his own province, and passed only for a curious traveller through those new-created regions, that he might observe therein the workmanship of God, and praise Him in his works: I know not why, upon the same supposition, or some other, a fiend may not deceive a creature of more excellency than himself, but yet a creature; at least, by the connivance, or tacit permission, of the Omniscent Being.

Thus, my lord, I have, as briefly as I could, given your lordship, and by you the world, a rude draught of what I have been long labouring in my imagination, and what I had intended to have put in practice (though far unable for the attempt of such a poem), and to have left the stage (to which my genius never much inclined me) for a work which would have taken up my life in the performance of it. This, too, I had intended chiefly for the honour of my native country, to which a poet is particularly obliged. Of two subjects, both relating to it, I was doubtful whether I should choose that of King Arthur conquering the Saxons, which, being farther distant in time, gives the greater scope to my invention; or that of Edward the Black Prince, in subduing Spain, and restoring it to the lawful prince, though a great tyrant, Don Pedro the Cruel: which, for the compass of time, including only the expedition of one year; for the greatness of the action, and its answerable event; for the magnanimity of the English hero, opposed to the ingratitude of the person whom he restored; and for the many beautiful episodes which I had interwoven with the principal design, together with the characters of the chiefest English persons; (wherein, after Virgil and Spenser, I would have taken occasion to represent my living friends and patrons of the noblest families, and also shadowed the events of future ages, in the succession of our imperial line): with these helps, and those of the machines which I have mentioned, I might, perhaps, have done as well as some of my predecessors, or, at least, chalked out a way for others to amend my errors in a like design; but being encouraged only with fair words by King Charles II., my little salary ill paid, and no prospect of a future subsistence, I was then discouraged in the beginning of my attempt; and now age has overtaken me, and want, a more insufferable evil, through the change of the times, has wholly disenabled me. Though I must ever acknowledge, to the honour of your lordship, and the eternal memory of your charity, that, since this revolution, wherein I have patiently suffered the ruin of my small fortune, and the loss of that poor subsistence which I had from two kings, whom I had served more faithfully than profitably to myself,—then your lordship was pleased, out of no other motive but your own nobleness, without any desert of mine, or the least solicitation from me, to make me a most bountiful present, which, at that time, when I was most in want of it, came most seasonably and unexpectedly to my relief. That favour, my lord, is of itself sufficient to bind any grateful man to a perpetual acknowledgment, and to all the future service, which one of my mean condition can ever be able to perform. May the Almighty God return it for me, both in blessing you here, and rewarding you hereafter! I must not presume to defend the cause for which I now suffer, because your lordship is engaged against it; but the more you are so, the greater is my obligation to you, for your laying aside all the considerations of factions and parties, to do an action of pure, disinterested charity. This is one amongst many of your shining qualities, which distinguish you from others of your rank. But let me add a farther truth, that, without these ties of gratitude, and abstracting from them all, I have a most particular inclination to honour you; and, if it were not too bold an expression, to say, I love you. It is no shame to be a poet, though it is to be a bad one. Augustus Cæsar of old, and Cardinal Richelieu of late, would willingly have been such; and David and Solomon were such. You who, without flattery, are the best of the present age in England, and would have been so, had you been born in any other country, will receive more honour in future ages, by that one excellency, than by all those honours to which your birth has entitled you, or your merits have acquired you.

a — Ne, fortè, pndori
Sit tibi Musa lyræ solers, et cantor Apollo.⁷

I have formerly said in this epistle, that I could distinguish your writings from those of any others; it is now time to clear myself from any imputation of self-conceit on that subject. I assume not to myself any particular lights in this discovery; they are such only as are obvious to every man

of sense and judgment, who loves poetry, and understands it. Your thoughts are always so remote from the common way of thinking, that they are, as I may say, of another species than the conceptions of other poets; yet you go not out of nature for any of them. Gold is never bred upon the surface of the ground, but lies so hidden, and so deep, that the mines of it are seldom found; but the force of waters casts it out from the bowels of mountains, and exposes it amongst the sands of rivers; giving us of her bounty, what we could not hope for by our search. This success attends your lordship's thoughts, which would look like chance, if it were not perpetual, and always of the same tenor. If I grant that there is care in it, it is such a care as would be ineffectual and fruitless in other men. It is the *curiosa felicitas* which Petronius ascribes to Horace in his Odes. We have not wherewithal to imagine so strongly, so justly, and so pleasantly; in short, if we have the same knowledge, we cannot draw out of it the same quintessence: we cannot give it such a turn, such a propriety, and such a beauty: something is deficient in the manner, or the words, but more in the nobleness of our conception. Yet, when you have finished all, and it appears in its full lustre; when the diamond is not only found, but the roughness smoothed; when it is cut into a form, and set in gold; then we cannot but acknowledge that it is the perfect work of art and nature; and every one will be so vain to think he himself could have performed the like, until he attempts it. It is just the description that Horace makes of such a finished piece: it appears so easy,

"—— Ut sibi quisvis
Speret idem, sudet multum, frustra que laboret,
Ausus idem."

And, besides all this, it is your lordship's particular talent to lay your thoughts so close together, that, were they closer, they would be crowded, and even a due connection would be wanting. We are not kept in expectation of two good lines, which are to come after a long parenthesis of twenty bad; which is the April poetry of other writers—a mixture of rain and sunshine by fits: you are always bright, even almost to a fault, by reason of the excess. There is continual abundance, a magazine of thought, and yet a perpetual variety of entertainment; which creates such an appetite in your reader, that he is not cloyed with anything, but satisfied with all. It is that which the Romans call, *cœna dubia*; where there is such plenty, yet withal so much diversity, and so good order, that the choice is difficult betwixt one excellency and another; and yet the conclusion, by a due climax, is evermore the best; that is, as a conclusion ought to be, ever the most proper for its place.—See, my lord, whether I have not studied your lordship with some application; and, since you are so modest that you will not be judge and party, I appeal to the whole world, if I have not drawn your picture to a great degree of likeness, though it is but in miniature, and that some of the best features are yet wanting. Yet what I have done is enough to distinguish you from any other, which is the proposition that I took upon me to demonstrate.

And now, my lord, to apply what I have said to my present business. The Satires of Juvenal and Persius appearing in this new English dress, cannot so properly be inscribed to any man as to your lordship, who are the first of the age in that way of writing. Your lordship, amongst many other favours, has given me your permission for this address; and you have particularly encouraged me by your perusal and approbation of the Sixth and Tenth Satires of Juvenal, as I have translated them. My fellow-labourers have likewise commissioned me to perform, in their behalf, this office of a dedication to you; and will acknowledge, with all possible respect and gratitude, your acceptance of their work. Some of them have the honour to be known to your lordship already; and they who have not yet that happiness, desire it now. Be pleased to receive our common endeavours with your wonted candour, without entitling you to the protection of our common failings in so difficult an undertaking. And allow me your patience, if it be not already tired with this long epistle, to give you, from the best authors, the origin, the antiquity, the growth, the change, and the complement of Satire among the Romans; to describe, if not define, the nature of that poem, with its several qualifications and virtues, together with the several sorts of it; to compare the excellencies of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal, and show the particular manners of their satires; and, lastly, to give an account of this new way of version, which is attempted in our performance: all which, according to the weakness of my ability, and the best lights which I can get from others, shall be the subject of my following discourse.

The most perfect work of poetry, says our master Aristotle, is Tragedy. His reason is, because it is the most united; being more severely confined within the rules of action, time, and place. The action is entire, of a piece, and one, without episodes; the time limited to a natural day; and the place circumscribed at least within the compass of one town, or city. Being exactly proportioned thus, and uniform in all its parts, the mind is more capable of comprehending the whole beauty of it without distraction.

But, after all these advantages, an heroic poem is certainly the greatest work of human nature. The beauties and perfections of the other are but mechanical; those of the epic are more noble: though Homer has limited his place to Troy, and the fields about it; his actions to forty-eight natural days, whereof twelve are holidays, or cessation from business, during the funeral of Patroclus. To proceed; the action of the epic is greater; the extension of time enlarges the pleasure of the reader, and the episodes give it more ornament, and more variety.—The instruction is equal; but the first is only instructive, the latter forms a hero, and a prince.

If it signifies anything which of them is of the more ancient family, the best and most absolute heroic poem was written by Homer long before tragedy was invented. But if we consider the natural endowments, and acquired parts, which are necessary to make an accomplished writer of either kind, tragedy requires a less and more confined knowledge; moderate learning, and observation of the rules, is sufficient, if a genius be not wanting. But in an epic poet, one who is worthy of that name, besides an universal genius, is required universal learning, together with all those qualities and acquisitions, which I have named above, and as many more as I have, through haste or negligence, omitted. And, after all, he must have exactly studied Homer and Virgil, as his patterns; Aristotle and Horace, as his guides; and Vida and Bossu, as their commentators; with many others, both Italian and French critics, which I want leisure here to recommend.

In a word, what I have to say in relation to this subject, which does not particularly concern Satire, is, that the greatness of an heroic poem, beyond that of a tragedy, may easily be discovered, by observing how few have attempted that work in comparison to those who have written dramas; and, of those few, how small a number have succeeded. But leaving the critics, on either side, to contend about the preference due to this or that sort of poetry, I will hasten to my present business, which is the Antiquity and Origin of Satire, according to those informations which I have received from the learned Casaubon, Heinsius, Rigaltius, Dacier, and the Dauphin's Juvenal; to which I shall add some observations of my own.

There has been a long dispute among the modern critics, whether the Romans derived their satire from the Grecians, or first invented it themselves. Julius Scaliger, and Heinsius, are of the first opinion; Casaubon, Rigaltius, Dacier, and the publisher of the Dauphin's Juvenal, maintain the latter. If we take satire in the general signification of the word, as it is used in all modern languages, for an invective, it is certain that it is almost as old as verse; and though hymns, which are praises of God, may be allowed to have been before it, yet the defamation of others was not long after it. After God had cursed Adam and Eve in Paradise, the husband and wife excused themselves, by laying the blame on one another; and gave a beginning to those conjugal dialogues in prose, which the poets have perfected in verse. The third Chapter of Job is one of the first instances of this poem in Holy Scripture; unless we will take it higher, from the latter end of the second, where his wife advises him to curse his Maker.

This original, I confess, is not much to the honour of satire; but here it was nature, and that depraved: when it became an art, it bore better fruit. Only we have learnt thus much already, that scoffs and revilings are of the growth of all nations; and, consequently, that neither the Greek poets borrowed from other people their art of railing, neither needed the Romans to take it from them. But, considering satire as a species of poetry, here the war begins amongst the critics. Scaliger, the father, will have it descend from Greece to Rome; and derives the word satire from *Satyrus*, that mixed kind of animal, or, as the ancients thought him, rural god, made up betwixt a man and a goat, with a human head, hooked nose, pouting lips, a bunch, or struma, under the chin, pricked ears, and upright horns: the body shagged with hair, especially from the waist, and ending in a goat, with the legs and feet of that creature. But Casaubon, and his followers, with reason, condemn this derivation; and prove, that from *Satyrus*, the word *satira*, as it signifies a poem, cannot possibly descend. For *satira* is not properly a substantive, but an adjective; to which the word *lanx* (in English, a charger, or large platter) is understood: so that the Greek poem, made according to the manners of a Satyr,

and expressing his qualities, must properly be called satyrical, and not satire. And thus far it is allowed that the Grecians had such poems; but that they were wholly different in species from that to which the Romans gave the name of satire.

Aristotle divides all poetry, in relation to the progress of it, into nature without art, art begun, and art completed. Mankind, even the most barbarous, have the seeds of poetry implanted in them. The first specimen of it was certainly shown in the praises of the Diety, and prayers to him; and as they are of natural obligation, so they are likewise of divine institution; which Milton observing, introduces Adam and Eve every morning adoring God in hymns and prayers. The first poetry was thus begun, in the wild notes of nature, before the invention of feet and measures. The Grecians and Romans had no other original of their poetry. Festivals and holidays soon succeeded to private worship, and we need not doubt but they were enjoined by the true God to his own people, as they were afterwards imitated by the heathens; who, by the light of reason, knew they were to invoke some superior Being in their necessities, and to thank him for his benefits. Thus, the Grecian holidays were celebrated with offerings to Bacchus and Ceres, and other deities, to whose bounty they supposed they were owing for their corn and wine, and other helps of life; and the ancient Romans, as Horace tells us, paid their thanks to Mother Earth, or Vesta, to Silvanus, and their Genius, in the same manner. But as all festivals have a double reason of their institution, the first of religion, the other of recreation, for the unbending of our minds, so both the Grecians and Romans agreed, after their sacrifices were performed, to spend the remainder of the day in sports and merriments; amongst which, songs and dances, and that which they called wit, (for want of knowing better,) were the chiefest entertainments. The Grecians had a notion of Satyrs, whom I have already described; and taking them, and the Sileni, that is, the young Satyrs and the old, for the tutors, attendants, and humble companions of their Bacchus, habited themselves like those rural deities, and imitated them in their rustic dances, to which they joined songs, with some sort of rude harmony, but without certain numbers; and to these they added a kind of chorus.

The Romans, also (as nature is the same in all places,) though they knew nothing of those Grecian demi-gods, nor had any communication with Greece, yet had certain young men, who, at their festivals, danced and sung, after their uncouth manner, to a certain kind of verse, which they called Saturnian. What it was, we have no certain light from antiquity to discover; but we may conclude, that, like the Grecian, it was void of art, or, at least, with very feeble beginnings of it. Those ancient Romans, at these holidays, which were a mixture of devotion and debauchery, had a custom of reproaching each other with their faults, in a sort of extempore poetry, or rather of tunable hobbling verse; and they answered in the same kind of gross raillery; their wit and their music being of a piece. The Grecians, says Casaubon, had formerly done the same, in the persons of their petulant Satyrs. But I am afraid he mistakes the matter, and confounds the singing and dancing of the Satyrs, with the rustical entertainments of the first Romans. The reason of my opinion is this; that Casaubon, finding little light from antiquity of these beginnings of poetry amongst the Grecians, but only these representations of Satyrs, who carried canisters and cornucopias full of several fruits in their hands, and danced with them at their public feasts; and afterwards reading Horace, who makes mention of his homely Romans jesting at one another in the same kind of solemnities, might suppose those wanton Satyrs did the same; and especially because Horace possibly might seem to him to have shown the original of all poetry in general, including the Grecians as well as Romans; though it is plainly otherwise, that he only described the beginning, and first rudiments of poetry in his own country. The verses are these, which he cites from the First Epistle of the Second Book, which was written to Augustus:

*"Agricolæ prisci, fortes, parvoque beati,
Conditæ post frumenta, levantes tempore festo
Corpus, et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
Cum sociis operum, et pueris, et conjuge fidi,
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant;
Floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis ævi
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
Versibus æternis opprobria rustica fudit."*

*"Our brawny clowns, of old, who turn'd the soil,
Content with little, and inured to toil,
At harvest-home, with mirth and country cheer
Restored their bodies for another year;*

Refresh'd their spirits, and renew'd their hope
 Of such a future feast, and future crop.
 Then, with their fellow-joggers of the ploughs,
 Their little children, and their faithful spouse,
 A sow they siew to Vesta's deity,
 And kindly milk, Silvanus, pour'd to thee;
 With flowers, and wine, their Genius they adored
 A short life, and a merry was the word.
 From flowing cups, defaming rhymes ensue,
 And at each other homely taunts they threw."

Yet since it is a hard conjecture, that so great a man as Casaubon should misapply what Horace writ concerning ancient Rome, to the ceremonies and manners of ancient Greece, I will not insist on this opinion; but rather judge in general, that since all poetry had its original from religion, that of the Grecians and Rome had the same beginning. Both were invented at festivals of thanksgiving, and both were prosecuted with mirth and raillery, and rudiments of verses: amongst the Greeks, by those who represented Satyrs; and amongst the Romans, by real clowns.

For, indeed, when I am reading Casaubon on these two subjects, methinks I hear the same story told twice over with very little alteration. Of which Dacier taking notice, in his interpretation of the Latin verses which I have translated, says plainly, that the beginning of poetry was the same, with a small variety, in both countries: and that the mother of it, in all nations, was devotion. But, what is yet more wonderful, that most learned critic takes notice also, in his illustrations on the First Epistle of the Second Book, that as the poetry of the Romans, and that of the Grecians, had the same beginning, (at feasts of thanksgiving, as it has been observed,) and the old comedy of the Greeks, which was invective, and the satire of the Romans, which was of the same nature, were begun on the very same occasion, so the fortune of both, in process of time, was just the same; the old comedy of the Grecians was forbidden, for its too much licence in exposing of particular persons; and the rude satire of the Romans was also punished by a law of the Decemviri, as Horace tells us, in these words:—

"Libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
 Lusit amabiliter; donec jam sævus apertam
 In rabiem verti cœpit jocus, et per honestas
 Ire domos impune minax: dolnere cruento
 Dente læcessiti: fuit intactis quoque cura
 Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex,
 Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quæquam
 Describi: vertere modum, formidine fustis
 Ad benedicendum delectandumque redacti."

The law of the Decemviri was this: *Siquis occentassit malum carmen, sive condidissit, quod infamiam facit, flagitiumve alteri, capital esto.*—A strange likeness, and barely possible; but the critics being all of the same opinion, it becomes me to be silent, and to submit to better judgments than my own.

But, to return to the Grecians, from whose satiric dramas the elder Scaliger and Heinsius will have the Roman satire to proceed, I am to take a view of them first, and see if there be any such descent from them as those authors have pretended.

Thespis, or whoever he were that invented tragedy, (for authors differ,) mingled with them a chorus and dances of Satyrs, which had before been used in the celebration of their festivals; and there they were ever afterwards retained. The character of them was also kept, which was mirth and wantonness; and this was given, I suppose, to the folly of the common audience, who soon grow weary of good sense, and, as we daily see in our own age and country, are apt to forsake poetry, and still ready to return to buffoonery and farce. From hence it came, that, in the Olympic games, where the poets contended for four prizes, the satiric tragedy was the last of them; for, in the rest, the Satyrs were excluded from the chorus.—Among the plays of Euripides, which are yet remaining, there is one of these SATIRICS, which is called "The Cyclops;" in which we may see the nature of those poems, and from thence conclude what likeness they have to the Roman SATIRE.

The story of this Cyclops, whose name was Polyphemus, so famous in the Grecian fables, was, that Ulysses, who, with his company, was driven on the coast of Sicily, where those Cyclops inhabited, coming to ask relief from Silenus, and the Satyrs, who were herdsmen to that one-eyed giant, was kindly received by them, and entertained; till, being perceived by Polyphemus, they were made

prisoners against the rites of hospitality, (for which Ulysses eloquently pleaded,) were afterwards put down into the den, and some of them devoured; after which Ulysses, having made him drunk, when he was asleep, thrust a great firebrand into his eye, and so, revenging his dead followers, escaped with the remaining party of the living; and Silenus and the Satyrs were freed from their servitude under Polyphemus, and remitted to their first liberty of attending and accompanying their patron, Bacchus.

This was the subject of the tragedy; which, being one of those that end with a happy event, is therefore, by Aristotle, judged below the other sort, whose success is unfortunate. Notwithstanding which, the Satyrs, who were part of the *dramatis personæ*, as well as the whole chorus, were properly introduced into the nature of the poem, which is mixed of farce and tragedy. The adventure of Ulysses was to entertain the judging part of the audience; and the uncouth persons of Silenus, and the Satyrs, to divert the common people with their gross railleries.

Your lordship has perceived by this time, that this SATIRIC tragedy, and the Roman SATIRE, have little resemblance in any of their features. The very kinds are different; for what has a pastoral tragedy to do with a paper of verses satirically written? The character and raillery of the Satyrs is the only thing that could pretend to a likeness, were Scaliger and Heinsius alive to maintain their opinion. And the first farces of the Romans, which were the rudiments of their poetry, were written before they had any communication with the Greeks, or indeed any knowledge of that people.

And here it will be proper to give the definition of the Greek satiric poem from Casaubon, before I leave this subject. "The SATIRIC," says he, "is a dramatic poem, annexed to a tragedy, having a chorus, which consists of Satyrs. The persons represented in it are illustrious men; the action of it is great; the style is partly serious, and partly jocular; and the event of the action most commonly is happy."

The Grecians, besides these SATIRIC tragedies, had another kind of poem, which they called Silli, which were more of kin to the Roman satire. Those Silli were indeed invective poems, but of a different species from the Roman poems of Ennius, Pacuvius, Lucilius, Horace, and the rest of their successors.—They were so called, says Casaubon in one place, from Silenus, the foster-father of Bacchus; but, in another place, bethinking himself better, he derives their name, ἀπὸ τοῦ συλλαβεῖν, from their scoffing and petulance. From some fragments of the Silli, written by Timon, we may find, that they were satiric poems, full of parodies; that is, of verses patched up from great poets, and turned into another sense than their author intended them. Such amongst the Romans, is the famous Cento of Ausonius; where the words are Virgil's, but, by applying them to another sense, they are made a relation of a wedding-night; and the act of consummation fulsomely described in the very words of the most modest amongst all poets. Of the same manner are our songs, which are turned into burlesque, and the serious words of the author perverted into a ridiculous meaning. Thus in Timon's Silli the words are generally those of Homer, and the tragic poets; but he applies them, satirically, to some customs and kinds of philosophy, which he arraigns. But the Romans, not using any of these parodies in their satires, sometimes, indeed, repeating verses of other men, as Persius cites some of Nero's, but not turning them into another meaning,—the Silli cannot be supposed to be the original of Roman satire. To these Silli, consisting of parodies, we may properly add the satires which were written against particular persons; such as were the Lambics of Archilochus against Lycambes, which Horace undoubtedly imitated in some of his Odes and Epodes, whose titles bear sufficient witness of it. I might also name the invective of Ovid against Ibis, and many others; but these are the under-wood of satire, rather than the timber-trees: they are not of general extension, as reaching only to some individual person. And Horace seems to have purged himself from those splenetic reflections in those Odes and Epodes, before he undertook the noble work of Satires, which were properly so called.

Thus, my lord, I have at length disengaged myself from those antiquities of Greece; and have proved, I hope, from the best critics, that the Roman satire was not borrowed from thence, but of their own manufacture. I am now almost gotten into my depth; at least, by the help of Dacier, I am swimming towards it. Not that I will promise always to follow him, any more than he follows Casaubon; but to keep him in my eye, as my best and truest guide; and where I think he may possibly mislead me, there to have recourse to my own lights, as I expect that others should do by me.

Quintilian says, in plain words, *Satura quidem tota nostra est*; and Horace had the same thing before him, speaking of his predecessor in that sort of poetry,—*Et Græcis intacti carminis auctor*.

Nothing can be clearer than the opinion of the poet, and the orator, both the best critics of the two best ages of the Roman empire, that satire was wholly of Latin growth, and not transplanted to Rome from Athens. Yet, as I have said, Scaliger, the father, according to his custom, that is, insolently enough, contradicts them both; and gives no better reason, than the derivation of *satyrus* from *σάβη σαλაცίας*; and so, from the lechery of those Fauns, thinks he has sufficiently proved, that satire is derived from them: as if wantonness and lubricity were essential to that sort of poem, which ought to be avoided in it. His other allegation, which I have already mentioned, is as pitiful: that the Satyrs carried platters and canisters full of fruit in their hands. If they had entered empty-handed, had they been ever the less Satyrs? Or were the fruits and flowers, which they offered, anything of kin to satire? Or any argument that this poem was originally Grecian? Casaubon judged better, and his opinion is grounded on sure authority, that satire was derived from *satura*, a Roman word, which signifies—full and abundant, and full also of variety, in which nothing is wanting to its due perfection. It is thus, says Dacier, that we say—a full colour, when the wool has taken the whole tincture, and drunk in as much of the dye as it can receive.—According to this derivation, from *satur* comes *satura*, or *satira*, according to the new spelling; as *optumus* and *maximus* are now spelled *optimus* and *maximus*. *Satura*, as I have formerly noted, is an adjective, and relates to the word *lanx*, which is understood; and this *lanx*, in English a charger, or large platter, was yearly filled with all sorts of fruits, which were offered to the gods at their festivals, as the *premices*, or first gatherings. These offerings of several sorts thus mingled, it is true, were not unknown to the Grecians, who called them *πανκαρπὸν θυρίαν*, a sacrifice of all sorts of fruits; and *πανορεπύριον*, when they offered all kinds of grain. Virgil has mentioned these sacrifices in his “Georgics:”

“Lanceibus et pandis fumantia reddimus exta:”

and in another place, *lancesque et liba feremus*: that is, We offer the smoking entrails in great platters, and we will offer the chargers and the cakes.

The word *satura* has been afterwards applied to many other sorts of mixtures; as Festus calls it a kind of *olla*, or hotchpotch, made of several sorts of meats. Laws were also called *leges saturnæ*, when they were of several heads and titles, like our tacked bills of parliament: and *per saturnam legem ferre*, in the Roman senate, was to carry a law without telling the senators, or counting voices, when they were in haste. Sallust uses the word—*per saturnam sententias exquirere*; when the majority was visibly on one side. From hence it may probably be conjectured, that the Discourses, or Satires, of Ennius, Lucilius, and Horace, as we now call them, took their name; because they are full of various matters, and are also written on various subjects, as Porphyrius says. But Dacier affirms, that it is not immediately from thence that these satires are so called; for that name had been used formerly for other things, which bore a nearer resemblance to those discourses of Horace.—In explaining of which, continues Dacier, a method is to be pursued, of which Casaubon himself has never thought, and which will put all things into so clear a light, that no farther room will be left for the least dispute.

During the space of almost four hundred years, since the building of their city, the Romans had never known any entertainments of the stage. Chance and jollity first found out those verses which they called *Saturnian*, and *Fescennine*; or rather human nature, which is inclined to poetry, first produced them, rude and barbarous, and unpolished, as all other operations of the soul are in their beginnings, before they are cultivated with art and study. However, in occasions of merriment they were first practised; and this rough-cast unheven poetry was instead of stage-plays, for the space of an hundred and twenty years together. They were made *extempore*, and were, as the French call them, *improvisus*; for which the Tarsians of old were much renowned; and we see the daily examples of them in the Italian farces of Harlequin and Scaramucha. Such was the poetry of that savage people, before it was turned into numbers, and the harmony of verse. Little of the Saturnian verses is now remaining: we only know from authors, that they were nearer prose than poetry, without feet or measure. They were *ἐνυβήτοι*, but not *ἐμμετροί*. Perhaps they might be used in the solemn part of their ceremonies; and the Fescennine, which were invented after them, in the afternoon's debauchery, because they were scoffing and obscene.

The Fescennine and Saturnian were the same; for as they were called Saturnian from their ancientness, when Saturn reigned in Italy, they were also called Fescennine, from Fescennia, a town

in the same country, where they were first practised. The actors, with a gross and rustic kind of rallery, reproached each other with their failings; and at the same time were nothing sparing of it to their audience. Somewhat of this custom was afterwards retained in the Saturnalia, or feasts of Saturn, celebrated in December; at least all kind of freedom in speech was then allowed to slaves even against their masters; and we are not without some imitation of it in our Christmas gambols. Soldiers also used those Fescennine verses, after measure and numbers had been added to them, at the triumph of their generals: of which we have an example, in the triumph of Julius Cæsar over Gaul, in these expressions: *Cæsar Gallias subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem. Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat qui subegit Gallias: Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem.* The vapours of wine made those first satirical poets amongst the Romans; which, says Dacier, we cannot better represent than by imagining a company of clowns on a holiday, dancing lubberly, and upbraiding one another, in *extempore* doggerel, with their defects and vices, and the stories that were told of them in bake-houses and barbers' shops.

When they began to be somewhat better bred, and were entering, as I may say, into the first rudiments of civil conversation, they left these hedge-notes for another sort of poem, somewhat polished, which was also full of pleasant rallery, but without any mixture of obscenity. This sort of poetry appeared under the name of satire, because of its variety; and this satire was adorned with compositions of music, and with dances; but lascivious postures were banished from it. In the Tuscan language, says Livy, the word *hister* signifies a player; and therefore those actors, which were first brought from Etruria to Rome, on occasion of a pestilence, when the Romans were admonished to avert the anger of the gods by plays, in the year *ab Urbe Condita* cccxc.,—those actors, I say, were therefore called *histriones*; and that name has since remained, not only to actors Roman born, but to all others of every nation. They played not the former *extempore* stuff of Fescennine verses, or clownish jests; but what they acted was a kind of civil, cleanly farce, with music and dances, and motions that were proper to the subject.

In this condition Livius Andronicus found the stage, when he attempted first, instead of farces, to supply it with a nobler entertainment of tragedies and comedies. This man was a Grecian born, and being made a slave by Livius Salinator, and brought to Rome, had the education of his patron's children committed to him; which trust he discharged so much to the satisfaction of his master, that he gave him his liberty.

Andronicus, thus become a freeman of Rome, added to his own name that of Livius his master; and, as I observed, was the first author of a regular play in that commonwealth. Being already instructed, in his native country, in the manners and decencies of the Athenian theatre, and conversant in the *Archæa Comedia*, or old comedy of Aristophanes, and the rest of the Grecian poets, he took from that model his own designing of plays for the Roman stage; the first of which was represented in the year ccccxiv. since the building of Rome, as Tully, from the commentaries of Atticus, has assured us: it was after the end of the first Punic war, the year before Ennius was born. Dacier has not carried the matter altogether thus far; he only says, that one Livius Andronicus was the first stage-poet at Rome. But I will adventure, on this hint, to advance another proposition, which I hope the learned will approve. And though we have not anything of Andronicus remaining to justify my conjecture, yet it is exceedingly probable, that, having read the works of those Grecian wits, his countrymen, he imitated not only the groundwork, but also the manner of their writing; and how grave soever his tragedies might be, yet, in his comedies, he expressed the way of Aristophanes, Eupolis, and the rest, which was to call some persons by their own names, and to expose their defects to the laughter of the people: the examples of which we have in the fore-mentioned Aristophanes, who turned the wise Socrates into ridicule, and is also very free with the management of Cleon, Alcibiades, and other ministers of the Athenian government. Now, if this be granted, we may easily suppose, that the first hint of satirical plays on the Roman stage was given by the Greeks: not from the Satirica, for that has been reasonably exploded in the former part of this discourse; but from their old comedy, which was imitated first by Livius Andronicus. And then Quintilian and Horace must be cautiously interpreted, where they affirm that satire is wholly Roman, and a sort of verse, which was not touched on by the Grecians. The reconciliation of my opinion to the standard of their judgment is not, however, very difficult, since they spoke of satire, not as in its first elements, but as it was formed into a separate work; begun by Ennius, pursued by Lucilius, and completed afterwards by Horace. The proof depends only on this *postulatum*,—that the comedies of Andronicus,

which were imitations of the Greek, were also imitations of their railleries, and reflections on particular persons. For, if this be granted me, which is a most probable supposition, it is easy to infer that the first light which was given to the Roman theatrical satire was from the plays of Livius Andronicus; which will be more manifestly discovered, when I come to speak of Ennius. In the meantime I will return to Dacier.

The people, says he, ran in crowds to these new entertainments of Andronicus, as to pieces which were more noble in their kind, and more perfect than their former satires, which for some time they neglected and abandoned. But not long after, they took them up again, and then they joined them to their comedies; playing them at the end of every drama, as the French continue at this day to act their farces, in the nature of a separate entertainment from their tragedies. But more particularly they were joined to the *Attellane* fables, says Casaubon; which were plays invented by the Osci. Those fables, says Valerius Maximus, out of Livy, were tempered with the Italian severity, and free from any note of infamy or obscenity; and, as an old commentator of Juvenal affirms, the *Exodiarii*, which were singers and dancers, entered to entertain the people with light songs and mimical gestures, that they might not go away oppressed with melancholy, from those serious pieces of the theatre. So that the ancient satire of the Romans was in *extempore* reproaches; the next was farce, which was brought from Tuscany; to that succeeded the plays of Andronicus, from the old comedy of the Grecians; and out of all these sprung two several branches of new Roman satire, like different scions from the same root, which I shall prove with as much brevity as the subject will allow.

A year after Andronicus had opened the Roman stage with his new dramas, Ennius was born; who, when he was grown to man's estate, having seriously considered the genius of the people, and how eagerly they followed the first satires, thought it would be worth his pains to refine upon the project, and to write satires, not to be acted on the theatre, but read. He preserved the groundwork of their pleasantry, their venom, and their raillery on particular persons, and general vices; and by this means, avoiding the danger of any ill success in a public representation, he hoped to be as well received in the cabinet, as Andronicus had been upon the stage. The event was answerable to his expectation. He made discourses in several sorts of verse, varied often in the same paper; retaining still in the title their original name of satire. Both in relation to the subjects, and the variety of matters contained in them, the satires of Horace are entirely like them; only Ennius, as I said, confines not himself to one sort of verse, as Horace does; but, taking example from the Greeks, and even from Homer himself in his *Margites*, which is a kind of satire, as Scaliger observes, gives himself the licence, when one sort of numbers comes not easily, to run into another, as his fancy dictates. For he makes no difficulty to mingle hexameter with iambic trimeters, or with trochaic tetrameters, as appears by those fragments which are yet remaining of him. Horace has thought him worthy to be copied; inserting many things of his into his own satires, as Virgil has done into his *Æneids*.

Here we have Dacier making out that Ennius was the first satirist in that way of writing, which was of his invention; that is, satire abstracted from the stage, and new modelled into papers of verses on several subjects. But he will have Ennius take the groundwork of satire from the first farces of the Romans, rather than from the formed plays of Livius Andronicus, which were copied from the Grecian comedies. It may possibly be so; but Dacier knows no more of it than I do. And it seems to me the more probable opinion, that he rather imitated the fine railleries of the Greeks, which he saw in the pieces of Andronicus, than the coarseness of his old countrymen, in their clownish extemporary way of jeering.

But besides this, it is universally granted, that Ennius, though an Italian, was excellently learned in the Greek language. His verses were stuffed with fragments of it, even to a fault; and he himself believed, according to the Pythagorean opinion, that the soul of Homer was transfused into him; which Persius observes in his Sixth Satire:—*Postquam destertuit esse Maenides*. But this being only the private opinion of so inconsiderable a man as I am, I leave it to the further disquisition of the critics, if they think it worth their notice. Most evident it is, that whether he imitated the Roman farce, or the Greek comedies, he is to be acknowledged for the first author of Roman satire, as it is properly so called, and distinguished from any sort of stage-play.

Of Pacuvius, who succeeded him, there is little to be said, because there is so little remaining of him; only that he is taken to be the nephew of Ennius, his sister's son; that, in probability, he was instructed by his uncle in his way of satire, which, we are told, he has copied: but what advances he made we know not.

Lucilius came into the world when Pacuvius flourished most. He also made satires after the manner of Ennius, but he gave them a more graceful turn, and endeavoured to imitate more closely the *vetus comœdia* of the Greeks, of the which the old original Roman satire had no idea, till the time of Livius Andronicus. And though Horace seems to have made Lucilius the first author of satire in verse amongst the Romans, in these words,—

“—— Quid enim est Lucilius ausus
Primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,”—

he is only thus to be understood: that Lucilius had given a more graceful turn to the satire of Ennius and Pacuvius, not that he invented a new satire of his own: and Quintilian seems to explain this passage of Horace in these words: *Satira quidem tota nostra est; in quâ primus insignem laudem adeptus est Lucilius.*

Thus both Horace and Quintilian gave a kind of primacy of honour to Lucilius, amongst the Latin satirists. For, as the Roman language grew more refined, so much more capable it was of receiving the Grecian beauties in his time. Horace and Quintilian could mean no more than that Lucilius writ better than Ennius and Pacuvius; and on the same account we prefer Horace to Lucilius. Both of them imitated the old Greek comedy; and so did Ennius and Pacuvius before them. The polishing of the Latin tongue, in the succession of times, made the only difference; and Horace himself, in two of his satires, written purposely on this subject, thinks the Romans of his age were too partial in their commendations of Lucilius; who writ not only loosely and muddily, with little art and much less care, but also in a time when the Latin tongue was not yet sufficiently purged from the dregs of barbarism; and many significant and sounding words, which the Romans wanted, were not admitted even in the times of Lucretius and Cicero, of which both complain.

But to proceed. Dacier justly taxes Casaubon, saying that the Satires of Lucilius were wholly different in species from those of Ennius and Pacuvius. Casaubon was led into that mistake by Diomedes, the grammarian, who, in effect, says this: “Satire amongst the Romans, but not amongst the Greeks, was a biting invective poem, made after the model of the ancient comedy, for the reprehension of vices; such as were the poems of Lucilius, of Horace, and of Persius. But in former times, the name of Satire was given to poems which were composed of several sorts of verses, such as were made by Ennius and Pacuvius; more fully expressing the etymology of the word satire, from *satura*, which we have observed.” Here it is manifest that Diomedes makes a specific distinction betwixt the Satires of Ennius and those of Lucilius. But this, as we say in English, is only a distinction without a difference; for the reason of it is ridiculous and absolutely false. This was that which cozened honest Casaubon, who, relying on Diomedes, had not sufficiently examined the origin and nature of those two satires; which were entirely the same, both in the matter and the form: for all that Lucilius performed beyond his predecessors, Ennius and Pacuvius, was only the adding of more politeness, and more salt, without any change in the substance of the poem. And though Lucilius put not together, in the same satire, several sorts of verses, as Ennius did, yet he composed several satires, of several sorts of verses, and mingled them with Greek verses: one poem consisted only of hexameters, and another was entirely of iambics; a third of trochaics; as is visible by the fragments yet remaining of his works. In short, if the Satires of Lucilius are therefore said to be wholly different from those of Ennius, because he added much more of beauty and polishing to his own poems than are to be found in those before him, it will follow, from hence, that the Satires of Horace are wholly different from those of Lucilius, because Horace has not less surpassed Lucilius in the elegance of his writing, than Lucilius surpassed Ennius in the turn and ornament of his. This passage of Diomedes has also drawn Dousa, the son, into the same error of Casaubon, which I say, not to expose the little failings of those judicious men, but only to make it appear with how much diffidence and caution we are to read their works, when they treat a subject of so much obscurity, and so very ancient, as is this of satire.

Having thus brought down the history of Satire from its original to the times of Horace, and shown the several changes of it, I should here discover some of those graces which Horace added to it, but that I think it will be more proper to defer that undertaking, till I make the comparison betwixt him and Juvenal. In the mean while, following the order of time, it will be necessary to say somewhat of another kind of satire, which also was descended from the ancients: it is that which we call the Varronian satire (but which Varro himself calls the Menippean), because Varro, the most

learned of the Romans. was the first author of it, who imitated, in his works, the manner of Menippus, the Gadarenian, who professed the philosophy of the Cynics.

This sort of satire was not only composed of several sorts of verse, like those of Ennius, but was also mixed with prose; and Greek was sprinkled amongst the Latin. Quintilian, after he had spoken of the satire of Lucilius, adds what follows: "There is another and former kind of satire, composed by Terentius Varro, the most learned of the Romans; in which he was not satisfied alone with mingling in it several sorts of verse." The only difficulty of this passage is, that Quintilian tells us, that this satire of Varro was of a former kind. For how can we possibly imagine this to be, since Varro, who was contemporary to Cicero, must consequently be after Lucilius? But Quintilian meant not that the satire of Varro was in order of time before Lucilius: he would only give us to understand, that the Varroian satire, with mixture of several sorts of verses, was more after the manner of Ennius and Pacuvius, than that of Lucilius, who was more severe, and more correct; and gave himself less liberty in the mixture of his verses in the same poem.

We have nothing remaining of those Varroian satires, excepting some inconsiderable fragments, and those for the most part much corrupted. The titles of many of them are indeed preserved, and they are generally double; from whence, at least, we may understand, how many various subjects were treated by that author. Tully, in his "Academics," introduces Varro himself giving us some light concerning the scope and design of those works. Wherein, after he had shown his reasons why he did not *ex professo* write of philosophy, he adds what follows: "Notwithstanding," says he, "that those pieces of mine, wherein I have imitated Menippus, though I have not translated him, are sprinkled with a kind of mirth and gaiety, yet many things are there inserted, which are drawn from the very entrails of philosophy, and many things severely argued; which I have mingled with pleasantries on purpose, that they may more easily go down with the common sort of, unlearned readers." The rest of the sentence is so lame, that we can only make thus much out of it—that in the composition of his satires, he so tempered philology with philosophy, that his work was a mixture of them both. And Tully himself confirms us in this opinion, when a little after he addresses himself to Varro in these words—"And you yourself have composed a most elegant and complete poem; you have begun philosophy in many places, sufficient to incite us, though too little to instruct us." Thus it appears, that Varro was one of those writers whom they called *σπουδαίολοι*, studious of laughter; and that, as learned as he was, his business was more to divert his reader than to teach him. And he entitled his own satires, Menippean; not that Menippus had written any satires (for his were either dialogues or epistles), but that Varro imitated his style, his manner, his facetiousness. All that we know farther of Menippus and his writings, which are wholly lost, is, that by some he is esteemed, as, amongst the rest, by Varro; by others he is noted of cynical impudence, and obscenity; that he was much given to those parodies, which I have already mentioned; that is, he often quoted the verses of Homer, and the tragic poets, and turned their serious meaning into something that was ridiculous; whereas Varro's satires are by Tully called absolute, and most elegant, and various poems. Lucian, who was emulous of this Menippus, seems to have imitated both his manners and his style in many of his dialogues; where Menippus himself is often introduced as a speaker in them, and as a perpetual buffoon; particularly his character is expressed in the beginning of that dialogue, which is called *Νευομαρία*. But Varro, in imitating him, avoids his impudence and filthiness, and only expresses his witty pleasantry.

This we may believe for certain, that as his subjects were various, so most of them were tales or stories of his own invention. Which is also manifest from antiquity, by those authors who are acknowledged to have written Varroian satires, in imitation of his; of whom the chief is Petronius Arbiter, whose satire, they say, is now printed in Holland, wholly recovered, and made complete: when it is made public, it will easily be seen by any one sentence, whether it be supposititious, or genuine. Many of Lucian's dialogues may also properly be called Varroian satires, particularly his "True History;" and consequently the "Golden Ass" of Apuleius, which is taken from him. Of the same stamp is the mock deification of Claudius, by Seneca; and the Symposium, or "Cicars" of Julian, the Emperor. Amongst the moderns we may reckon the "Encomium Moris" of Erasmus, Barclay's "Euphormio," and a volume of German authors, which my ingenious friend, Mr. Charles Killegrew, once lent me. In the English, I remember none which are mixed with prose, as Varro's were; but of the same kind is "Mother Hubbard's Tale," in Spenser; and (if it be not too vain to mention anything of my own) the poems of "Absalom" and "Mac Fleunce."

This is what I have to say in general of satire: only, as Dacier has observed before me, we may take notice, that the word satire is of a more general signification in Latin, than in French, or English. For amongst the Romans it was not only used for those discourses which decried vice, or exposed folly, but for others also, where virtue was recommended. But in our modern languages we apply it only to invective poems, where the very name of satire is formidable to those persons, who would appear to the world what they are not in themselves; for in English, to say satire, is to mean reflection, as we use that word in the worst sense; or as the French call it, more properly, *méditation*. In the criticism of spelling, it ought to be with *i*, and not with *y*, to distinguish its true derivation from *satura*, not from *satyrus*. And if this be so, then it is false spelled throughout this book; for here it is written SATYR: which having not considered at the first, I thought it not worth correcting afterwards. But the French are more nice, and never spell it any other way than SATIRE.

I am now arrived at the most difficult part of my undertaking, which is, to compare Horace with Juvenal and Persius. It is observed by Rigaltius, in his preface before Juvenal, written to Thuanus, that these three poets have all their particular partisans and favourers. Every commentator, as he has taken pains with any of them, thinks himself obliged to prefer his author to the other two; to find out their failings, and decry them, that he may make room for his own darling. Such is the partiality of mankind, to set up that interest which they have once espoused, though it be to the prejudice of truth, morality, and common justice; and especially in the productions of the brain. As authors generally think themselves the best poets, because they cannot go out of themselves to judge sincerely of their betters; so it is with critics, who, having first taken a liking to one of these poets, proceed to comment on him, and to illustrate him; after which, they fall in love with their own labours, to that degree of blind fondness, that at length they defend and exalt their author, not so much for his sake as for their own. It is a folly of the same nature, with that of the Romans themselves, in the games of the Circus. The spectators were divided in their factions, betwixt the Veneri and the Prasini; some were for the charioteer in blue, and some for him in green. The colours themselves were but a fancy; but when once a man had taken pains to set out those of his party, and had been at the trouble of procuring voices for them, the case was altered; he was concerned for his own labour, and that so earnestly, that disputes and quarrels, animosities, commotions, and bloodshed, often happened; and in the declension of the Grecian empire, the very sovereigns themselves engaged in it, even when the barbarians were at their doors; and stickled for the preference of colours, when the safety of their people was in question. I am now myself on the brink of the same precipice; I have spent some time on the translation of Juvenal and Persius; and it behoves me to be wary, lest, for that reason, I should be partial to them, or take a prejudice against Horace. Yet, on the other side, I would not be like some of our judges, who would give the cause for a poor man, right or wrong; for though that be an error on the better hand, yet it is still a partiality; and a rich man, unheard, cannot be concluded an oppressor. I remember a saying of King Charles II. on Sir Matthew Hale, (who was doubtless an uncorrupt and upright man; that his servants were sure to be cast on a trial, which was heard before him; not that he thought the judge was possibly to be bribed, but that his integrity might be too scrupulous; and that the causes of the crown were always suspicious, when the privileges of subjects were concerned.

It had been much fairer, if the modern critics, who have embarked in the quarrels of their favourite authors, had rather given to each his proper due, without taking from another's heap to raise their own. There is praise enough for each of them in particular, without encroaching on his fellows, and detracting from them, or enriching themselves with the spoils of others. But to come to particulars. Heinsius and Dacier are the most principal of those, who raise Horace above Juvenal and Persius. Scaliger the father, Rigaltius, and many others, debase Horace, that they may set up Juvenal; and Casaubon, who is almost single, throws dirt on Juvenal and Horace, that he may exalt Persius, whom he understood particularly well, and better than any of his former commentators: even Stelluti, who succeeded him. I will begin with him, who, in my opinion, defends the weakest cause, which is that of Persius; and labouring, as Tacitus professes of his own writing, to divest myself of partiality, or prejudice, consider Persius, not as a poet whom I have wholly translated, and who has cost me more labour and time than Juvenal, but according to what I judge to be his own merit: which I think not equal, in the main, to that of Juvenal or Horace, and yet in some things to be preferred to both of them.

First, then, for the verse; neither Casaubon himself, nor any for him, can defend either his

numbers, or the purity of his Latin. Casaubon gives this point for lost, and pretends not to justify either the measures, or the words of Persius; he is evidently beneath Horace and Juvenal in both.

Then, as his verse is scabrous, and hobbling, and his words not everywhere well chosen, the purity of Latin being more corrupted than in the time of Juvenal, and consequently of Horace, who writ when the language was in the height of its perfection, so his diction is hard, his figures are generally too bold and daring, and his tropes, particularly his metaphors, insufferably strained.

In the third place, notwithstanding all the diligence of Casaubon, Stelluti, and a Scotch gentleman, whom I have heard extremely commended for his illustrations of him, yet he is still obscure; whether he affected not to be understood, but with difficulty; or whether the fear of his safety under Nero compelled him to this darkness in some places; or that it was occasioned by his close way of thinking, and the brevity of his style, and crowding of his figures; or lastly, whether, after so long a time, many of his words have been corrupted, and many customs, and stories relating to them, lost to us: whether some of these reasons, or all, concurred to render him so cloudy, we may be bold to affirm, that the best of commentators can but guess at his meaning, in many passages; and none can be certain that he has divined rightly.

After all, he was a young man, like his friend and contemporary Lucan; both of them men of extraordinary parts, and great acquired knowledge, considering their youth; but neither of them had arrived to that maturity of judgment, which is necessary to the accomplishing of a formed poet. And this consideration, as, on the one hand, it lays some imperfections to their charge, so, on the other side, it is a candid excuse for those failings, which are incident to youth and inexperience; and we have more reason to wonder how they, who died before the thirtieth year of their age, could write so well, and think so strongly, than to accuse them of those faults, from which human nature, and more especially in youth, can never possibly be exempted.

To consider Persius yet more closely: he rather insulted over vice and folly, than exposed them like Juvenal and Horace; and as chaste and modest as he is esteemed, it cannot be denied, but that in some places he is broad and fulsome, as the latter verses of the fourth Satire, and of the sixth, sufficiently witness. And it is to be believed that he who commits the same crime often, and without necessity, cannot but do it with some kind of pleasure.

To come to a conclusion: he is manifestly below Horace, because he borrows most of his greatest beauties from him; and Casaubon is so far from denying this, that he has written a treatise purposely concerning it; wherein he shows a multitude of his translations from Horace, and his imitations of him, for the credit of his author; which he calls *Imitatio Horatiana*.

To these defects, which I casually observed, while I was translating this author, Scaliger has added others: he calls him, in plain terms, a silly writer, and a trifler, full of ostentation of his learning, and, after all, unworthy to come into competition with Juvenal and Horace.

After such terrible accusations, it is time to hear what his patron Casaubon can allege in his defence. Instead of answering, he excuses for the most part; and, when he cannot, accuses others of the same crimes. He deals with Scaliger, as a modest scholar with a master. He compliments him with so much reverence, that one would swear he feared him as much at least as he respected him. Scaliger will not allow Persius to have any wit; Casaubon interprets this in the mildest sense, and confesses his author was not good at turning things into a pleasant ridicule; or, in other words, that he was not a laughable writer. That he was *ineptus*, indeed, but that was—*non aptissimus ad jocandum*; but that he was ostentatious of his learning, that, by Scaliger's good favour, he denies. Persius showed his learning, but was no boaster of it; he did *ostendere*, but not *ostentare*; and so, he says, did Scaliger:—where, methinks, Casaubon turns it handsomely upon that supercilious critic, and silently insinuates that he himself was sufficiently vain-glorious, and a boaster of his own knowledge. All the writings of this venerable censor, continues Casaubon, which are χρυσοῦ χρυσότερα, more golden than gold itself, are every where smelling of that thyme, which, like a bee, he has gathered from ancient authors; but far be ostentation and vain-glory from a gentleman so well born, and so nobly educated as Scaliger. But, says Scaliger, he is so obscure, that he has got himself the name of Scotinus, a dark writer. Now, says Casaubon, it is a wonder to me that any thing could be obscure to the divine wit of Scaliger, from which nothing could be hidden. This is indeed a strong compliment, but no defence; and Casaubon, who could not but be sensible of his author's blind side, thinks it time to abandon a post that was untenable. He acknowledges that Persius is obscure in some places; but so is Plato, so is Thucydides; so are Pindar, Theocritus, and Aristophanes, amongst the Greek poets; and even Horace

and Juvenal, he might have added, amongst the Romans. The truth is, Persius is not sometimes, but generally, obscure; and therefore Casaubon, at last, is forced to excuse him, by alleging that it was *se defendendo*, for fear of Nero; and that he was commanded to write so cloudily by Cornutus, in virtue of holy obedience to his master. I cannot help my own opinion; I think Cornutus needed not to have read many lectures to him on that subject. Persius was an apt scholar; and when he was bidden to be obscure in some places, where his life and safety were in question, took the same counsel for all his books, and never afterwards wrote ten lines together clearly. Casaubon, being upon this chapter, has not failed, we may be sure, of making a compliment to his own dear comment. If Persius, says he, be in himself obscure, yet my interpretation has made him intelligible. There is no question but he deserves that praise, which he has given to himself; but the nature of the thing, as Lucretius says, will not admit of a perfect explanation. Besides many examples which I could urge, the very last verse of his last satire, upon which he particularly values himself in his preface, is not yet sufficiently explicated. It is true, Holyday has endeavoured to justify his construction; but Stelluti is against it; and, for my part, I can have but a very dark notion of it. As for the chastity of his thoughts, Casaubon denies not but that one particular passage, in the fourth satire, *At si unctus cesses*, &c. is not only the most obscure, but the most obscene of all his works. I understood it; but for that reason turned it over. In defence of his boisterous metaphors, he quotes Longinus, who accounts them as instruments of the sublime; fit to move and stir up the affections, particularly in narration. To which it may be replied, that where the trope is far fetched and hard, it is fit for nothing but to puzzle the understanding; and may be reckoned amongst those things of Demosthenes which Æschines called *θαύματα*, not *ρήματα*, that is, prodigies, not words. It must be granted to Casaubon, that the knowledge of many things is lost in our modern ages, which were of familiar notice to the ancients; and that satire is a poem of a difficult nature in itself, and is not written to vulgar readers: and through the relation which it has to comedy, the frequent change of persons makes the sense perplexed, when we can but divine who it is that speaks; whether Persius himself, or his friend and monitor; or, in some places, a third person. But Casaubon comes back always to himself, and concludes, that if Persius had not been obscure, there had been no need of him for an interpreter. Yet when he had once enjoined himself so hard a task, he then considered the Greek proverb, that he must *χελώνης φάγεῖν ἢ μὴ φάγεῖν*, either eat the whole snail, or let it quite alone; and so he went through with his laborious task, as I have done with my difficult translation.

Thus far, my lord, you see it has gone very hard with Persius: I think he cannot be allowed to stand in competition either with Juvenal or Horace. Yet for once I will venture to be so vain, as to affirm, that none of his hard metaphors, or forced expressions, are in my translation. But more of this in its proper place, where I shall say somewhat in particular, of our general performance, in making these two authors English. In the meantime, I think myself obliged to give Persius his undoubted due, and to acquaint the world, with Casaubon, in what he has equalled, and in what excelled, his two competitors.

A man who is resolved to praise an author, with any appearance of justice, must be sure to take him on the strongest side, and where he is least liable to exceptions. He is therefore obliged to choose his mediums accordingly. Casaubon, who saw that Persius could not laugh with a becoming grace, that he was not made for jesting, and that a merry conceit was not his talent, turned his feather, like an Indian, to another light, that he might give it the better gloss. Moral doctrine, says he, and urbanity, or well-mannered wit, are the two things which constitute the Roman satire: but of the two, that which is most essential to this poem, and is, as it were, the very soul which animates it, is the scourging of vice, and exhortation to virtue. Thus wit, for a good reason, is already almost out of doors; and allowed only for an instrument, a kind of tool, or a weapon, as he calls it, of which the satirist makes use in the compassing of his design. The end and aim of our three rivals is consequently the same. But by what methods they have prosecuted their intention, is farther to be considered. Satire is of the nature of moral philosophy, as being instructive; he, therefore, who instructs most usefully, will carry the palm from his two antagonists. The philosophy in which Persius was educated, and which he professes through his whole book, is the Stoic; the most noble, most generous, most beneficial to human kind, amongst all the sects, who have given us the rules of ethics, thereby to form a severe virtue in the soul; to raise in us an undaunted courage against the assaults of fortune; to esteem as nothing the things that are without us, because they are not in our power; not to value riches, beauty, honours, fame, or health, any farther than as

conveniencies, and so many helps to living as we ought, and doing good in our generation: in short, to be always happy, while we possess our minds with a good conscience, are free from the slavery of vices, and conform our actions and conversations to the rules of right reason. See here, my lord, an epitome of Epictetus; the doctrine of Zeno, and the education of our Persius; and this he expressed, not only in all his satires, but in the manner of his life. I will not lessen this commendation of the Stoic philosophy, by giving you an account of some absurdities in their doctrine, and perhaps some impieties, if we consider them by the standard of Christian faith. Persius has fallen into none of them, and therefore is free from those imputations. What he teaches might be taught from pulpits, with more profit to the audience, than all the nice speculations of divinity, and controversies concerning faith; which are more for the profit of the shepherd, than for the edification of the flock. Passions, interest, ambition, and all their bloody consequences of discord, and of war, are banished from this doctrine. Here is nothing proposed but the quiet and tranquillity of the mind; virtue lodged at home, and afterwards diffused in her general effects, to the improvement and good of human kind. And therefore I wonder not that the present Bishop of Salisbury has recommended this our author, and the Tenth Satire of Juvenal, in his Pastoral Letter, to the serious perusal and practice of the divines in his diocese, as the best common-places for their sermons, as the storehouses and magazines of moral virtues, from whence they may draw out, as they have occasion, all manner of assistance for the accomplishment of a virtuous life, which the Stoics have assigned for the great end and perfection of mankind. Herein then it is, that Persius has excelled both Juvenal and Horace. He sticks to his own philosophy; he shifts not sides, like Horace, who is sometimes an Epicurean, sometimes a Stoic, sometimes an Eclectic, as his present humour leads him; nor declaims, like Juvenal, against vices, more like an orator, than a philosopher. Persius is every where the same; true to the dogmas of his master. What he has learnt, he teaches vehemently; and what he teaches, that he practises himself. There is a spirit of sincerity in all he says; you may easily discern that he is in earnest, and is persuaded of that truth which he inculcates. In this I am of opinion that he excels Horace, who is commonly in jest, and laughs while he instructs; and is equal to Juvenal, who was as honest and serious as Persius, and more he could not be.

Hitherto I have followed Casaubon, and enlarged upon him, because I am satisfied that he says no more than truth: the rest is almost all frivolous. For he says that Horace, being the son of a tax-gatherer, or a collector, as we call it, smells everywhere of the meanness of his birth and education: his conceits are vulgar, like the subjects of his satires; that he does *plebeium sapere*, and writes not with that elevation which becomes a satirist: that Persius, being nobly born, and of an opulent family, had likewise the advantage of a better master; Cornutus being the most learned of his time, a man of the most holy life, the chief of the Stoic sect at Rome, and not only a great philosopher, but a poet himself, and in probability a coadjutor of Persius: that as for Juvenal, he was long a declaimer, came late to poetry, and has not been much conversant in philosophy.

It is granted that the father of Horace was *libertinus*, that is, one degree removed from his grandfather, who had been once a slave. But Horace, speaking of him, gives him the best character of a father, which I ever read in history; and I wish a witty friend of mine, now living, had such another. He bred him in the best school, and with the best company of young noblemen; and Horace, by his gratitude to his memory, gives a certain testimony that his education was ingenuous. After this, he formed himself abroad, by the conversation of great men. Brutus found him at Athens, and was so pleased with him, that he took him thence into the army, and made him *tribunus militum*, a colonel in a legion, which was the preferment of an old soldier. All this was before his acquaintance with Mecenas, and his introduction into the court of Augustus, and the familiarity of that great emperor; which, had he not been well-bred before, had been enough to civilise his conversation, and render him accomplished and knowing in all the arts of complacency and good behaviour; and, in short, an agreeable companion for the retired hours and privacies of a favourite, who was first minister. So that, upon the whole matter, Persius may be acknowledged to be equal with him in those respects, though better born, and Juvenal inferior to both. If the advantage be any where, it is on the side of Horace; as much as the court of Augustus Caesar was superior to that of Nero. As for the subjects which they treated, it will appear hereafter, that Horace writ not vulgarly on vulgar subjects, nor always chose them. His style is constantly accommodated to his subject, either high or low. If his fault be too much lowness, that of Persius is the fault of the

hardness of his metaphors, and obscurity; and so they are equal in the failings of their style, where Juvenal manifestly triumphs over both of them.

The comparison betwixt Horace and Juvenal is more difficult; because their forces were more equal. A dispute has always been, and ever will continue, betwixt the favourers of the two poets. *Non nostrum est tantum componere lites*. I shall only venture to give my own opinion, and leave it for better judges to determine. If it be only argued in general, which of them was the better poet, the victory is already gained on the side of Horace. Virgil himself must yield to him in the delicacy of his turns, his choice of words, and perhaps the purity of his Latin. He who says that Pindar is inimitable, is himself inimitable in his Odes. But the contention betwixt these two great masters, is for the prize of Satire; in which controversy, all the Odes and Epodes of Horace are to stand excluded. I say this, because Horace has written many of them satirically, against his private enemies; yet these, if justly considered, are somewhat of the nature of the Greek *Silli*, which were invectives against particular sects and persons. But Horace had purged himself of this cholera, before he entered on those discourses, which are more properly called the Roman Satire. He has not now to do with a Lyce, a Canidia, a Cassius Severus, or a Menas; but is to correct the vices and the follies of his time, and to give the rules of a happy and virtuous life. In a word, that former sort of satire, which is known in England by the name of lampoon, is a dangerous sort of weapon, and for the most part unlawful. We have no moral right on the reputation of other men. It is taking from them what we cannot restore to them. There are only two reasons, for which we may be permitted to write lampoons; and I will not promise that they can always justify us. The first is revenge, when we have been affronted in the same nature, or have been any ways notoriously abused, and can make ourselves no other reparation. And yet we know, that, in Christian charity, all offences are to be forgiven, as we expect the like pardon for those which we daily commit against Almighty God. And this consideration has often made me tremble when I was saying our Saviour's prayer; for the plain condition of the forgiveness which we beg, is the pardoning of others the offences which they have done to us; for which reason I have many times avoided the commission of that fault, even when I have been notoriously provoked. Let not this, my lord, pass for vanity in me, for it is truth. More libels have been written against me, than almost any man now living; and I had reason on my side, to have defended my own innocence. I speak not of my poetry, which I have wholly given up to the critics: let them use it as they please: posterity, perhaps, may be more favourable to me; for interest and passion will lie buried in another age, and partiality and prejudice be forgotten. I speak of my morals, which have been sufficiently aspersed: that only sort of reputation ought to be dear to every honest man, and is to me. But let the world witness for me, that I have been often wanting to myself in that particular; I have seldom answered any scurrilous lampoon, when it was in my power to have exposed my enemies; and, being naturally vindictive, have suffered in silence, and possessed my soul in quiet.

Any thing, though never so little, which a man speaks of himself, in my opinion, is still too much; and therefore I will waive this subject, and proceed to give the second reason which may justify a poet when he writes against a particular person; and that is, when he is become a public nuisance. All those, whom Horace in his Satires, and Persius and Juvenal have mentioned in theirs, with a brand of infamy, are wholly such. It is an action of virtue to make examples of vicious men. They may and ought to be upbraided with their crimes and follies; both for their amendment, if they are not yet incorrigible, and for the terror of others, to hinder them from falling into those enormities, which they see are so severely punished in the persons of others. The first reason was only an excuse for revenge; but this second is absolutely of a poet's office to perform: but how few lampooners are now living, who are capable of this duty! When they come in my way, it is impossible sometimes to avoid reading them. But, good God! how remote they are, in common justice, from the choice of such persons as are the proper subject of satire! And how little wit they bring for the support of their injustice! The weaker sex is their most ordinary theme; and the best and fairest are sure to be the most severely handled. Amongst men, those who are prosperously unjust, are entitled to panegyric; but afflicted virtue is insolently stabbed with all manner of reproaches; no decency is considered, no fulsome omitted; no venom is wanting, as far as dulness can supply it: for there is a perpetual dearth of wit; a barrenness of good sense and entertainment. The neglect of the readers will soon put an end to this sort of scribbling. There can be no pleasantry, where there is no wit; no impression can be made, where there is no truth for the foundation. To conclude: they are like the fruits of the earth in this unnatural season; the corn which held up its head is spoiled

with rankness; but the greater part of the harvest is laid along, and little of good income and wholesome nourishment is received into the barns. This is almost a digression, I confess to your lordship; but a just indignation forced it from me. Now I have removed this rubbish, I will return to the comparison of Juvenal and Horace.

I would willingly divide the palm betwixt them, upon the two heads of profit and delight, which are the two ends of poetry in general. It must be granted, by the favourers of Juvenal, that Horace is the more copious and profitable in his instructions of human life; but, in my particular opinion, which I set not up for a standard to better judgments, Juvenal is the more delightful author. I am profited by both, I am pleased with both; but I owe more to Horace for my instruction, and more to Juvenal for my pleasure. This, as I said, is my particular taste of these two authors: they who will have either of them to excel the other in both qualities, can scarce give better reasons for their opinion than I for mine. But all unbiassed readers will conclude, that my moderation is not to be condemned: to such impartial men I must appeal; for they who have already formed their judgment may justly stand suspected of prejudice; and though all who are my readers will set up to be my judges, I enter my *caveat* against them, that they ought not so much as to be of my jury; or, if they be admitted, it is but reason that they should first hear what I have to urge in the defence of my opinion.

That Horace is somewhat the better instructor of the two, is proved from hence,—that his instructions are more general, Juvenal's more limited. So that, granting that the counsels which they give are equally good for moral use, Horace, who gives the most various advice, and most applicable to all occasions which can occur to us in the course of our lives,—as including in his discourses, not only all the rules of morality, but also of civil conversation,—is undoubtedly to be preferred to him who is more circumscribed in his instructions, makes them to fewer people, and on fewer occasions, than the other. I may be pardoned for using an old saying, since it is true, and to the purpose: *Bonum quò communius, eò melius*. Juvenal, excepting only his first Satire, is in all the rest confined to the exposing of some particular vice; that he lashes, and there he sticks. His sentences are truly shining and instructive; but they are sprinkled here and there. Horace is teaching us in every line, and is perpetually moral: he had found out the skill of Virgil, to hide his sentences; to give you the virtue of them, without showing them in their full extent; which is the ostentation of a poet, and not his art: and this Petronius charges on the authors of his time, as a vice of writing which was then growing on the age: *ne sententiæ extra corpus orationis emineant*: he would have them weaved into the body of the work, and not appear embossed upon it, and striking directly on the reader's view. Folly was the proper quarry of Horace, and not vice; and as there are but few notoriously wicked men, in comparison with a shoal of fools and fops, so it is a harder thing to make a man wise, than to make him honest; for the will is only to be reclaimed in the one, but the understanding is to be informed in the other. There are blind sides and follies, even in the possessors of moral philosophy; and there is not any one sect of them that Horace has not exposed: which, as it was not the design of Juvenal, who was wholly employed in lashing vices, some of them the most enormous that can be imagined, so, perhaps, it was not so much his talent.

“ Omne vafer vitium ridenti Flaccus amico
Tangit, et admissus circum præcordia ludit.

This was the commendation which Persius gave him: where, by *vitium*, he means those little vices which we call follies, the defects of human understanding, or, at most, the peccadillos of life, rather than the tragical vices, to which men are hurried by their unruly passions and exorbitant desires. But, in the word *omne*, which is universal, he concludes with me, that the divine wit of Horace left nothing untouched; that he entered into the inmost recesses of nature; found out the imperfections even of the most wise and grave, as well as of the common people; discovering, even in the great Trebatius, to whom he addresses the first Satire, his hunting after business, and following the court, as well as in the persecutor Crispinus, his impertinence and importunity. It is true, he exposes Crispinus openly, as a common nuisance; but he rallies the other, as a friend, more finely. The exhortations of Persius are confined to noblemen; and the stoic philosophy is that alone which he recommends to them; Juvenal exhorts to particular virtues, as they are opposed to those vices against which he declaims; but Horace laughs to shame all follies, and insinuates virtue, rather by familiar examples than by the severity of precepts.

This last consideration seems to incline the balance on the side of Horace, and to give him the preference to Juvenal, not only in profit, but in pleasure. But, after all, I must confess, that the delight which Horace gives me is but languishing. Be pleased still to understand, that I speak of my own taste only : he may ravish other men ; but I am too stupid and insensible to be tickled. Where he barely grins himself, and, as Scaliger says, only shows his white teeth, he cannot provoke me to any laughter. His urbanity, that is, his good manners, are to be commended, but his wit is faint ; and his salt, if I may dare to say so, almost insipid. Juvenal is of a more vigorous and masculine wit ; he gives me as much pleasure as I can bear ; he fully satisfies my expectation ; he treats his subject home ; his spleen is raised, and he raises mine : I have the pleasure of concernment in all he says ; he drives his reader along with him ; and when he is at the end of his way, I willingly stop with him. If he went another stage, it would be too far ; it would make a journey of a progress, and turn delight into fatigue. When he gives over, it is a sign the subject is exhausted, and the wit of man can carry it no farther. If a fault can be justly found in him, it is, that he is sometimes too luxuriant, too redundant ; says more than he needs, like my friend the *Plain-Dealer*, but never more than pleases. Add to this, that his thoughts are as just as those of Horace, and much more elevated. His expressions are sonorous and more noble ; his verse more numerous, and his words are suitable to his thoughts, sublime and lofty. All these contribute to the pleasure of the reader ; and the greater the soul of him who reads, his transports are the greater. Horace is always on the amble, Juvenal on the gallop ; but his way is perpetually on carpet-ground. He goes with more impetuosity than Horace, but as securely ; and the swiftness adds a more lively agitation to the spirits. The low style of Horace is according to his subject, that is, generally grovelling. I question not but he could have raised it ; for the first Epistle of the second book, which he writes to Augustus, (a most instructive satire concerning poetry) is of so much dignity in the words, and of so much elegance in the numbers, that the author plainly shows, the *sermo pedestris*, in his other Satires, was rather his choice than his necessity. He was a rival to Lucilius, his predecessor, and was resolved to surpass him in his own manner. Lucilius, as we see by his remaining fragments, minded neither his style, nor his numbers, nor his purity of words, nor his run of verse. Horace, therefore, copes with him in that humble way of satire, writes under his own force, and carries a dead-weight, that he may match his competitor in the race. This, I imagine, was the chief reason why he minded only the clearness of his satire, and the cleanness of expression, without ascending to those heights to which his own vigour might have carried him. But, limiting his desires only to the conquest of Lucilius, he had his ends of his rival, who lived before him ; but made way for a new conquest over himself, by Juvenal, his successor. He could not give an equal pleasure to his reader, because he used not equal instruments. The fault was in the tools, and not in the workman. But versification and numbers are the greatest pleasures of poetry : Virgil knew it, and practised both so happily, that, for aught I know, his greatest excellency is in his diction. In all other parts of poetry, he is faultless ; but in this he placed his chief perfection. And give me leave, my lord, since I have here an apt occasion, to say, that Virgil could have written sharper satires than either Horace or Juvenal, if he would have employed his talent that way. I will produce a verse and a half of his, in one of his Eclogues, to justify my opinion ; and with commas after every word, to show, that he has given almost as many lashes as he has written syllables : it is against a bad poet, whose ill verses he describes :—

“—— Non tu, in trivis, indocte, solebas,
Strident, miserum, stipulâ, disperdere carmen ?”

But, to return to my purpose. When there is anything deficient in numbers and sound, the reader is uneasy and unsatisfied ; he wants something of his complement, desires somewhat which he finds not : and this being the manifest defect of Horace, it is no wonder that, finding it supplied in Juvenal, we are more delighted with him. And, besides this, the sauce of Juvenal is more poignant, to create in us an appetite of reading him. The meat of Horace is more nourishing ; but the cookery of Juvenal more exquisite : so that, granting Horace to be the more general philosopher, we cannot deny that Juvenal was the greater poet, I mean in satire. His thoughts are sharper ; his indignation against vice is more vehement ; his spirit has more of the commonwealth genius : he treats tyranny, and all the vices attending it, as they deserve, with the utmost rigour : and consequently, a noble soul is better pleased with a zealous vindicator of Roman liberty, than with a temporising poet, a

well-mannered court slave, and a man who is often afraid of laughing in the right place; who is ever decent, because he is naturally servile. After all, Horace had the disadvantage of the times in which he lived; they were better for the man, but worse for the satirist. It is generally said, that those enormous vices which were practised under the reign of Domitian, were unknown in the time of Augustus Cæsar; that therefore Juvenal had a larger field than Horace. Little follies were out of doors, when oppression was to be scourged instead of avarice; it was no longer time to turn into ridicule the false opinions of philosophers, when the Roman liberty was to be asserted. There was more need of a Brutus in Domitian's days, to redeem or mend, than of a Horace, if he had then been living, to laugh at a fly-catcher. This reflection at the same time excuses Horace, but exalts Juvenal.—I have ended, before I was aware, the comparison of Horace and Juvenal, upon the topics of instruction and delight; and, indeed, I may safely here conclude that common-place; for, if we make Horace our minister of state in satire, and Juvenal of our private pleasures, I think the latter has no ill bargain of it. Let profit have the pre-eminence of honour, in the end of poetry. Pleasure, though but the second in degree, is the first in favour. And who would not choose to be loved better, rather than to be more esteemed? But I am entered already upon another topic, which concerns the particular merits of these two satirists.—However, I will pursue my business where I left it, and carry it farther than that common observation of the several ages in which these authors flourished.

When Horace writ his Satires, the monarchy of his Cæsar was in its newness, and the government but just made easy to the conquered people. They could not possibly have forgotten the usurpation of that prince upon their freedom, nor the violent methods which he had used, in the compassing that vast design: they yet remembered his proscriptions, and the slaughter of so many noble Romans, their defenders: amongst the rest, that horrible action of his, when he forced Livia from the arms of her husband, who was constrained to see her married, as Dion relates the story, and, big with child as she was, conveyed to the bed of his insulting rival. The same Dion Cassius gives us another instance of the crime before mentioned; that Cornelius Sisenna being reproached, in full senate, with the licentious conduct of his wife, returned this answer, "that he had married her by the counsel of Augustus;" intimating, says my author, that Augustus had obliged him to that marriage, that he might, under that covert, have the more free access to her. His adulteries were still before their eyes; but they must be patient where they had not power. In other things that emperor was moderate enough: propriety was generally secured; and the people entertained with public shows and donatives, to make them more easily digest their lost liberty. But Augustus, who was conscious to himself of so many crimes which he had committed, thought, in the first place, to provide for his own reputation, by making an edict against Lampoons and Satires, and the authors of those defamatory writings, which my author, Tacitus, from the law-term, calls *famosos libellos*.

In the first book of his Annals, he gives the following account of it, in these words: *Primum Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis, specie legis ejus, tractavit; commotus Cassii Severi libidine, quæ viros feminasque illustres, procacibus scriptis diffamaverat.* Thus in English: "Augustus was the first, who under the colour of that law took cognisance of lampoons, being provoked to it, by the petulance of Cassius Severus, who had defamed many illustrious persons of both sexes, in his writings." The law to which Tacitus refers, was *Lex læsæ Majestatis*; commonly called, for the sake of brevity, *Majestas*; or, as we may say, high treason. He means not that this law had not been enacted formerly: for it had been made by the Decemviri, and was inscribed amongst the rest in the Twelve Tables; to prevent the aspersion of the Roman majesty, either of the people themselves, or their religion, or their magistrates: and the infringement of it was capital; that is, the offender was whipt to death, with the *fascæ*, which were borne before their chief officers of Rome. But Augustus was the first, who restored that intermitted law. By the words, *under colour of that law* he insinuates that Augustus caused it to be executed, on pretence of those libels, which were written by Cassius Severus, against the nobility; but, in truth, to save himself from such defamatory verses. Suetonius likewise makes mention of it thus: *Sparsos de se in curiâ famosos libellos, nec expavit, et magnâ curâ redarguit. Ac ne requisitis quidem auctoribus, id modo censuit, cognoscendum posthac de iis qui libellos aut carmina ad infamiam cujuscumque sub alieno nomine edant.* "Augustus was not afraid of libels," says that author; "yet he took all care imaginable to have them answered; and then decreed, that, for the time to come, the authors of them should be punished." But Aurelius makes it yet more clear, according to my sense, that this emperor for his own sake durst not permit

them: *Fecit id Augustus in speciem, et quasi gratificaretur populo Romano, et primoribus urbis; sed revera ut sibi consuleret: nam habuit in animo, comprimere nimiam quorundam procacitatem in loquendo, à quâ nec ipse exemptus fuit. Nam suo nomine compescere erat invidiosum, sub alieno facile et utile. Ergo specie legis tractavit, quasi populi Romani majestas infamaretur.* This, I think, is a sufficient comment on that passage of Tacitus.—I will add only by the way, that the whole family of the Cæsars, and all their relations, were included in the law; because the majesty of the Romans, in the time of the empire, was wholly in that house; *omnia Cæsar erat*: they were all accounted sacred who belonged to him. As for Cassius Severus, he was contemporary with Horace; and was the same poet against whom he writes in his Epodes under this title, *In Cassium Severum maledicum poetam*; perhaps intending to kill two crows, according to our proverb, with one stone, and revenge both himself and his emperor together.

From hence I may reasonably conclude, that Augustus, who was not altogether so good as he was wise, had some by-respect in the enacting of this law; for to do any thing for nothing, was not his maxim. Horace, as he was a courtier, complied with the interest of his master; and, avoiding the lashing of greater crimes, confined himself to the ridiculing of petty vices and common follies: excepting only some reserved cases, in his Odes and Epodes, of his own particular quarrels, which either with permission of the magistrate, or without it, every man will revenge, though I say not that he should; for *prior læsit* is a good excuse in the civil law, if Christianity had not taught us to forgive. However, he was not the proper man to arraign great vices, at least if the stories which we hear of him are true,—that he practised some, which I will not here mention, out of honour to him. It was not for a Clodius to accuse adulterers, especially when Augustus was of that number; so that though his age was not exempted from the worst of villanies, there was no freedom left to reprehend them by reason of the edict, and our poet was not fit to represent them in an odious character, because himself was dipped in the same actions. Upon this account, without farther insisting on the different tempers of Juvenal and Horace, I conclude, that the subjects which Horace chose for satire are of a lower nature than those of which Juvenal has written.

Thus I have treated, in a new method, the comparison betwixt Horace, Juvenal, and Persius; somewhat of their particular manner belonging to all of them is yet remaining to be considered. Persius was grave, and particularly opposed his gravity to lewdness, which was the predominant vice in Nero's court, at the time when he published his Satires, which was before that emperor fell into the excess of cruelty.—Horace was a mild admonisher, a court-satirist, fit for the gentle times of Augustus, and more fit, for the reasons which I have already given. Juvenal was as proper for his times, as they for theirs; his was an age that deserved a more severe chastisement; vices were more gross and open, more flagitious, more encouraged by the example of a tyrant, and more protected by his authority. Therefore, whosoever Juvenal mentions Nero, he means Domitian, whom he dares not attack in his own person, but scourges him by proxy. Heinsius urges in praise of Horace that, according to the ancient art and law of satire, it should be nearer to comedy than tragedy: not declaiming against vice, but only laughing at it. Neither Persius nor Juvenal were ignorant of this, for they had both studied Horace. And the thing itself is plainly true. But as they had read Horace, they had likewise read Lucilius, of whom Persius says,—*secuit urbem; . . . et genuinum fregit in illis*; meaning Mutius and Lupus; and Juvenal also mentions him in these words:—

“Ense velut stricto, quoties Lucilius ardens
Infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
Criminibus, tacitis sudant precordia culpa.”

So that they thought the imitation of Lucilius was more proper to their purpose than that of Horace. “They changed satire, (says Holyday) but they changed it for the better; for the business being to reform great vices, chastisement goes farther than admonition; whereas a perpetual grin, like that of Horace, does rather anger than amend a man.”

Thus far that learned critic, Barten Holyday, whose interpretation and illustrations of Juvenal are as excellent, as the verse of his translation and his English are lame and pitiful. For it is not enough to give us the meaning of a poet, which I acknowledge him to have performed most faithfully, but he must also imitate his genius, and his numbers, as far as the English will come up to the elegance of the original.—In few words, it is only for a poet to translate a poem. Holyday and Stapylton had not enough considered this, when they attempted Juvenal: but I forbear reflections; only I beg

leave to take notice of this sentence, where Holyday says, "a perpetual grin, like that of Horace, rather angers than amends a man." I cannot give him up the manner of Horace in low satire so easily. Let the chastisement of Juvenal be never so necessary for his new kind of satire; let him declaim as wittily and sharply as he pleases; yet still the nicest and most delicate touches of satire consist in fine raillery. Thus, my lord, is your particular talent, to which even Juvenal could not arrive. It is not reading, it is not imitation of an author, which can produce this fineness; it must be inborn; it must proceed from a genius, and particular way of thinking, which is not to be taught; and therefore not to be imitated by him who has it not from nature. How easy is it to call rogue and villain, and that wittily! But how hard to make a man appear a fool, a blockhead, or a knave, without using any of those opprobrious terms! To spare the grossness of the names, and to do the thing yet more severely, is to draw a full face, and to make the nose and cheeks stand out, and yet not to employ any depth of shadowing. This is the mystery of that noble trade, which yet no master can teach to his apprentice; he may give the rules, but the scholar is never the nearer in his practice. Neither is it true, that this fineness of raillery is offensive. A witty man is tickled while he is hurt in this manner, and a fool feels it not. The occasion of an offence may possibly be given, but he cannot take it. If it be granted, that in effect this way does more mischief, that a man is secretly wounded, and though he be not sensible himself, yet the malicious world will find it out for him; yet there is still a vast difference between the slovenly butchering of a man, and the fineness of a stroke that separates the head from the body, and leaves it standing in its place. A man may be capable, as Jack Ketch's wife said of his servant, of a plain piece of work, a bare hanging; but to make a malefactor die sweetly, was only belonging to her husband. I wish I could apply it to myself, if the reader would be kind enough to think it belongs to me. The character of Zimri in my "Absalom," is, in my opinion, worth the whole poem: it is not bloody, but it is ridiculous enough; and he, for whom it was intended, was too witty to resent it as an injury. If I had railed, I might have suffered for it justly; but I managed my own work more happily, perhaps more dexterously. I avoided the mention of great crimes, and applied myself to the representing of blindsides, and little extravagancies; to which, the wittier a man is, he is generally the more obnoxious. It succeeded as I wished; the jest went round, and he was laughed at in his turn who began the frolic.

And thus, my lord, you see I have preferred the manner of Horace, and of your lordship, in this kind of satire, to that of Juvenal, and I think, reasonably. Holyday ought not to have arraigned so great an author, for that which was his excellency and his merit: or if he did, on such a palpable mistake, he might expect that some one might possibly arise, either in his own time, or after him, to rectify his error, and restore to Horace that commendation, of which he has so unjustly robbed him. And let the manes of Juvenal forgive me, if I say, that this way of Horace was the best for amending manners, as it is the most difficult. His was an *ense rescindendum*; but that of Horace was a pleasant cure, with all the limbs preserved entire; and, as our mountebanks tell us in their bills, without keeping the patient within doors for a day. What they promise only, Horace has effectually performed: yet I contradict not the proposition which I formerly advanced. Juvenal's times required a more painful kind of operation; but if he had lived in the age of Horace, I must needs affirm, that he had it not about him. He took the method which was prescribed him by his own genius, which was sharp and eager; he could not rally, but he could declaim; and as his provocations were great, he has revenged them tragically. This notwithstanding, I am to say another word, which, as true as it is, will yet displease the partial admirers of our Horace. I have hinted it before, but it is time for me now to speak more plainly.

This manner of Horace is indeed the best; but Horace has not executed it altogether so happily, at least not often. The manner of Juvenal is confessed to be inferior to the former, but Juvenal has excelled him in his performance. Juvenal has railed more wittily than Horace has railed. Horace means to make his readers laugh, but he is not sure of his experiment. Juvenal always intends to move your indignation, and he always brings about his purpose. Horace, for aught I know, might have tickled the people of his age; but amongst the moderns he is not so successful. They, who say he entertains so pleasantly, may perhaps value themselves on the quickness of their own understandings, that they can see a jest farther off than other men; they may find occasion of laughter in the wit-battle of the two buffoons, Sarmentus and Cicerrus; and hold their sides for fear of bursting, when Rupilius and Persius are scolding. For my own part, I can only like the characters of all four, which are judiciously given; but for my heart I cannot so much as smile at their insipid raillery.

I see not why Persius should call upon Brutus to revenge him on his adversary : and that because he had killed Julius Cæsar, for endeavouring to be a king, therefore he should be desired to murder Rupilius, only because his name was Mr. King. A miserable clench in my opinion, for Horace to record : I have heard honest Mr. Swan make many a better, and yet have had the grace to hold my countenance. But it may be puns were then in fashion, as they were wit in the sermons of the last age, and in the court of King Charles II. I am sorry to say it, for the sake of Horace : but certain it is, he has no fine palate who can feed so heartily on garbage.

But I have already wearied myself, and doubt not but I have tired your lordship's patience, with this long, rambling, and I fear, trivial discourse. Upon the one half of the merits, that is, pleasure, I cannot but conclude that Juvenal was the better satirist.—They, who will descend into his particular praises, may find them at large in the Dissertation of the learned Rigaltius to Thuanus. As for Persius, I have given the reasons why I think him inferior to both of them ; yet I have one thing to add on that subject.

Barten Holyday, who translated both Juvenal and Persius, has made this distinction betwixt them, which is no less true than witty,—that in Persius the difficulty is to find a meaning, in Juvenal to choose a meaning : so crabbed is Persius, and so copious is Juvenal ; so much the understanding is employed in one, and so much the judgment in the other ; so difficult it is to find any sense in the former, and the best sense of the latter.

If, on the other side, any one suppose I have commended Horace below his merit, when I have allowed him but the second place, I desire him to consider, if Juvenal, a man of excellent natural endowments, besides the advantages of diligence and study, and coming after him, and building upon his foundations, might not probably, with all these helps, surpass him ? And whether it be any dishonour to Horace to be thus surpassed, since no art or science is at once begun and perfected, but that it must pass first through many hands, and even through several ages ? If Lucilius could add to Ennius, and Horace to Lucilius, why, without any diminution to the fame of Horace, might not Juvenal give the last perfection to that work ? Or, rather, what disreputation is it to Horace, that Juvenal excels in the tragical satire, as Horace does in the comical ? I have read over attentively both Heinsius and Dacier, in their commendations of Horace : but I can find no more in either of them, for the preference of him to Juvenal, than the instructive part ; the part of wisdom, and not that of pleasure ; which, therefore, is here allowed him, notwithstanding what Scaliger and Rigaltius have pleaded to the contrary for Juvenal. And, to show that I am impartial, I will here translate what Dacier has said on that subject.

“I cannot give a more just idea of the two books of Satires made by Horace, than by comparing them to the statues of the Sileni, to which Alcibiades compares Socrates in the Symposium. They were figures, which had nothing of agreeable, nothing of beauty, on their outside ; but when any one took the pains to open them, and search into them, he there found the figures of all the deities. So, in the shape that Horace presents himself to us in his Satires, we see nothing, at the first view, which deserves our attention ; it seems that he is rather an amusement for children, than for the serious consideration of men. But, when we take away his crust, and that which hides him from our sight, when we discover him to the bottom, then we find all the divinities in a full assembly ; that is to say, all the virtues which ought to be the continual exercise of those, who seriously endeavour to correct their vices.”

It is easy to observe, that Dacier, in this noble similitude, has confined the praise of his author wholly to the instructive part ; the commendation turns on this, and so does that which follows.

“In these two books of satire, it is the business of Horace to instruct us how to combat our vices, to regulate our passions, to follow nature, to give bounds to our desires, to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and betwixt our conceptions of things, and things themselves ; to come back from our prejudicate opinions, to understand exactly the principles and motives of all our actions ; and to avoid the ridicule into which all men necessarily fall, who are intoxicated with those notions which they have received from their masters, and which they obstinately retain, without examining whether or no they be founded on right reason.

“In a word, he labours to render us happy in relation to ourselves ; agreeable and faithful to our friends ; and discreet, serviceable, and well-bred, in relation to those with whom we are obliged to live, and to converse. To make his figures intelligible, to conduct his readers through the labyrinth of some perplexed sentence, or obscure parenthesis, is no great matter ; and, as Epictetus says, there

is nothing of beauty in all this, or what is worthy of a prudent man. The principal business, and which is of most importance to us, is to show the use, the reason, and the proof of his precepts.

"They who endeavour not to correct themselves, according to so exact a model, are just like the patients who have open before them a book of admirable receipts for their diseases, and please themselves with reading it, without comprehending the nature of the remedies, or how to apply them to their cure."

Let Horace go off with these encomiums, which he has so well deserved.

To conclude the contention betwixt our three poets, I will use the words of Virgil, in his fifth *Æneid*, where *Æneas* proposes the rewards of the foot-race to the three first who should reach the goal :—

" ——— Tres præmia primi
Accipient, flavique caput nectentur olivâ."

Let these three ancients be preferred to all the moderns, as first arriving at the goal ; let them all be crowned, as victors, with the wreath that properly belongs to satire ; but, after that, with this distinction amongst themselves,

"Primus equum phaleris insignem victor habeto."

Let Juvenal ride first in triumph ;

"Alter Amazoniam pharetram, plenamque sagittis
Threicis, lato quam circumplectitur auro
Balteus, et tereti subnectit fibula gemmâ."

Let Horace, who is the second, and but just the second, carry off the quivers and the arrows, as the badges of his satire, and the golden belt, and the diamond button ;

Tertius Argolico hæc clypeo contentus abito."

And let Persius, the last of the first three worthies, be contented with this Grecian shield, and with victory, not only over all the Grecians, who were ignorant of the Roman satire, but over all the moderns in succeeding ages, except Boileau and your lordship.

And thus I have given the history of Satire, and derived it as far as from Ennius to your lordship : that is, from its first rudiments of barbarity to its last polishing and perfection ; which is, with Virgil, in his address to Augustus—

" ——— Nomen famâ tot ferre per annos,
Tithoni primâ quot abest ab origine Cæsar."

I said only from Ennius ; but I may safely carry it higher, as far as Livius Andronicus ; who, as I have said formerly, taught the first play at Rome, in the year *ab urbe condita* ccccxiv. I have since desired my learned friend, Mr. Maidwell, to compute the difference of times, betwixt Aristophanes and Livius Andronicus ; and he assures me, from the best chronologers, that "*Plutus*," the last of Aristophanes's plays, was represented at Athens, in the year of the 97th Olympiad, which agrees with the year *urbis conditæ* ccclxiv. So that the difference of years betwixt Aristophanes and Andronicus is 150 ; from whence I have probably deduced, that Livius Andronicus, who was a Grecian, had read the plays of the Old Comedy, which were satirical, and also of the New ; for Menander was fifty years before him, which must needs be a great light to him in his own plays, that were of the satirical nature. That the Romans had farces before this it is true ; but then they had no communication with Greece ; so that Andronicus was the first who wrote after the manner of the old comedy in his plays : he was imitated by Ennius, about thirty years afterwards. Though the former writ fables, the latter, speaking properly, began the Roman satire ; according to that description which Juvenal gives of it in his first :—

"Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, discursus, nostra est farrago libelli."

This is that in which I have made bold to differ from Casaubon, Rigaltius, Dacier, and indeed from all the modern critics.—that not Ennius, but Andronicus, was the first, who, by the *Archæa Comædia*

of the Greeks, added many beauties to the first rude and barbarous Roman satire: which sort of poem though we had not derived from Rome, yet Nature teaches it mankind in all ages, and in every country.

It is but necessary, that after so much has been said of Satire, some definition of it should be given. Heinsius, in his "Dissertations on Horace," makes it for me, in these words: "Satire is a kind of poetry, without a series of action, invented for the purging of our minds; in which human vices, ignorance, and errors, and all things besides, which are produced from them in every man, are severely reprehended; partly dramatically, partly simply, and sometimes in both kinds of speaking; but, for the most part, figuratively, and occultly; consisting in a low familiar way, chiefly in a sharp and pungent manner of speech; but partly, also, in a facetious and civil way of jesting; by which either hatred, or laughter, or indignation, is moved."—Where I cannot but observe, that this obscure and perplexed definition, or rather description, of satire, is wholly accommodated to the Horatian way; and excluding the works of Juvenal and Persius, as foreign from that kind of poem. The clause in the beginning of it ("without a series of action") distinguishes satire properly from stage-plays, which are all of one action, and one continued series of action. The end or scope of satire is to purge the passions; so far it is common to the Satires of Juvenal and Persius. The rest which follows is also generally belonging to all three; till he comes upon us, with the excluding clause—"consisting in a low familiar way of speech,"—which is the proper character of Horace; and from which, the other two, for their honour be it spoken, are far distant. But how come lowness of style, and the familiarity of words, to be so much the propriety of satire, that without them a poet can be no more a satirist, than without risibility he can be a man? Is the fault of Horace to be made the virtue and standing rule of this poem? Is the *grande enphos* of Persius, and the sublimity of Juvenal, to be circumscribed with the meanness of words and vulgarity of expression? If Horace refused the pains of numbers, and the loftiness of figures, are they bound to follow so ill a precedent? Let him walk a-foot, with his pad in his hand, for his own pleasure; but let not them be accounted no poets, who choose to mount, and show their horsemanship. Holyday is not afraid to say, that there was never such a fall, as from his Odes to his Satires, and that he, injuriously to himself, untuned his harp. The majestic way of Persius and Juvenal was new when they began it, but it is old to us; and what poems have not, with time, received an alteration in their fashion? "which alteration," says Holyday, "is to after-times as good a warrant as the first." Has not Virgil changed the manners of Homer's heroes in his *Æneid*? Certainly he has, and for the better; for Virgil's age was more civilised, and better bred; and he writ according to the politeness of Rome, under the reign of Augustus Cæsar, not to the rudeness of Agamemnon's age, or the times of Homer. Why should we offer to confine free spirits to one form, when we cannot so much as confine our bodies to one fashion of apparel? Would not Donne's satires, which abound with so much wit, appear more charming, if he had taken care of his words, and of his numbers? But he followed Horace so very close, that of necessity he must fall with him; and I may safely say it of this present age, that if we are not so great wits as Donne, yet, certainly, we are better poets.

But I have said enough, and it may be too much, on this subject. Will your lordship be pleased to prolong my audience, only so far, till I tell you my own trivial thoughts, how a modern satire should be made. I will not deviate in the least from the precepts and examples of the ancients, who were always our best masters. I will only illustrate them, and discover some of the hidden beauties in their designs, that we thereby may form our own in imitation of them. Will you please but to observe, that Persius, the least in dignity of all the three, has notwithstanding been the first, who has discovered to us this important secret, in the designing of a perfect satire,—that it ought only to treat of one subject; to be confined to one particular theme; or, at least, to one principally. If other vices occur in the management of the chief, they should only be transiently lashed, and not be insisted on, so as to make the design double. As in a play of the English fashion, which we call a tragi-comedy, there is to be but one main design; and though there be an underplot, or second walk of comical characters and adventures, yet they are subservient to the chief fable, carried along under it, and helping to it; so that the drama may not seem a monster with two heads. Thus, the Copernican system of the planets makes the moon to be moved by the motion of the earth, and carried about her orb, as a dependent of her's. Mascardi, in his discourse of the *Doppia favola*, or double tale in plays, gives an instance of it in the famous pastoral of Guarini, called *Il Pastor Fido*; where Corisca and the Satyr are the under parts; yet we may observe, that Corisca is brought into

the body of the plot, and made subservient to it. It is certain that the divine wit of Horace was not ignorant of this rule,—that a play, though it consists of many parts, must yet be one in the action, and must drive on the accomplishment of one design; for he gives this very precept,—*Sit quodvis simplex duntaxat et unum*; yet he seems not much to mind it in his Satires, many of them consisting of more arguments than one; and the second without dependence on the first. Casaubon has observed this before me, in his preference of Persius to Horace; and will have his own beloved author to be the first who found out and introduced this method of confining himself to one subject. I know it may be urged in defence of Horace, that this unity is not necessary; because the very word *satura* signifies a dish plentifully stored with all variety of fruit and grains. Yet Juvenal, who calls his poems a *farrago*, which is a word of the same signification with *satura*, has chosen to follow the same method of Persius, and not of Horace; and Boileau, whose example alone is a sufficient authority, has wholly confined himself, in all his satires, to this unity of design. That variety, which is not to be found in any one satire, is, at least, in many, written on several occasions. And if variety be of absolute necessity in every one of them, according to the etymology of the word, yet it may arise naturally from one subject, as it is diversely treated, in the several subordinate branches of it, all relating to the chief. It may be illustrated accordingly with variety of examples in the subdivisions of it, and with as many precepts as there are members of it; which, altogether, may complete that *olla*, or hotch-potch, which is properly a satire.

Under this unity of theme, or subject, is comprehended another rule for perfecting the design of true satire. The poet is bound, and that *ex officio*, to give his reader some one precept of moral virtue, and to caution him against some one particular vice or folly. Other virtues, subordinate to the first, may be recommended under that chief head; and other vices or follies may be scourged, besides that which he principally intends. But he is chiefly to inculcate one virtue, and insist on that. Thus Juvenal, in every satire excepting the first, ties himself to one principal instructive point, or to the shunning of moral evil. Even in the sixth, which seems only an arraignment of the whole sex of womankind, there is a latent admonition to avoid ill women, by showing how very few, who are virtuous and good, are to be found amongst them. But this, though the wittiest of all his satires, has yet the least of truth or instruction in it. He has run himself into his old declamatory way, and almost forgotten that he was now setting up for a moral poet.

Persius is never wanting to us in some profitable doctrine, and in exposing the opposite vices to it. His kind of philosophy is one, which is the Stoic; and every satire is a comment on one particular dogma of that sect, unless we will except the first, which is against bad writers; and yet even there he forgets not the precepts of the Porch. In general, all virtues are everywhere to be praised and recommended to practice; and all vices to be reprehended, and made either odious or ridiculous; or else there is a fundamental error in the whole design.

I have already declared who are the only persons that are the adequate object of private satire, and who they are that may properly be exposed by name for public examples of vices and follies, and therefore I will trouble your lordship no farther with them. Of the best and finest manner of satire, I have said enough in the comparison betwixt Juvenal and Horace: it is that sharp, well-mannered way of laughing a folly out of countenance, of which your lordship is the best master in this age. I will proceed to the versification, which is most proper for it, and add somewhat to what I have said already on that subject. The sort of verse which is called burlesque, consisting of eight syllables, or four feet, is that which our excellent Hudibras has chosen. I ought to have mentioned him before, when I spoke of Donne; but by a slip of an old man's memory he was forgotten. The worth of his poem is too well known to need my commendation, and he is above my censure. His satire is of the Varroian kind, though unmixed with prose. The choice of his numbers is suitable enough to his design, as he has managed it; but in any other hand, the shortness of his verse, and the quick returns of rhyme, had debased the dignity of style. And besides, the double rhyme, (a necessary companion of burlesque writing) is not so proper for manly satire; for it turns earnest too much to jest, and gives us a boyish kind of pleasure. It tickles awkwardly with a kind of pain, to the best sort of readers: we are pleased ungratefully, and, if I may say so, against our liking. We thank him not for giving us that unseasonable delight, when we know he could have given us a better, and more solid. He might have

left that task to others, who, not being able to put in thought, can only make us grin with the excrescence of a word of two or three syllables in the close. It is, indeed, below so great a master to make use of such a little instrument. But his good sense is perpetually shining through all he writes: it affords us not the time of finding faults. We pass through the levity of his rhyme, and are immediately carried into some admirable useful thought. After all, he has chosen this kind of verse, and has written the best in it: and had he taken another, he would always have excelled: as we say of a court-favourite, that whatsoever his office be, he still makes it uppermost, and most beneficial to himself.

The quickness of your imagination, my lord, has already prevented me; and you know beforehand, that I would prefer the verse of ten syllables, which we call the English heroic, to that of eight. This is truly my opinion; for this sort of number is more roomy; the thought can turn itself with greater ease in a larger compass. When the rhyme comes too thick upon us, it struts the expression, we are thinking of the close, when we should be employed in adorning the thought. It makes a poet giddy with turning in a space too narrow for his imagination; he loses many beauties, without gaining one advantage. For a burlesque rhyme, I have already concluded to be none; or, if it were, it is more easily purchased in ten syllables than in eight. In both occasions it is as in a tennis-court, when the strokes of greater force are given, when we strike out and play at length. Tassoni and Boileau have left us the best examples of this way, in the "*Secchia Rapita*," and the "*Lutrin*;" and next them Merlin Coccaius, in his "*Baldus*." I will speak only of the two former, because the last is written in Latin verse. The "*Secchia Rapita*" is an Italian poem, a satire of the Varronian kind. It is written in the stanza of eight, which is their measure for heroic verse. The words are stately, the numbers smooth, the turn both of thoughts and words is happy. The first six lines of the stanza seem majestic and severe; but the two last turn them all into a pleasant ridicule. Boileau, if I am not much deceived, has modelled from hence his famous "*Lutrin*." He had read the burlesque poetry of Scarron, with some kind of indignation, as witty as it was, and found nothing in France that was worthy of his imitation; but he copied the Italian so well, that his own may pass for an original. He writes it in the French heroic verse, and calls it an heroic poem; his subject is trivial, but his verse is noble. I doubt not but he had Virgil in his eye, for we find many admirable imitations of him, and some parodies; as particularly this passage in the fourth of the *Æneids*.—

"Nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
Perfide; sed duris genuit te cantibus horrens
Caucasus; Hyrcanæque admordint ubera tigres;"

which he thus translates, keeping to the words, but altering the sense :—

"Non, ton pere à Paris, ne fut point benlanger :
Et tu n'es point du sang de Gervais, l'horloger :
Ta mere ne fut point la maitresse d'un coche ;
Caucase dans ses flancs te forma d'une riche ;
Une tigresse afréense, en quelque autre écarté,
Te fit, avec son lait, succer sa cruauté."

And, as Virgil, in his fourth Georgic, of the Bees, perpetually raises the lowness of his subject, by the loftiness of his words, and ennobles it by comparisons drawn from empires, and from monarchs :—

"Admiranda tibi levium spectacula rerum,
Magnanimosque duces, totiusque ordine gentis
Mores et studia, et populos, et prœlia dicam."

And again :—

"At genus immortale manet; multosque per annos
Stat fortuna domus, et avi numerantur avorum;—"

we see Boileau pursuing him in the same flights, and scarcely yielding to his master. This, I think, my lord, to be the most beautiful, and most noble kind of satire. Here is the majesty of the heroic finely mixed with the venom of the other; and raising the delight, which otherwise would be flat and vulgar, by the sublimity of the expression. I could say somewhat more of the delicacy of this and some other of his satires; but it might turn to his prejudice, if it were carried back to France.

I have given your lordship but this bare hint, in what verse and in what manner this sort of satire may be best managed. Had I time, I could enlarge on the beautiful turns of words and thoughts, which are as requisite in this, as in heroic poetry itself, of which the satire is undoubtedly a species. With these beautiful turns, I confess myself to have been unacquainted, till about twenty years ago, in a conversation which I had with that noble wit of Scotland, Sir George Mackenzie; he asked me why I did not imitate in my verses the turns of Mr. Waller and Sir John Denham, of which he repeated many to me. I had often read with pleasure, and with some profit, those two fathers of our English poetry; but had not seriously enough considered those beauties which give the last perfection to their works. Some sprinklings of this kind I had also formerly in my plays; but they were casual, and not designed. But this hint, thus seasonably given me, first made me sensible of my own wants, and brought me afterwards to seek for the supply of them in other English authors. I looked over the darling of my youth, the famous Cowley; there I found, instead of them, the points of wit, and quirks of epigram, even in the "Davideis," an heroic poem, which is of an opposite nature to those puerilities; but no elegant turns either on the word, or on the thought. Then I consulted a greater genius (without offence to the manes of that noble author), I mean Milton; but as he endeavours every where to express Homer, whose age had not arrived to that fineness, I found in him a true sublimity, lofty thoughts, which were clothed with admirable Grecisms, and ancient words, which he had been digging from the mines of Chaucer and Spenser, and which, with all their rusticity, had somewhat of venerable in them. But I found not there neither that for which I looked. At last I had recourse to his master, Spenser, the author of that immortal poem, called the "Fairy Queen;" and there I met with that which I had been looking for so long in vain. Spenser had studied Virgil to as much advantage as Milton had done Homer; and amongst the rest of his excellencies had copied that. Looking farther into the Italian, I found Tasso had done the same; nay more, that all the sonnets in that language are on the turn of the first thought; which Mr. Walsh, in his late ingenious preface to his poems, has observed. In short, Virgil and Ovid are the two principal fountains of them in Latin poetry. And the French at this day are so fond of them, that they judge them to be the first beauties: *delicate et bien tourné*, are the highest commendations which they bestow on somewhat which they think a masterpiece.

An example of the turn on words, amongst a thousand others, is that in the last book of Ovid's "Metamorphoses:"

"Hæc! quantum scelus est, in viscera, viscera condi!
Congestaque avidum pingue-cere corpore corpus;
Alteriusque animantem animantus vivere leto."

An example on the turn both of thoughts and words, is to be found in Catullus, in the complaint of Ariadne, when she was left by Theseus:—

"Tum jam nullæ viro juranti femina credat;
Nulla viri speret sarmenes esse fideles;
Qui, dum aliquid cupiens animus prægestit apisci,
Nil metuunt jurare, nihil promittere parcent:
Sed simul ac cupida mentis satiata libido est,
Dieta nihil metuere, nihil perjuræ curare."

An extraordinary turn upon the words, is that in Ovid's "Epistolæ Heroidum," of Sappho to Phaon:—

"Si, nisi quæ formæ poterit te digna videri,
Nulla futura tua est, nulla futura tua est."

Lastly: A turn, which I cannot say is absolutely on words, for the thought turns with them, is in the fourth Georgic of Virgil; where Orpheus is to receive his wife from hell, on express condition not to look on her till she was come on earth:—

"Cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem
Ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes."

I will not burthen your lordship with more of them; for I write to a master who understands them better than myself. But I may safely conclude them to be great beauties.—I might descend also to the mechanic beauties of heroic verse; but we have yet no English *proœdia*, not so much as a

tolerable dictionary, or a grammar; so that our language is in a manner barbarous; and what government will encourage any one, or more, who are capable of refining it, I know not; but nothing under a public expence can go through with it. And I rather fear a declination of the language, than hope an advancement of it in the present age.

I am still speaking to you, my lord, though, in all probability, you are already out of hearing. Nothing, which my meanness can produce, is worthy of this long attention. But I am come to the last petition of Abraham; if there be ten righteous lines, in this vast preface, spare it for their sake; and also spare the next city, because it is but a little one.

I would excuse the performance of this translation, if it were all my own; but the better, though not the greater part, being the work of some gentlemen, who have succeeded very happily in their undertaking, let their excellencies atone for my imperfections, and those of my sons. I have perused some of the satires, which are done by other hands; and they seem to me as perfect in their kind, as any thing I have seen in English verse. The common way which we have taken, is not a literal translation, but a kind of paraphrase; or somewhat, which is yet more loose, betwixt a paraphrase and imitation. It was not possible for us, or any men, to have made it pleasant any other way. If rendering the exact sense of those authors, almost line for line, had been our business, Barten Holyday had done it already to our hands: and, by the help of his learned notes and illustrations, not only Juvenal and Persius, but, what yet is more obscure, his own verses, might be understood.

But he wrote for fame, and wrote to scholars: we write only for the pleasure and entertainment of those gentlemen and ladies, who, though they are not scholars, are not ignorant: persons of understanding and good sense, who, not having been conversant in the original, or at least not having made Latin verse so much their business as to be critics in it, would be glad to find, if the wit of our two great authors be answerable to their fame and reputation in the world. We have, therefore, endeavoured to give the public all the satisfaction we are able in this kind.

And if we are not altogether so faithful to our author as our predecessors Holyday and Stapylton, yet we may challenge to ourselves this praise, that we shall be far more pleasing to our readers. We have followed our authors at greater distance, though not step by step, as they have done; for oftentimes they have gone so close, that they have trod on the heels of Juvenal and Persius, and hurt them by their too near approach. A noble author would not be pursued too close by a translator. We lose his spirit, when we think to take his body. The grosser part remains with us, but the soul is flown away in some noble expression, or some delicate turn of words, or thought. Thus Holyday, who made this way his choice, seized the meaning of Juvenal; but the poetry has always escaped him.

They who will not grant me, that pleasure is one of the ends of poetry, but that it is only a means of compassing the only end, which is instruction, must yet allow, that without the means of pleasure, the instruction is but a bare and dry philosophy: a crude preparation of morals, which we may have from Aristotle and Epictetus, with more profit than from any poet. Neither Holyday nor Stapylton have imitated Juvenal in the poetical part of him—his diction and his elocution. Nor had they been poets, as neither of them were, yet, in the way they took, it was impossible for them to have succeeded in the poetic part.

The English verse, which we call heroic, consists of no more than ten syllables; the Latin hexameter sometimes rises to seventeen; as, for example, this verse in Virgil

"Pulverulenta putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum."

Here is the difference of no less than seven syllables in a line, betwixt the English and the Latin. Now the medium of these is about fourteen syllables; because the dactyle is a more frequent foot in hexameters than the spondee. But Holyday, without considering that he wrote with the disadvantage of four syllables less in every verse, endeavours to make one of his lines to comprehend the sense of one of Juvenal's. According to the falsity of the proposition was the success. He was forced to crowd his verse with ill-sounding monosyllables, of which our barbarous language affords him a wild plenty; and by that means he arrived at his pedantic end, which was to make a literal translation. His verses have nothing of verse in them, but only the worst part of it—the rhyme; and that, into the bargain, is far from good. But, which is more intolerable, by cramming his ill-chosen, and worse-sounding monosyllables so close together, the very sense which he endeavours to explain is become more obscure than that of his author; so that Holyday himself cannot be understood

without as large a commentary as that which he makes on his two authors. For my own part, I can make a shift to find the meaning of Juvenal without his notes; but his translation is more difficult than his author. And I find beauties in the Latin to recompense my pains; but, in Holyday and Stapylton, my ears, in the first place, are mortally offended; and then their sense is so perplexed, that I return to the original, as the more pleasing task, as well as the more easy.

This must be said for our translation, that, if we give not the whole sense of Juvenal, yet we give the most considerable part of it: we give it, in general, so clearly, that few notes are sufficient to make us intelligible. We make our author at least appear in a poetic dress. We have actually made him more sounding, and more elegant, than he was before in English; and have endeavoured to make him speak that kind of English, which he would have spoken had he lived in England, and had written to this age. If sometimes any of us (and it is but seldom) make him express the customs and manners of our native country rather than of Rome, it is, either when there was some kind of analogy betwixt their customs and ours, or when, to make him more easy to vulgar understandings, we give him those manners which are familiar to us. But I defend not this innovation, it is enough if I can excuse it. For, to speak sincerely, the manners of nations and ages are not to be confounded; we should either make them English, or leave them Roman. If this can neither be defended nor excused, let it be pardoned at least, because it is acknowledged; and so much the more easily, as being a fault which is never committed without some pleasure to the reader.

Thus, my lord, having troubled you with a tedious visit, the best manners will be shown in the least ceremony. I will slip away while your back is turned, and while you are otherwise employed; with great confusion for having entertained you so long with this discourse, and for having no other recompense to make you, than the worthy labours of my fellow-undertakers in this work, and the thankful acknowledgments, prayers, and perpetual good wishes, of,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's most obliged, most humble, and most obedient Servant,

JOHN DRYDEN.

August 18, 1702.

THE
FIRST SATIRE OF JUVENAL.

THE ARGUMENT.

The poet gives us first a kind of humorous reason for his writing. That being provoked by hearing so many ill poets rehearse their works, he does himself justice on them, by giving them as bad as they bring. But since no man will rank himself with ill writers, 'tis easy to conclude, that if such wretches could draw an audience, he thought it no hard matter to excel them, and gain a greater esteem with the public. Next he informs us more openly why he rather addicts himself to Satire, than any other kind of poetry. And here he discovers that it is not so much his indignation to ill poets, as to ill men, which has prompted him to write. He therefore gives us a summary and general view of the vices, and follies reigning in his time. So that this first Satire is the natural groundwork of all the rest. Herein he confines himself to no one subject, but strikes indifferently at all men in his way: in every following Satire he has chosen some particular moral which he would inculcate; and lashes some particular vice or folly (an art with which our lampooners are not much acquainted). But our poet being desirous to reform his own age, and not daring to attempt it by an overt act of naming living persons, inveighs only against those who were infamous in the times immediately preceding his, whereby he not only gives a fair warning to great men, that their memory lies at the mercy of future poets and historians; but also, with a finer stroke of his pen, brands even the living, and personates them under dead men's names.

I have avoided as much as I could possibly the borrowed learning of marginal notes and illustrations, and for that reason have translated this Satire somewhat largely; and freely own (if it be a fault) that I have likewise omitted most of the proper names, because I thought they would not much edify the reader. To conclude, if in two or three places I have deserted all the commentators, it is because they first deserted my author, or at least have left him in so much obscurity, that too much room is left for guessing.

STILL shall I hear, and never quit the score,
Stunn'd with hoarse Codrus' Theseld, o'er and o'er?

Shall this man's Elegies and t'other's Play
Unpunish'd murder a long summer's day?

Huge Telephus, a formidable page,
Cris vengeance; and Orestes' bulky rage,
Unsatisfied with margins closely writ,
Foams o'er the covers, and not finish'd yet.
No man can take a more familiar note
Of his own home, than I of Vulcan's grot,

Ver. 1. *Still shall I hear.*] It is not without caution, and a fear of reprehension, that I venture to mention what may appear too personal, that when I first had the honour of presiding at Winchester school, I found the youths of the upper class were in the habit of frequently repeating, without book, the Satires of Juvenal. I soon perceived, that, from the multiplicity of allusions to Roman history, manners, customs, and opinions, they unavoidably could not understand half they repeated. And I also perceived that their compositions were unnaturally and improperly tinged with a mixture of Juvenal's harsh, fat-etched, metaphorical, and tumid expressions, and of the purity of Virgil and Horace. I therefore laid aside the practice, and adhered closely and solely to the two last-mentioned authors. After our author himself has so clearly and copiously, in his dedication, marked the characteristic differences betwixt Horace and Juvenal, it would be vain and superfluous to attempt to add any thing on a subject so exhausted. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 2. *Codrus.*] Or it may be Codrus, a bad poet who wrote the life and actions of Theseus

Ver. 5. — *Telephus.*] The name of a tragedy.

Ver. 6. — *Orestes.*] Another tragedy.

Or Mars his grove, or hollow winds that blow
From Ætna's top, or tortured ghosts below.
I know by rote the famed exploits of Greece;
The Centaurs' fury, and the golden fleece;
Through the thick shades th' eternal scribbler
bawls,

And shakes the statues on their pedestals.
The best and worst on the same theme employs
His muse, and plagues us with an equal noise.

Provoked by these incorrigible fools,
I left declaiming in pedantic schools;
Where, with men-boys, I strove to get renown,
Advising Sylla to a private gown.
But, since the world with writing is possess'd,
I'll versify in spite; and do my best,
To make as much waste paper as the rest.

But why I lift aloft the Satire's rod,
And tread the path which famed Lucilius trod,
Attend the causes which my Muse have led:
When sapless eunuchs mount the marriage-bed,
When mannish Mevia, that two-handed whore,
Astride on horseback hunts the Tuscan boar,
When all our lords are by his wealth outwied,
Whose razor on my callow beard was tried;
When I behold the spawn of conquer'd Nile,
Crispinus, both in birth and manners vile,
Pacing in pomp, with cloak of Tyrian dye,
Changed oft a day for needless luxury;
And finding oft occasion to be fann'd,
Ambitious to produce his lady-hand;
Charged with light summer-rings his fingers sweat,
Unable to support a gem of weight:

Such fulsome objects meeting everywhere,
'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear.

To view so lewd a town, and to refrain,
What hoops of iron could my spleen contain!
When pleading Matho, borne abroad for air,
With his fat paunch fills his new-fashion'd chair,
And after him the wretch in pomp convey'd,
Whose evidence his lord and friend betray'd,
And but the wish'd occasion does attend
From the poor nobles the last spoils to rend,
Whom ev'n spies dread as their superior fiend,
And bribe with presents; or, when presents fail,
They send their prostituted wives for bail:

Ver. 11. — *Mars his grove.*] Some commentators take this grove to be a place where poets were used to repeat their works to the people; but, more probably, both this and Vulcan's grot, or cave, and the rest of the places and names here mentioned, are only meant for the common-places of Homer, in his Iliads and Odysseys.

Ver. 17. *The best and worst.*] That is the best and the worst poets.

Ver. 20. *I left & claiming.*] But he did not forsake his declaratory style. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 22. *Advising Sylla, &c.*] This was one of the themes given in the schools of rhetoricians, in the deliberative kind: Whether Sylla should lay down the supreme power of dictatorship, or still keep it.

Ver. 27. — *Lucilius.*] The first satirist of the Romans, who wrote long before Livius.

Ver. 30. — *Mevia.*] A name put for any impudent or mannish woman.

Ver. 33. *Whose razor, &c.*] Juvenal's barber, now grown wealthy.

Ver. 35. *Crispinus.*] An Egyptian slave; now by his riches transformed into a nobleman.

Ver. 40. *Charged with light summer-rings, &c.*] The Romans were grown so effeminate in Juvenal's time, that they wore light rings in the summer, and heavier in the winter.

Ver. 46. — *Matho.*] A famous lawyer, mentioned in other places by Juvenal and Martial.

When night-performance holds the place of merit,
And brawn and back the next of kin disherit; ⁴⁶
For such good parts are in preferment's way,
The rich old madam never fails to pay
Her legacies, by Nature's standard given,
One gains an ounce, another gains eleven: ⁶⁰
A dear-bought bargain, all things duly weigh'd,
For which their thrice concocted blood is paid:
With looks as wan, as he who in the brake
At unawares has trod upon a snake;
Or play'd at Lyons a declaiming prize, ⁶⁵
For which the vanquish'd rhetorician dies.

What indignation boils within my veins,
When perjured guardians, proud with impious
gains,
Choke up the streets, too narrow for their trains!
Whose wards by want betray'd, to crimes are led ⁷⁰
Too foul to name, too fulsome to be read!
When he who pill'd his province 'scapes the laws,
And keeps his money, though he lost his cause:
His fine begg'd off, contemns his infamy,
Can rise at twelve, and get him drunk ere three: ⁷⁵
Enjoys his exile, and, condemn'd in vain,
Leaves thee, prevailing province, to complain!

Such villanies roused Horace into wrath:
And 'tis more noble to pursue his path,
Than an old tale of Diomed to repeat, ⁸⁰
Or labouring after Hercules to sweat,
Or wandering in the winding maze of Crete;
Or with the winged smith aloft to fly,
Or fluttering perish with his foolish boy.

With what impatience must the Muse behold ⁸⁵
The wife, by her procuring husband sold!
For though the law makes null th' adulterer's
deed

Of lands to her, the cuckold may succeed;
Who his taught eyes up to the ceiling throws,
And sleeps all over but his wakeful nose. ⁹⁰
When he dares hope a colonel's command,
Whose coursers kept, ran out his father's land;
Who, yet a stripling, Nero's chariot drove,
Whirl'd o'er the streets, while his vain master
strove

With boasted art to please his eunuch-love. ⁹⁵
Would it not make a modest author dare
To draw his table-book within the square,
And fill with notes, when lolling at his ease,
Mecænas-like, the happy rogue he sees
Borne by six wearied slaves in open view, ¹⁰⁰
Who cancell'd an old will, and forged a new;
Made wealthy at the small expense of signing
With a wet seal, and a fresh interlining?

The lady, next, requires a lashing line,
Who squeezed a toad into her husband's wine: ¹⁰⁵

Ver. 65. — *at Lyons*] A city in France, where annual sacrifices and games were made in honour of Augustus Cæsar.

Ver. 77. — *prevailing province, &c.*] Here the poet complains that the governors of provinces, being accused for their unjust exactions, though they were condemned at their trials, yet got off by bribery.

Ver. 78. — *Horace*] Who wrote satires: 'tis more noble, says our author, to imitate him in that way, than to write the labours of Hercules, the sufferings of Diomedes and his followers, or the flight of Dædalus who made the labyrinth, and the death of his son Icarus.

Ver. 95. — *his eunuch-love.*] Nero married Spornus, an eunuch; though it may be the poet meant Nero's mistress in man's apparel.

Ver. 99. *Mecænas-like.*] Mecænas is often taxed by Seneca and others for his effeminacy.

So well the fashionable medicine thrives,
That now 'tis practis'd ev'n by country wives:
Poisoning, without regard of fame or fear:
And spotted corps are frequent on the bier.
Would'st thou to honours and preferments climb?
Be bold in mischief, dare some mighty crime, ¹¹¹
Which dungeons, death, or banishment deserves:
For virtue is but drily praised, and sterves.
Great men, to great crimes, owe their plate
emboss'd,

Fair palaces, and furniture of cost; ¹¹⁵
And high commands: a sneaking sin is lost.
Who can behold that rank old lecher keep
His son's corrupted wife, and hope to sleep?
Or that male-harlot, or that unfledged boy,
Eager to sin, before he can enjoy? ¹²⁰
If nature could not, anger would indite
Such woful stuff as I or Shadwell write.

Count from the time, since old Deucalion's boat,
Raised by the flood, did on Parnassus float;
And scarcely mooring on the cliff, implor'd ¹²⁵
An oracle how man might be restored;
When soften'd stones and vital breath ensued,
And virgins naked were by lovers view'd;
What ever since that Golden Age was done,
What human kind desires, and what they shun, ¹³⁰
Rage, passions, pleasures, impotence of will,
Shall thus satirical collection fill.

What age so large a crop of vices bore,
Or when was avarice extended more?
When were the dice with more profusion thrown!
The well-fill'd fob not emptied now alone, ¹³⁵
But gamblers for whole patrimonies play;
The steward brings the deeds which must convey
The lost estate: what more than madness reigns,
When one short sitting many hundreds drains, ¹⁴⁰
And not enough is left him to supply
Board-wages, or a footman's livery!

What age so many summer-seats did see?
Or which of our forefathers fared so well,
As on seven dishes, at a private meal? ¹⁴⁵
Clients of old were feasted; now a poor
Divided dole is dealt at th' outward door;
Which by the hungry rout is soon dispatch'd:
The paltry largess, too, severely watch'd
Ere given; and every face observed with care, ¹⁵⁰
That no intruding guest usurp a share.
Known, you receive: the crier calls aloud
Our old nobility of Trojan blood,
Who gape among the crowd for their precarious
food.

The prætors' and the tribunes' voice is heard; ¹⁵⁵
The freedman jostles, and will be prefer'd;
First come, first served, he cries; and I, in spite
Of your great lordships, will maintain my right.
Though born a slave, though my torn ears are
bored,

'Tis not the birth, tis money makes the lord. ¹⁶⁰

Ver. 118. — *and hope to sleep?*] The meaning is, that the very consideration of such a crime, will hinder a virtuous man from taking his repose.

Ver. 128. Deucalion and Pyrrha, when the world was drowned, escaped to the top of Mount Parnassus; and were commanded to restore mankind by throwing stones over their heads. The stones he threw became men, and those she threw became women.

Ver. 159. — *though my torn ears are bored.*] The ears of all slaves were bored as a mark of their servitude; which custom is still usual in the East Indies, and in other parts, even for whole nations; who bore prodigious holes in their ears, and wear vast weights at them.

The rent of five fair houses I receive;
 What greater honours can the purple give?
 The poor patrician is reduced to keep,
 In melancholy walks, a grazier's sheep:
 Not Pallas nor Licinius had my treasure; 165
 Then let the sacred tribunes wait my leisure.
 Once a poor rogue, 'tis true, I trod the street,
 And trudged to Rome upon my naked feet:
 Gold is the greatest god; though yet we see 170
 No temples raised to Money's majesty,
 No altars fuming to her power divine,
 Such as to Valour, Peace, and Virtue shine,
 And Faith, and Concord: where the stork on high
 Seems to salute her infant progeny:
 Presaging pious love with her auspicious cry. 175

But since our knights and senators account
 To what their sordid begging vails amount,
 Judge what a wretched share the poor attends,
 Whose whole subsistence on those alms depends!
 Their household fire, their raiment, and their food,
 Prevented by those harpies; when a wood 181
 Of litters thick besiege the donor's gate,
 And begging lords and teeming ladies wait
 The promised dole: nay, some have learn'd the trick
 To beg for absent persons, feign them sick, 185
 Close mew'd in their sedans, for fear of air:
 And for their wives produce an empty chair.
 This is my spouse: dispatch her with her share.
 'Tis Galla: Let her ladyship but peep:
 No, Sir, 'tis pity to disturb her sleep. 190

Such fine employments our whole days divide:
 The salutations of the morning-tide
 Call up the sun; those ended, to the hall
 We wait the patron, hear the lawyers bawl;
 Then to the statues; where amidst the race 195
 Of conquering Rome, some Arab shows his face,
 Inscribed with titles, and profanes the place;
 Fit to be piss'd against, and somewhat more.
 The great man, home conducted, shuts his door:
 Old clients, wearied out with fruitless care, 200
 Dismiss their hopes of eating, and despair.
 Though much against the grain forced to retire,
 Buy roots for supper, and provide a fire.

Ver. 163. *The poor patrician*] The poor nobleman.

Ver. 165. — *Pallas nor Licinius*] Pallas, a slave freed by Claudius Cæsar, and raised by his favour to great riches. Licinius was another wealthy freedman, belonging to Augustus.

Ver. 173. — *where the stork on high, &c.*] Perhaps the storks were used to build on the top of the temple dedicated to Concord.

Ver. 181. *Prevented by those harpies*] He calls the Roman knights, &c. harpies, or devourers. In those days the rich made doles intended for the poor; but the great were either so covetous, or so needy, that they came in their litters to demand their shares of the largess; and thereby prevented, and consequently starved the poor.

Ver. 189. *'Tis Galla, &c.*] The meaning is, that noblemen would cause empty litters to be carried to the giver's door, pretending their wives were within them: 'Tis Galla, that is, my wife. The next words, *Let her ladyship but peep*, are of the servant who distributes the dole; let me see her, that I may be sure she is within the litter. The husband answers, She is asleep, and to open the litter would disturb her rest.

Ver. 195. *Then to the statues, &c.*] The poet here tells you how the idle passed their time: in going first to the levees of the great, then to the hall, that is, to the temple of Apollo, to hear the lawyers plead, then to the marketplace of Augustus, where the statues of the famous Romans were set in ranks on pedestals; amongst which statues were seen those of foreigners, such as Alcibiades; who, for no desert, but only on the account of their wealth, or favour, were placed amongst the noblest.

Meantime his lordship lolls within at ease,
 Pampering his paunch with foreign rainties; 205
 Both sea and land are ransack'd for the feast;
 And his own gut the sole invited guest.
 Such plate, such tables, dishes dress'd so well,
 That whole estates are swallow'd at a meal.
 Ev'n parasites are banish'd from his board: 210
 (At once a sordid and luxurious lord.)
 Prodigious throat, for which whole boars are
 dress'd;

(A creature form'd to furnish out a feast.)
 But present punishment pursues his maw,
 When surfeited and swell'd, the peacock raw 215
 He bears into the bath; whence want of breath,
 Repletions, apoplex, intestate death.
 His fate makes table-talk, divulged with scorn,
 And he, a jest, into his grave is borne.

No age can go beyond us; future times 220
 Can add no farther to the present crimes.
 Our sons but the same things can wish and do;
 Vice is at stand, and at the highest flow;
 Then, Satire, spread thy sails; take all the winds
 can blow.

Some may, perhaps, demand what Muse can
 yield 225

Sufficient strength for such a spacious field?
 From whence can be derived so large a vein,
 Bold truths to speak, and spoken to maintain;
 When god-like freedom is so far bereft
 The noble mind, that scarce the name is left? 230

Ere scandalum magnatum was begot,
 No matter if the great forgave or not:
 But if that honest licence now you take,
 If into rogues omnipotent you rake,
 Death is your doom, impaled upon a stake. 235
 Smear'd o'er with wax, and set on fire, to light
 The streets, and make a dreadful blaze by night.
 Shall they, who drench'd three uncles in a
 draught

Of poisonous juice, be then in triumph brought.
 Make lanes among the people where they go, 240
 And, mounted high on downy chariots, throw
 Disdainful glances on the crowd below?
 Be silent, and beware, if such you see;
 'Tis defamation but to say, That's he!

Against bold Turnus the great Trojan arm, 245
 Amidst their strokes the poet gets no harm.
 Achilles may in epic verse be slain,
 And none of all his Myrmidons complain:
 Hylas may drop his pitcher, none will cry;
 Not if he drown himself for company: 250
 But when Lucilius brandishes his pen,
 And flashes in the face of guilty men,
 A cold sweat stands in drops on every part;
 And rage succeeds to tears, revenge to smart.
 Muse, be advised; 'tis past considering time, 255
 When enter'd once the dangerous lists of rhyme:
 Since none the living villains dare implead,
 Arraign them in the persons of the dead.

Ver. 231. *Ere scandalum*] A strange introduction of an offence purely English, followed immediately by a Roman punishment. So also above, verse 189, the mention of her ladyship; and his lordship, verse 204. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 245. *Against bold Turnus, &c.*] A poet may safely write an heroic poem, such as that of Virgil, who describes the duel of Turnus and Æneas; or of Homer, who writes of Achilles and Hector, or the death of Illyas, the Catamite of Hercules; who, stooping for water, dropped his pitcher, and fell into the well after it. But 'tis dangerous to write satire like Lucilius.

THE

THIRD SATIRE OF JUVENAL.

THE ARGUMENT.

The story of this Satire speaks itself. Umbricius, the supposed friend of Juvenal, and himself a poet, is leaving Rome, and retreating to Cumæ. Our author accompanies him out of town. Before they take leave of each other, Umbricius tells his friend the reasons which oblige him to lead a private life, in an obscure place. He complains that an honest man cannot get his bread at Rome. That none but flatterers make their fortunes there. That Greeks and other foreigners raise themselves by those sordid arts which he describes, and against which he bitterly inveighs. He reckons up the several inconveniences which arise from a city life; and the many dangers which attend it. Upbraids the noblemen with covetousness, for not rewarding good poets; and arraigns the government for starving them. The great art of this Satire is particularly shown, in common-places; and drawing in as many vices as could naturally fall into the compass of it.

GRIEVED though I am an ancient friend to lose,
I like the solitary seat he chose:
In quiet Cumæ fixing his repose:
Where, far from noisy Rome secure he lives,
And one more citizen to Sibrî gives:
The road to Bajæ, and that soft recess,
Which all the gods with all their bounty bless.
Though I in Prochyta with greater ease
Could live, than in a street of palaces.
What scene so desert, or so full of flight,
As towering houses tumbling in the night,
And Rome on fire beheld by its own blazing
light?

But worse than all, the clattering tiles; and worse
Than thousand padders, is the poet's curse.
Rogues that in dog-days cannot rhyme forbear.
But without mercy read, and make you hear.

Now while my friend, just ready to depart,
Was packing all his goods in one poor cart,
He stopp'd a little at the Conduit-gate,
Where Numa modell'd once the Roman state,
In mighty councils with his Nymph retired:
Though now the sacred shades and founts are
hired
By banish'd Jews, who their whole wealth can
lay

In a small basket, on a wisp of hay;
Yet such our avarice is, that every tree
Pays for his head; nor sleep itself is free:
Nor place, nor persons, now are sacred held,
From their own grove the Muses are expell'd.
Into this lonely vale our steps we bend,
I and my sullen discontented friend:

Ver. 3. — *Cumæ*] A small city in Campania, near Puteoli, or Puzzolo, as it is called. The habitation of the Cumæan Sibrî.

Ver. 6. — *Bajæ*] Another little town in Campania, near the sea: a pleasant place.

Ver. 8. *Prochyta*] A small barren island belonging to the kingdom of Naples.

Ver. 15 — *in dog-days*] The poets in Juvenal's time used to rehearse their poetry in August.

Ver. 20 — *Numa*] The second king of Rome; who made their laws, and instituted their religion.

Ver. 21. — *Nymph*] *Aegæia*, a nymph, or goddess; with whom Numa feigned to converse by night; and to be instructed by her, in modelling his superstitions.

The marble caves, and aqueducts we view;
But how adulterate now, and different from the
true!

How much more beauteous had the fountain been
Embellish'd with her first created green,
Where crystal streams through living turf had
run,

Contented with an urn of native stone!

Then thus Umbricius (with an angry frown,
And looking back on this degenerate town):
Since noble arts in Rome have no support,
And ragged virtue not a friend at court,
No profit rises from th' ungrateful stage,
My poverty increasing with my age,

'Tis time to give my just disdain a vent,
And, cursing, leave so base a government.
Where Dædalus his borrow'd wings laid by,
To that obscure retreat I choose to fly:
While yet few furrows on my face are seen,
While I walk upright, and old age is green,
And Lachesis has somewhat left to spin.

Now, now 'tis time to quit this cursed place,
And hide from villains my too honest face.
Here let Arturius live, and such as he:
Such manners will with such a town agree.
Knaves who in full assemblies have the knack
Of turning truth to lies, and white to black;
Can hire large houses, and oppress the poor
By farm'd excise; can cleanse the common-shore;
And rent the fishery; can bear the dead;
And teach their eyes dissembled tears to shed,
All this for gain; for gain they sell their very
head.

These fellows (see what fortune's power can do)
Were once the minstrels of a country show:
Follow'd the prizes through each paltry town,
By trumpet-cheeks and bloated faces known.
But now, grown rich, on drunken holidays,
At their own costs exhibit public plays;
Where influenced by the rabble's bloody will,
With thumbs bent back, they popularly kill
From thence return'd, their sordid avarice rakes
In excrements again, and hires the jakes.
Why hire they not the town, not every thing,
Since such as they have fortune in a string?
Who, for her pleasure, can her fools advance;
And toss 'em topmost on the wheel of chance.
What's Rome to me, what business have I there,
I who can neither lie, nor falsely swear?

Ver. 31. *The marble caves*] The preference here given to the beauties of simple nature above those of art, is remarkable.—The lines of the original are worth quoting, as written in a pure taste, and very different from the turgid declamatory style into which Juvenal too frequently falls:

— "Quanto præstantius esset
Numen aque viridi si margine clauderet undas
Heibæ, nec ingenuum violenter marmora tophum."

The translation is quite equal, if not superior. *Violenter* is a strong and emphatical word, but is answered by *adulterate*, as is *ingenuum* by *living turf*, and *contented*. Dr. J. Warton

Ver. 45. *Where Dædalus*, &c.] Meaning at Cumæ.

Ver. 49. — *Lachesis*] One of the three Destinies, whose office was to spin the life of every man: as it was of Clotho to hold the distaff, and Atropos to cut the thread.

Ver. 52. *Arturius*] Any debauched wicked fellow who gains by the times.

Ver. 65. *With thumbs bent back*] In a prize of sword-play, when one of the fencers had the other at his mercy, the vanquished party implored the clemency of the spectators. If they thought he deserved it not, they held up their thumbs, and bent them backwards, in sign of death.

Nor praise my patron's undeserving rhymes,
Nor yet comply with him, nor with his times ;
Unskill'd in schemes by planets to foreshow,
Like canting rascals, how the wars will go . 80
I neither will, nor can prognosticate,
To the young gaping hour, his father's fate :
Nor in the entrails of a toad have pried,
Nor carried bawdy presents to a bride :
For want of these town-virtues, thus, alone, 85
I go conducted on my way by none :
Like a dead member from the body rent ;
Mann'd, and unuseful to the government.

Who now is loved, but he who loves the times,
Conscious of close intrigues, and dipp'd in crimes ;
Labouring with secrets which his bosom burn, 91
Yet never must to public light return ?
They get reward alone who can betray :
For keeping honest counsels none will pay.
He who can Verres, when he will, accuse, 95
The purse of Verres may at pleasure use :
But let not all the gold which Tagus hides,
And pays the sea in tributary tides,
Be bribe sufficient to corrupt thy breast ;
Or violate with dreams thy peaceful rest. 100
Great men with jealous eyes the friend behold,
Whose secrecy they purchase with their gold.

I haste to tell thee, nor shall shame oppose,
What confidants our wealthy Romans chose :
And whom I most abhor . to speak my mind, 105
I hate, in Rome, a Grecian town to find :
To see the scum of Greece transplanted here,
Received like gods, is what I cannot bear.
Nor Greeks alone, but Syrians here abound ;
Obscene Orontes diving under ground, 110
Conveys his wealth to Tyber's hungry shores,
And fattens Italy with foreign whores :
Hither their crooked harps and customs come :
All find receipt in hospitable Rome.
The barbarous harlots crowd the public place . 115
Go, fools, and purchase an unclean embrace :
The painted matre court, and the more painted
face.

Old Romulus and father Mars look down,
Your herdsmen primitive, thy homely clown, 120
Is turn'd a beau in a loose tawdry gown.
His once unkemb'd, and horrid locks, behold
Stillling sweet oil : his neck enchain'd with gold,
Aping the foreigners, in every dress ;
Which, bought at greater cost, becomes him less.
Meantime they wisely leave their native land ; 125
From Sicyon, Samos, and from Alaband,
And Amydon, to Rome they swarm in shoals ;
So sweet and easy is the gain from fools.
Poor refugees at first, they purchase here :
And, soon as denizen'd, they domineer. 130
Grow to the great, a flattering servile rout :
Work themselves mward, and their patrons out.

Ver. 95. — *Verres*.] *Pietor* in Sicily, contemporary with Cicero; by whom accused of oppressing the province, he was condemned: his name is used here for any such vicious man.

Ver. 97. — *Tagus*.] A famous river in Spain, which discharges itself into the ocean near Lisbon in Portugal. It was held of old to be full of golden sands.

Ver. 110. *Orontes*.] The greatest river of Syria. the poet here puts the river for the inhabitants of Syria.

Ver. 111. — *Tyber*.] The river which runs by Rome.

Ver. 118 — *Romulus*.] First king of Rome; son of Mars, as the poets feign: the first Romans were originally herdsmen.

Quick-witted, brazen-faced, with fluent tongues,
Patient of labours, and dissembling wrongs.
Riddle me this, and guess him if you can, 135
Who bears a nation in a single man ?
A cook, a conjurer, a rhetorician,
A painter, pedant, a geometrician,
A dancer on the ropes, and a physician.
All things the hungry Greek exactly knows : 140
And bid him go to heaven, to heaven he goes.
In short, no Seythian, Moor, or Thracian born,
But in that town which arms and arts adorn.
Shall he be placed above me at the board,
In purple clothed, and lolling like a lord ? 145
Shall he before me sign, whom t' other day
A small-craft vessel hither did convey ;
Where stow'd with prunes, and rotten figs, he lay ?
How little is the privilege become
Of being born a citizen of Rome ! 150

The Greeks get all by fulsome flatteries ;
A most peculiar stroke they have at lies.
They make a wit of their insipid friend ;
His blobber-lips, and beetle-brows commend ;
His long crane neck, and narrow shoulders praise ;
You'd think they were describing Hercules. 155
A creaking voice for a clear treble goes,
Though harsher than a cock that treads and crows.
We can as grossly praise ; but, to our grief,
No flattery but from Grecians gains belief. 160
Besides these qualities, we must agree
They mimic better on the stage than we :
The wife, the whore, the slothfuls they play,
In such a free, and such a graceful way,
That we believe a very woman shown, 165
And fancy something underneath the gown.
But not Antiochus, nor Stratocles,
Our ears and ravish'd eyes can only please :
The nation is composed of such as these.
All Greece is one comedian : laugh, and they 170
Return it louder than an ass can bray :
Grieve, and they grieve ; if you weep silently,
There seems a silent echo in their eye ;
They cannot mourn like you, but they can cry.
Call for a fire, their winter clothes they take : 175
Begin but you to shiver, and they shake :
In frost and snow, if you complain of heat,
They rub th' unsweating brow, and swear they sweat.

We live not on the square with such as those,
Such are our betters who can better please ; 180
Who day and night are like a looking-glass ;
Still ready to reflect their patron's face ,
The panegyric hand, and lifted eye,
Prepared for some new piece of flattery.
Ev'n nastiness, occasions will afford ; 185
They praise a belching, or well-pissing lord.
Besides, there's nothing sacred, nothing free
From bold attempts of their rank lechery.
Through the whole family their labours run ;
The daughter is debauch'd, the wife is won : 190
Nor 'scapes the bridegroom, or the blooming son.
If none they find for their lewd purpose fit,
They with the walls and very floors committ.
They search the secrets of the house, and so
Are worshipp'd there, and fear'd for what they know.

Ver. 143. *But in that town, &c.*] He means Athens ; of which *Pallas*, the goddess of arms and arts, was patroness.

Ver. 167. — *Antiochus, nor Stratocles*.] Two famous Grecian mimics, or actors, in the poet's time.

And, now we talk of Grecians, cast a view
On what, in schools, their men of morals do;
A rigid Stoic his own pupil slew:
A friend, against a friend of his own cloth,
Turn'd evidence, and murder'd on his oath. 200
What room is left for Romans in a town
Where Grecians rule, and cloaks control the
gown?
Some Diphilus, or some Protogenes,
Look sharply out, our senators to seize:
Engross 'em wholly, by their native art,
And fear'd no rivals in their bubbles' heart;
One drop of poison in my patron's ear,
One slight suggestion of a senseless fear,
Infused with cunning, serves to ruin me;
Disgraced, and banish'd from the family. 210
In vain forgotten services I boast;
My long dependance in an hour is lost:
Look round the world, what country will appear,
Where friends are left with greater ease than
here?

At Rome (nor think me partial to the poor) 215
All offices of ours are out of door:
In vain we rise, and to their levees run;
My lord himself is up, before, and gone:
The prætor bids his lictors mend their pace,
Lest his colleague outstrip him in the race:
The childless matrons are, long since, awake;
And, for affronts, the tardy visits take.
'Tis frequent, here, to see a free-born son
On the left hand of a rich hireling run:
Because the wealthy rogue can throw away,
For half a brace of bouts, a tribune's pay:
But you, poor sinner, though you love the vice,
And like the whore, demur upon the price:
And, frighted with the wicked sum, forbear
To lend a hand, and help her from the chair. 230

Produce a witness of unblemish'd life,
Holy as Numa, or as Numa's wife,
Or him who bid th' unhallow'd flames retire,
And snatch'd the trembling goddess from the fire. 235
The question is not put, how far extends
His piety, but what he yearly spends;
Quick, to the business; how he lives and eats;
How largely gives; how splendidly he treats:
How many thousand acres feed his sheep;
What are his rents? what servants does he keep?
Th' account is soon cast up; the judges rate 241
Our credit in the court by our estate.
Swear by our gods, or those the Greeks adore,
Thou art as sure forsworn as thou art poor:
The poor must gain their bread by perjury;
And e'en the gods, that other means deny,
In conscience must absolve 'em, when they lie.

Add, that the rich have still a gibe in store;
And will be monstrous witty on the poor:
For the torn surcoat and the tatter'd vest, 250
The wretch and all his wardrobe are a jest:
The greasy gown, sullied with often turning,
Gives a good hint, to say, The man's in mourning:
Or if the shoe be ript, or patches put,
He's wounded! see the plaster on his foot. 255

Ver. 198. *A rigid Stoic, &c.* Publius Egnatius a Stoic, falsely accused Bæreas Soranus; as Tacitus tells us.

Ver. 203. *Diphilus and Protogenes* were Grecians living in Rome.

Ver. 233. *Or him who bid, &c.* Lucius Metellus, the high priest, who, when the temple of Vesta was on fire, saved the Palladium.

Want is the scorn of every wealthy fool;
And wit in rags is turn'd to ridicule.

Pack hence, and from the cover'd benches rise,
(The master of the ceremonies cries)
This is no place for you, whose small estate 260
Is not the value of the settled rate:
The sons of happy punks, the pandar's heir,
Are privileged to sit in triumph there,
To clap the first, and rule the theatre.
Up to the galleries, for shame, retreat;
For, by the Roscian law, the poor can claim no 265
seat.

Who ever brought to his rich daughter's bed
The man that poll'd but twelvepence for his head?
Who ever named a poor man for his heir,
Or call'd him to assist the judging chair? 270
The poor were wise, who, by the rich oppress'd,
Withdrew, and sought a sacred place of rest.
Once they did well, to free themselves from scorn;
But had done better never to return.
Rarely they rise by virtue's aid, who lie 275
Plunged in the depth of helpless poverty.

At Rome 'tis worse; where house-rent by the
year,

And servants' bellies cost so devilish dear;
And tavern-bills run high for hungry cheer.

To drink or eat in earthenware we scorn, 280
Which cheaply country cupboards does adorn:
And coarse blue hoods on holidays are worn.

Some distant parts of Italy are known,
Where none, but only dead men, wear a gown: 285

On theatres of turf, in homely state,
Old plays they act, old feasts they celebrate:

The same rude song returns upon the crowd,
And, by tradition, is for wit allow'd.

The mimic yearly gives the same delights;
And in the mother's arms the clownish infant 290

frights.
Their habits (undistinguish'd by degree)

Are plain, alike; the same simplicity,
Both on the stage, and in the pit, you see.

In his white cloak the magistrate appears,
The country bumpkin the same lively wears. 295

But here, attired beyond our purse we go,
For useless ornament and flaunting show.

We take on trust, in purple robes to shine;
And poor, are yet ambitious to be fine.

This is a common vice, though all things here 300
Are sold, and sold unconscionably dear.

What will you give that Cossus may but view
Your face, and in the crowd distinguish you?

May take your incense like a gracious god,
And answer only with a civil nod? 305

To please our patrons, in this vicious age,
We make our entrance by the favourite page;

Shave his first down, and when he polls his hair,
The consecrated locks to temples bear:

Pay tributary cracknels, which he sells, 310
And, with our offerings, help to raise his vails.

Who fears, in country towns, a house's fall,
Or to be caught betwixt a riven wall?

Ver. 286. *For, by the Roscian law, &c.* Roscius, a tribune, who ordered the distinction of places in public shows, betwixt the noblemen of Rome and the plebeians.

Ver. 284. *Where none, but only dead men, &c.* The meaning is, that men in some parts of Italy never wore a gown (the usual habit of the Romans) till they were buried in one.

Ver. 302. *Cossus* Cossus is here taken for any great man.

But we inhabit a weak city here ;
Which buttresses and props but scarcely bear : 315
And 'tis the village mason's daily calling,
To keep the world's metropolis from falling,
To cleanse the gutters, and the chimks to close,
And, for one night, secure his lord's repose.
At Cumæ we can sleep, quite round the year, 320
Nor falls, nor fires, nor nightly dangers fear ;
While rolling flames from Roman turrets fly,
And the pale citizens for buckets cry.
Thy neighbour has removed his wretched store
(Few hands will rid the lumber of the poor) 325
Thy own third story smokes, while thou, supine,
Art drench'd in fumes of undigested wine.
For if the lowest floors already burn,
Cock-lofts and garrets soon will take the turn.
Where thy tame pigeons next the tiles were bred,
Which, in their nests unsafe, are timely fled. 331

Codrus had but one bed, so short to boot,
That his short wife's short legs hung dangling out ;
His cupboard's head six earthen pitchers graced,
Beneath 'em was his trusty tankard placed. 335
And, to support this noble plate, there lay
A bending Chiron cast from honest clay ;
His few Greek books a rotten chest contain'd ;
Whose covers much of mouldiness complain'd :
Where mice and rats devour'd poetic bread ; 340
And with heroic verse luxuriously were fed.
'Tis true, poor Codrus nothing had to boast,
And yet poor Codrus all that nothing lost.
Begg'd naked through the streets of wealthy
Rome ;

And found not one to feed, or take him home. 345
But if the palace of Arturius burn,
The nobles change their clothes, the matrons
mourn ;

The city prætor will no pleadings hear ;
The very name of fire we hate and fear ;
And look aghast, as if the Gauls were here. 350
While yet it burns, th' officious nation flies,
Some to condole, and some to bring supplies :
One sends him marble to rebuild, and one
White naked statues of the Parian stone,
The work of Polyclete, that seem to live ; 355
While others images for altars give ;
One books and screens, and Pallas to the breast ;
Another bags of gold, and he gives best.
Childless Arturius, vastly rich before,
Thus by his losses multiplies his store : 360
Suspected for accomplice to the fire,
That burnt his palace but to build it higher.

But, could you be content to bid adieu
To the dear play-house, and the players too : 365
Sweet country-seats are purchased everywhere,
With lands and gardens, at less price than here
You hire a darksome doghole by the year.
A small convenience, decently prepared,
A shallow well, that rises in your yard,
That spreads his ensy crystal streams around, 370
And waters all the pretty spot of ground.
There, love the fork, thy garden cultivate,
And give thy frugal friends a Pythagorean treat.

Ver. 330. *Where thy tame pigeons, &c.* The Romans used to breed their tame pigeons in their garrets.

Ver. 332. *Codrus* A learned man, very poor: by his books supposed to be a poet; for, in all probability, the heroic verses here mentioned, which rats and mice devoured, were Homer's works.

Ver. 373. — *a Pythagorean* to eat,] He means herbs, roots, fruits, and salads.

'Tis somewhat to be lord of some small ground,
In which a lizard may, at least, turn round. 375

'Tis frequent, here, for want of sleep to die ;
Which fumes of undigested feasts deny ;
And, with imperfect heat, in languid stomachs fry.
What house secure from noise the poor can keep,
When ev'n the rich can scarce afford to sleep ; 380
So dear it costs to purchase rest in Rome ;
And hence the sources of diseases come.

The drover who his fellow-drover meets
In narrow passages of winding streets : 384
The waggoners, that curse their standing teams,
Would wake ev'n drowsy Drusus from his dreams.
And yet the wealthy will not brook delay,
But sweep above our heads, and make their way ;
In lofty litters borne, and read and write,
Or sleep at ease ; the shutters make it night. 390

Yet still he reaches, first, the public place :
The prease before him stops the client's pace.
The crowd that follows crush his panting sides,
And trip his heels ; he walks not, but he rides.
One elbows him, one jostles in the shoal : 395

A rafter breaks his head, or chairman's pole :
Stocking'd with loads of fat town-dirt he goes ;
And some rogue-soldier, with his hob-nail'd shoes,
Indents his legs behind in bloody rows.

See with what smoke our doles we celebrate : 400
A hundred guests, invited, walk in state :
A hundred hungry slaves, with their Dutch
kitchens wait.

Huge pans the wretches on their head must bear,
Which scarce gigantic Corbulo could rear :

'Yet they must walk upright beneath the load ; 405
Nay, run, and running blow the sparkling flames
abroad.

Their coats, from botching newly brought, are
torn :

Unwieldy timber-trees in waggons borne,
Stretch'd at their length, beyond their carriage he ;
That nod, and threaten run from on high. 410

For, should their axle break, its overthrow
Would crush, and pound to dust, the crowd
below ;

Nor friends their friends, nor sires their sons
could know :

Nor limbs, nor bones, nor carcass would remain :
But a mash'd heap, a hotchpotch of the slain. 415

One vast destruction ; not the soul alone,
But bodies, like the soul, invisible are flown.

Meantime, unknowing of their fellows' fate,
The servants wash the platter, scour the plate,

Then blow the fire, with puffing cheeks, and lay 420
The rubbers, and the bathings-sheets display ;
And oil them first ; and each is handy in his way

But he, for whom this busy care they take,
Poor ghost, is wandering by the Stygian lake :

Affrighted with the ferryman's grin face ; 425
New to the horrors of that uncouth place ;
His passage begs with unregarded prayer,

And wants two farthings to discharge his fare.

Return we to the dangers of the night ;
And, first, behold our houses' dreadful height : 430

Ver. 404. — *gigantic Corbulo* Corbulo was a famous general in Nero's time, who conquered Armenia ; and was afterwards put to death by that tyrant, when he was in Greece, in reward of his great services. His stature was not only tall, above the ordinary size, but he was also proportionably strong.

Ver. 425. — *the ferryman's, &c.* Charon, the ferry man of hell, whose fare was a halfpenny for every soul.

From whence come broken potsherds tumbling
down;

And leaky ware, from garret windows thrown:
Well may they break our heads, that mark the
finty stone.

'Tis want of sense to sup abroad too late;
Unless thou first hast settled thy estate. 435
As many fates attend, thy steps to meet,
As there are waking windows in the street
Bless the good gods, and think thy chance is rare
To have a piss-pot only for thy share.

The scouring drunkard, if he does not fight 440
Before his bed-time, takes no rest that night.
Passing the tedious hours in greater pain
Than stern Achilles, when his friend was slain:
'Tis so ridiculous, but so true withal,
A bully cannot sleep without a brawl: 445
Yet though his youthful blood be fired with
wine,

He wants not wit the danger to decline:
Is cautious to avoid the coach and six,
And on the lackeys will no quarrel fix.
His train of flambeaux, and embroider'd coat, 450
May privilege my lord to walk secure on foot
But me, who must by moon-light homeward bend,
Or lighted only with a candle's end,
Poor me he fights, if that be fighting, where
He only cudgels, and I only bear. 455
He stands, and bids me stand: I must abide;
For he's the stronger, and is drunk be-side

Where did you whet your knife to-night, he
cries,

And shred the leeks that in your stomach rise?
Whose windy beams have stuff'd your guts, and
where 460

Have your black thumbs been dipt in vinegar?
With what companion cobbler have you fed,
On old ox-cheeks, or he goat's tougher head?
What are you dumb! Quick, with your answer,
quick,

Before my foot salutes you with a kick. 465
Say, in what nasty cellar under ground,
Or what church-porch, your roguishness may be
found!

Answer, or answer not, 'tis all the same:
He lays me on, and makes me bear the blame.
Before the bar, for beating him, you come; 470
This is a poor man's liberty in Rome.

You beg his pardon; happy to retreat
With some remaining teeth, to chew your meat.

Nor is this all; for, when retired, you think 475
To sleep securely; when the candles wink,
When every door with iron chains is barr'd,
And roaring taverns are no longer heard;

The ruffian robbers by no justice awed,
And unpaid cut-throat soldiers, are abroad,
Those venal souls, who, harden'd in each ill, 480
To save complaints and prosecution, kill.
Chased from their woods and bogs, the padders
come

To this vast city, as their native home;
To live at ease, and safely skulk in Rome.

The forge in fetters only is employ'd; 485
Our iron mines exhausted and destroy'd
In shackles; for these villains scarce allow
Goads for the teams, and ploughshares for the
plough.

Ver 143 — *εἰς τὴν πόλιν* &c.] The friend of Achilles
was Patroclus, who was slain by Hector

O happy ages of our ancestors,
Beneath the kings and tribunitial powers! 490
One jail did all their criminals restrain;
Which, now, the walls of Rome can scarce contain.

More I could say, more causes I could show
For my departure; but the sun is low: 495
The waggoner grows weary of my stay;
And whips his horses forwards on their way.

Farewell; and when, like me, o'erwhelm'd with
care,

You to your own Aquinum shall repair,
To take a mouthful of sweet country air,
Be mindful of your friend, and send me word, 500
What joys your fountains and cool shades afford:
Then, to assist your satires, I will come;
And add new venom, when you write of Rome.

Ver 490. *Beneath the kings, &c.*] Rome was originally
ruled by kings, till, for the rape of Lucretia, Tarquin the
Proud was expelled. After which it was governed by two
Consuls, yearly chosen; but they oppressing the people,
the commons were mutilated, and procured tribunes to be
created, who defended their privileges, and often opposed
the consular authority, and the senate.

Ver. 498. — *Aquinum*] Aquinum was the birth-place
of Juvenal.

Ver 503. *And add new venom, &c.*] In 1783, London, an imi-
tation of this Satire, was published by Dr. Johnson, which,
from the spirit and strength with which it was written, by
the poignancy of its invectives and correctness of its style,
and very dexterous accommodation of ancient sentiments
and images to modern, was read with universal avidity and
applause, especially by all those persons who were in op-
position to Government, who, at that time, were some of
the ablest men in the kingdom. It instantly excited the
curiosity, and perhaps the jealousy, of Pope; for impartial
criticism must confess, that it is equal to his imitations of
Horace. As his Two Dialogues and London were pub-
lished in the same week, they were frequently compared;
and, as I was informed by a contemporary, many readers
gave the preference to Johnson. It was with difficulty he
could find a purchaser for the copy, till Dodsley, who had
more taste and sense than usually falls to the lot of his
brethren, generously purchased it. It may be amusing to
compare a few passages with the original:

"Give to St. David's one true Briton more."

"Unum civem donare Sibiylle."

"Here malice, rapine, accident conspire,
And now a rabble rages, now a fire
Then ambush here relentless ruffians lay,
And here the fell attorney ploys for prey."

"Detrahitur cordas homines incendia, lapsus
Teetium assiduus, et mille pericula sevæ
Urbis."

The lawyer is most happily added.

"And here a female atheist talks you dead."

This is inferior to the original, for, after enumerating
the variety of evils that infect the city, he adds, with much
pleasantry, as the most grievous and tormenting of all,

"Augusto recitantes mense poetas."

The atheist is too serious an example, and out of place.

"All Marlborough hoarded, and all Villiers spent,"
is improved from

"— Tantū tibi non sit opaci
Omnis arena Tagi."

But nothing can be more happily touched than the cha-
racter of the voluble obsequious Frenchman, ready to un-
dertake all offices, trades, and employments:

"— omnia novit
Græculus esuriens, in calum jusseis ibit."

"All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,
And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes."

He has improved the following lines,

"— optima Sore
Aut Fabrateriæ domus, aut Frusnone paratur."

by a stroke of satire on houses of men of rank forsaken by
their owners.

THE
SIXTH SATIRE OF JUVENAL.

THE ARGUMENT.

This Satire, of almost double length to any of the rest, is a bitter invective against the fair sex. 'Tis, indeed, a common-place, from whence all the moderns have notoriously stolen their sharpest ralleries. In his other Satires, the poet has only glanced on some particular women, and generally scouted the men. But this he reserved wholly for the ladies. How they had offended him, I know not; but upon the whole matter he is not to be excused for imputing to all, the vices of some few amongst them. Neither was it generously done of him, to attack the weakest as well as the fairest part of the creation: neither do I know what moral he could reasonably draw from it. It could not be to avoid the whole sex, if all had been true which he alleges against them: for that had been to put an end to human kind. And to bid us beware of their artifices, is a kind of silent acknowledgment, that they have more wit than men: which turns the satire upon us, and particularly upon the poet; who thereby makes a compliment, where he meant a libel. If he intended only to exercise his wit, he has forfeited his judgment, by making the one half of his readers his mortal enemies, and amongst the men, all the happy lovers, by their own experience, will disprove his accusations. The whole world must allow this to be the wittest of his satires: and truly he had need of all his wits, to maintain, with so much violence, so unjust a charge. I am satisfied he will bring but few over to his opinion: and on that consideration chiefly I ventured to translate him. Though there wanted not another reason, which was, that no one else would undertake it: at least, Sir C. S. who could have done more right to the author, after a long delay, at length absolutely refused so ungrateful an employment; and every one will grant, that the work must have been imperfect and lame, if it had appeared without one of the principal members belonging to it. Let the poet therefore bear the blame of his own invention; and let me satisfy the world, that I am not of his opinion. Whatever his Roman ladies were, the English are free from all his imputations. They will read with wonder and abhorrence the vices of an age, which was the most infamous of any on record. They will bless themselves when they behold those examples, related of Domitian's time: they will give back to antiquity those monstrosities it produced; and believe with reason, that the species of those women is extinguished, or at least that they were never here propagated. I may safely therefore proceed to the argument of a Satire, which is no way relating to them; and first observe, that my author makes their lust the most heroic of their vices; the rest are in a manner but digression. He skims them over; but he dwells on this: when he seems to have taken his last leave of it, on the sudden he returns to it: 'tis one branch of it in Hippia, another in Messalina, but lust is the main body of the tree. He begins with this text in the first line, and takes it up with intermissions to the end of the chapter. Every vice is a leader; but that's a ten. The fillers, or intermediate parts, are their revenge; their contrivances of secret crimes; their arts to hide them; their wit to excuse them; and their impudence to own them, when they can no longer be kept secret. Then the persons to whom they are most addicted, and on whom they commonly bestow the last favours: as stage-players, fiddlers, singing-boys, and fencers. Those who

"Then might'st thou find some elegant retreat,
Some *hurling* senator's *deserted* seat."

But the keenest stroke of Johnson's satire was his application of the following lines:

"ut times ne

Vomer deficiat, ne maris et sarcula desint."

from the quantity of iron used in fetters for felons, which, with a most severe sarcasm on the frequent visits to Ilanover, he renders thus:

"Lest ropes be wanting in the tempting Spring,
To rig another convoy for the King."

Dr. Johnson was frequently urged to give a complete translation of Juvenal; a work for which he seemed peculiarly qualified, from the nature and turn of his genius, and his love of splendid and pompous diction. Dr. J. WATSON.

pass for chaste amongst them, are not really so; but only for their vast dowries, are rather suffered, than loved by their own husbands. That they are imperious, domineering, scolding wives; set up for learning and criticism in poetry, but are false judges. Love to speak Greek, (which was then the fashionable tongue, as French is now with us). That they plead causes at the bar, and play prizes at the bear-garden. That they are gossips and newsmongers: wrangle with their neighbours abroad, and beat their servants at home. That they lie-in for new faces once a month; are sluttish with their husbands in private; and paint and dress in public for their lovers. That they deal with Jews, diviners, and fortune-tellers: learn the arts of miscarrying, and barrenness. Buy children, and produce them for their own. Murder their husband's sons if they stand in their way to his estate, and make their adulterers his heirs. From hence the poet proceeds to show the occasions of all these vices, their original, and how they were introduced in Rome, by peace, wealth, and luxury. In conclusion, if we will take the word of our malicious author, bad women are the general standing rule; and the good, but some few exceptions to it.

IN Saturn's reign, at Nature's early birth,
There was that thing call'd chastity on earth;
When in a narrow cave, their common shade,
The sheep, the shepherds, and their gods were
laid:

When reeds and leaves, and hides of beasts were
spread

By mountain housewives for their homely bed,
And mossy pillows raised, for the rude husbands'
head.

Unlike the niceness of our modern dames,
(Affected nymphs with new-affect'd names!)
The Cynthas and the Lesbias of our years,
Who for a sparrow's death dissolve in tears:
Those first unpolish'd matrons, big and bold,
Gave suck to infants of gigantic mould;
Rough as their savage lords who ranged the
wood,

And fat with acorns belch'd their windy food. 15
For when the world was buxom, fresh and young,
Her sons were undebauch'd, and therefore strong:
And whether born in kindly beds of earth,
Or struggling from the teeming oaks to birth,
Or from what other atoms they begun,

No sires they had, or, if a sire, the sun.
Some thin remains of chastity appear'd
Ev'n under Jove, but Jove without a beard;
Before the servile Greeks had learnt to swear
By heads of kings, while yet the bounteous year
Her common fruits in open plains exposed,

Ere thieves were fear'd, or gardens were inclosed.
At length uneasy Justice upwards flew,
And both the sisters to the stars withdrew;
From that old era whoring did begin, 20
So venerably ancient is the sin.

Adulterers next invade the nuptial state,
And marriage-beds creak'd with a foreign weight;
All other ills did iron times adorn;
But whores and silver in one age were born. 25

Yet thou, they say, for marriage dost provide:
Is this an age to buckle with a bride?
They say thy har the curling art is taught,
The wedding-ring perhaps already bought:

Ver. 1. *In Saturn's reign,*] In the Golden Age.

Ver. 15. *And fat with acorns*] Acorns were the bread of mankind, before corn was found.

Ver. 23. *Ev'n under Jove,*] When Jove had driven his father into banishment, the Silver Age began, according to the poets.

Ver. 28. — *uneasy Justice, &c.*] The poet makes Justice and Chastity sisters, and says that they fled to heaven together; and left earth for ever.

A sober man like thee to change his life !
 What fury would possess thee with a wife ?
 Art thou of every other death bereft,
 No knife, no ratsbane, no kind halter left ?
 (For every noose compared to hers is cheap)
 In there no city-bridge from whence to leap ?
 Would'st thou become her drudge, who dost
 enjoy

A better sort of bedfellow, thy boy ?
 He keeps thee not awake with nightly brawls,
 Nor with a begg'd reward thy pleasure palls ;
 Nor with insatiate heavings calls for more,
 When all thy spirits were drain'd out before.
 But still Ursidius courts the marriage-bait,
 Longs for a son to settle his estate,
 And takes no gifts, though every gaping heir
 Would gladly grease the rich old bachelor.
 What revolution can appear so strange,
 As such a lecher such a life to change ?
 A rank, notorious whoremaster, to choose
 To thrust his neck into the marriage-noose !
 He who so often in a dreadful fright
 Had in a coffer 'scaped the jealous cuckold's
 sight,

That he, to wedlock dotingly betray'd,
 Should hope in this lewd town to find a maid !
 The man's grown mad : to ease his frantic pain,
 Run for the surgeon ; breathe the middle vein :
 But let a heifer with gilt horns be led
 To Juno, regent of the marriage-bed,
 And let him every deity adore,
 If his new bride prove not an arrant whore
 In head and tail, and every other pore.
 On Ceres' feast, restrain'd from their delight,
 Few matrons, there, but curse the tedious night :
 Few whom their fathers dare salute, such lust
 Their kisses have, and come with such a gust.
 With ivy now adorn thy doors, and wed ;
 Such is thy bride, and such thy genial bed.
 Think'st thou one man is for one woman meant ?
 She, sooner, with one eye would be content.

And yet, 'tis noised, a maid did once appear
 In some small village, though fame says not
 where :

'Tis possible ; but sure no man she found ;
 'Twas desert, all, about her father's ground :
 And yet some lustful god might there make bold ;
 Are Jove and Mars grown impotent and old ?
 Many a fair nymph has in a cave been spread,
 And much good love without a feather-bed.
 Whither would'st thou to choose a wife resort,
 The Park, the Mall, the Play-house, or the Court ?
 Which way soever thy adventures fall,
 Secure alike of chastity in all.

One sees a dancing-master capering high,
 And raves, and pisses, with pure ecstasy :
 Another does, with all his motions, move,
 And gapes, and grins, as in the feat of love ;
 A third is charm'd with the new opera notes,
 Admires the song, but on the singer notes :
 The country lady in the box appears,
 Softly she warbles over all she hears ;
 And sucks in passion, both at eyes and ears.

The rest (when now the long vacation's come,
 The noisy hall and theatres grown dumb)

Ver. 71. *On Ceres' feast.*] When the Roman women were forbidden to bed with their husbands.

Ver. 84. *Are Jove and Mars*] Of whom more fornicating stories are told than any of the other gods.

Their memories to refresh, and cheer their hearts,
 In borrow'd breeches act the players' parts.

The poor, that scarce have wherewithal to eat,
 Will pinch, to make the singing-boy a treat.

The rich, to buy him, will refuse no price ;
 And stretch his quail-pipe, till they crack his voice.

Tragedians, acting love, for lust are sought :
 (Though but the parrots of a poet's thought)

The pleading lawyer, though for counsel used,
 In chamber-practice often is refused.

Still thou wilt have a wife, and father heirs ;
 (The product of concurring theatres.)

Perhaps a fencer did thy brows adorn,
 And a young sword-man to thy lands is born.

Thus Hippia loathed her old patrician lord,
 And left him for a brother of the sword :

To wondering Pharos with her love she fled,
 To show one monster more than Afric bred :

Forgetting monster and husband, left behind,
 Ev'n children too ; she sails before the wind ;

False to 'em all, but constant to her kind.
 But, stranger yet, and harder to conceive,

She could the play-house and the players leave.
 Born of rich parentage, and nicely bred,

She lodged on down, and in a damask bed ;
 Yet daring now the dangers of the deep,

On a lard mattress is content to sleep.
 Ere this, 'tis true, she did her fame expose :

But that, great ladies with great ease can lose,
 The tender nymph could the rude ocean bear :

So much her lust was stronger than her fear.
 But, had some honest cause her passage press'd,

The smallest hardship had disturb'd her breast :
 Each inconvenience makes their virtue cold ;

But womankind, in ill, is ever bold.
 Were she to follow her own road to sea,

What doubts or scruples would she raise to stay ?
 Her stomach sick, and her head giddy grows ;

The tar and pitch are nauseous to her nose.
 But in love's voyage nothing can offend ;

Women are never sea-sick with a friend.
 Amidst the crew, she walks upon the board ;

She eats, she drinks, she handles every cord :
 And if she spews, 'tis thinking of her lord.

Now ask, for whom her friends and fame she
 lost !

What youth, what beauty could th' adulterer boast ?
 What was the face, for which she could sustain

To be call'd mistress to so base a man ?
 The gallant, of his days had known the best :

Deep scars were seen indented on his breast ;
 And all his batter'd limbs required their needful

rest.

A promontory wen, with grisly grace,
 Stood high, upon the handle of his face :

His blear eyes ran in gutters to his chin :
 His beard was stubble, and his cheeks were thin.

But 'twas his fencing did her fancy move :
 'Tis arms and blood and cruelty they love.

But should he quit his trade, and sheathe his sword,
 Her lover would begin to be her lord.

This was a private crime ; but you shall hear
 What fruits the sacred brows of monarchs bear :

The good old sluggard but begun to snore,
 When from his side up rose th' imperial whore :

Ver. 118. *Th' wondering Pharos*] She fled to Egypt, which wondered at the enormity of her crime.

Ver. 163. *He* tells the famous story of Messalina, wife to the emperor Claudius.

She who prefer'd the pleasures of the night 165
To pomps, that are but impotent delight;
Strode from the palace, with an eager pace,
To cope with a more masculine embrace;
Muffled she march'd, like Juno in a cloud,
Of all her train but one poor wench allow'd, 170
One whom in secret service she could trust;
The rival and companion of her lust.
To the known brothel-house she takes her way;
And for a nasty room gives double pay:
That room in which the rankest harlot lay. 175
Prepared for fight, expectingly she lies,
With heaving breasts, and with desiring eyes.
Still as one drops, another takes his place,
And baffled still succeeds to like disgrace.
At length, when friendly darkness is expired, 180
And every strumpet from her cell retired,
She lags behind, and lingering at the gate,
With a repining sigh submits to fate:
All filth without, and all a fire within,
Tired with the toil, unsated with the sin, 185
Old Caesar's bed the modest matron seeks;
The steam of lamps still hanging on her cheeks,
In ropy smut: thus foul, and thus bedight,
She brings him back the product of the night.

Now should I sing what poisons they provide;
With all their trumpery of charms beside; 191
And all their arts of *delecta*: it would be known
Lust is the smallest sin the sex can own.
Cæsinia still, they say, is guiltless found
Of every vice, by her own lord renown'd: 195
And well she may, she brought ten thousand
pound.

She brought him wherewithal to be call'd
chaste;

His tongue is tied in golden fetters fast:
He sighs, adores, and courts her every hour;
Who would not do as much for such a dower? 200
She writes love-letters to the youth in grace;
Nay, tips the wink before the cuckold's face;
And might do more; her portion makes it
good;

Wealth has the privilege of widowhood.

These truths with his example you disprove, 205
Who with his wife is monstrously in love:
But know him better; for I heard him swear,
'Tis not that she's his wife, but that she's fair.
Let her but have three wrinkles in her face,
Let her eyes lessen, and her skin unbrace, 210
Soon you will hear the saucy steward say,
Pack up with all your trinkets, and away;
You grow offensive both at bed and board;
Your betters must be had to please my lord.

Meantime she's absolute upon the throne: 215
And, knowing time is precious, loses none:
She must have flocks of sheep, with wool more
fine

Than silk, and vineyards of the noblest wine;
Whole droves of pages for her train she craves:
And sweeps the prisons for attending slaves. 220
In short, whatever in her eyes can come,
Or others have abroad, she wants at home.
When winter shuts the seas, and fleecy snows
Make houses white, she to the merchant goes;
Rich crystals of the rock she takes up there, 225
Huge agate vases, and old China ware:

Ver. 204. *Wealth has the privilege, &c.* His meaning is, that a wife who brings a large dowry may do what she pleases, and has all the privileges of a widow.

Then *Berenice's* ring her finger proves,
More precious made by her incestuous loves:
And infamously dear: a brother's bribe,
Ev'n God's anointed, and of Judah's tribe. 231
Where barefoot they approach the sacred shrine,
And think it only sin to feed on swine.

But is none worthy to be made a wife
In all this town? Suppose her free from strife,
Rich, fair, and fruitful, of unblemish'd life; 235
Chaste as the Sabines, whose prevailing charms
Dismiss'd their husbands, and their brothers'
arms:

Grant her, besides, of noble blood, that ran
In ancient veins ere heraldry began:
Suppose all these, and take a poet's word, 240
A black swan is not half so rare a bird.
A wife, so hung with virtues, such a freight,
What mortal shoulders could support the weight!
Some country-girl, scarce to a curtesy bred,
Would I much rather than *Cornelia* wed: 245
If supercilious, haughty, proud, and vain,
She brought her father's triumphs in her train.
Away with all your Carthaginian state,
Let vanquish'd Hannibal without doors wait,

Too burly and too big to pass my narrow gate. 250
O *Pæan*, cries *Amphion*, bend thy bow
Against my wife, and let my children go:
But sullen *Pæan* shoots at sons and mothers too.

His *Niobe* and all his boys he lost;
Ev'n her who did her numerous offspring boast, 255
As fair and fruitful as the sow that carried
The thirty pigs at one large litter farrow'd.
What beauty or what chastity can bear
So great a price? if stately and severe,
She still insults, and you must still adore; 260
Grant that the honey's much, the gall is more.
Upbraided with the virtues she displays,
Seven hours in twelve, you loathe the wife you
praise:

Some faults, though small, intolerable grow;
For what so nauseous and affected too, 265
As those that think they due perfection want,
Who have not learn'd to hush the Grecian cant?
In Greece, their whole accomplishments they seek:
Their fashion, breeding, language, must be Greek:
But raw, in all that does to Rome belong, 270
They scorn to cultivate their mother tongue.
In Greek they flatter, all their fears they speak,
Tell all their secrets; nay, they scold in Greek:
Ev'n in the feat of love, they use that tongue.

Such affectations may become the young; 275
But thou, old hag, of threescore years and three,
Is showing of thy parts in Greek for thee?
Ζαή καὶ ψυχή! All those tender words
The momentary trembling bliss affords,

Ver. 227. — *Berenice's ring*. A ring of great price, which Herod Agrippa gave to his sister *Berenice*. He was King of the Jews, but tributary to the Romans.

Ver. 245. — *Cornelia*. Mother to the *Gracchi*, of the family of the *Corneii*; from whence *Scipio* the African was descended, who triumphed over Hannibal.

Ver. 251. *O Pæan, &c.* He alludes to the known fable of *Niobe* in *Ovid*. *Amphion* was her husband: *Pæan* is *Apollo*, who with his arrows killed her children, because she boasted that she was more fruitful than *Latona*, *Apollo's* mother.

Ver. 257. *The thirty pigs, &c.* He alludes to the white sow, in *Virgil*, who farrowed thirty pigs.

Ver. 267. — *the Grecian cant*? Women then learnt Greek, as ours speak French.

The kind soft murmurs of the private sheets, 280
Are bawdy, while thou speakest in public streets.
Those words have fingers; and their force is such,
They raise the dead, and mount him with a touch.
But all provocatives from thee are vain :

No blandishment the slacken'd nerve can strain. 285
If then thy lawful spouse thou canst not love,
What reason should thy mind to marriage move ?
Why all the charges of the nuptial feast,
Wine and desserts, and sweet-meats to digest ?
Th' endowing gold that buys the dear delight, 290
Given for their first and only happy night !

If thou art thus uxoriously inclined,
To bear thy bondage with a willing mind,
Prepare thy neck, and put it in the yoke :
But for no mercy from thy woman look. 295
For though, perhaps, she loves with equal fires,
To absolute dominion she aspires ;

Jays in the spoils, and triumphs o'er thy purse ;
The better husband makes the wife the worse.
Nothing is thine to give, or sell, or buy, 300
All offices of ancient friendship die ;
Nor hast thou leave to make a legacy.
By thy imperious wife thou art bereft
A privilege, to pimps and pandars left ;
Thy testament's her will ; where she prefers 305
Her ruffians, drudges, and adulterers,
Adopting all thy rivals for thy heirs.

Go drag that slave to death - Your reason, why
Should the poor innocent be doom'd to die ?

What proofs ? For, when man's life is in debate,
The judge can ne'er too long deliberate. 311
Call'st thou that slave a man ? the wife replies :
Proved, or unproved, the crime, the villain dies.
I have the sovereign power to save or kill ;
And give no other reason but my will. 315

Thus the she-tyrant reigns, till pleased with
change,

Her wild affections to new empires range :
Another subject-husband she desires :
Divorced from him, she to the first retires,
While the last wedding-feast is scarcely o'er, 320
And garlands hang yet green upon the door.
So still the reck'ning rises ; and appears,
In total sum, eight husbands in five years.
The title for a tomb-stone might be fit ;
But that it would too commonly be writ. 325

Her mother living, hope no quiet day ;
She sharpens her, instructs her how to flay
Her husband bare, and then divides the prey.
She takes love-letters, with a crafty smile,
And, in her daughter's answer, mends the style.
In vain the husband sets his watchful spies ; 331
She cheats their cunning, or she bribes their eyes
The doctor's call'd ; the daughter, taught the trick,
Pretends to faint ; and in full health is sick.
The panting stallion, at the closet-door, 335
Hears the consult, and wishes it were o'er.
Canst thou, in reason, hope, a bawd so known
Should teach her other manners than her own ?
Her interest is in all th' advice she gives :
'Tis on the daughter's rents the mother lives. 340

Ver. 303. All the Romans, even the most inferior, and most infamous sort of them, had the power of making wills.
Ver. 308. *Go drag that slave, &c.* These are the words of the wife.

Ibid. ——— *Your reason, why, &c.* The answer of the husband.

Ver. 312. *Call'st thou that slave a man ?* The wife again.

No cause is tried at the litigious bar,
But women plaintiffs or defendants are,
They form the process, all the briefs they write ;
The topics furnish and the pleas indite ;
And teach the toothless lawyer how to bite. 345

They turn viragos too ; the wrestler's toil
They try, and smear their naked lumbs with oil :
Against the post their wicker shields they crush,
Flourish the sword, and at the plastron push.
Of every exercise the mannish crew 350
Fulfil the parts, and oft excel us too ;
Prepared not only in feign'd fights t' engage,
But rout the gladiators on the stage.

What sense of shame in such a braust can lie,
Inured to arms, and her own sex to fly ? 355
Yet to be wholly man she would disclaim ;
To quit her tenfold pleasure at the game,
For frothy praises and an empty name.

Oh, what a decent sight 'tis to behold
All thy wife's magazine by auction sold ! 360
The belt, the crested plume, the several suits
Of armour, and the Spanish leather boots !
Yet these are they, that cannot bear the heat
Of figured silks, and under sarcenet sweat.

Behold the strutting Amazonian whore, 365
She stands in guard with her right foot before :
Her coats tuck'd up ; and all her motions just,
She stamps and then cries, hah ! at every thrust :
But laugh to see her, tired with many a bout,
Call for the pot, and like a man piss out. 370

The ghosts of ancient Romans, should they rise,
Would grin to see their daughters play a prize.

Besides, what endless brawls by wives are bred :
The curtain-lecture makes a mournful bed.
Then, when she has thee sure within the sheets, 375
Her cry begins, and the whole day repeats.

Conscious of crimes herself, she teases first,
Thy servants are accused ; thy whore is cursed ;
She acts the jealous, and at will she cries ;
For women's tears are but the sweat of eyes. 380
Poor cuckold-fool, thou think'st that love sincere,
And suck't between her lips the falling tear :
But search her cabinet, and thou shalt find
Each teller there with love-opistles lined.
Suppose her taken in a close embrace, 385
This you would think so manifest a case,
No rhetoric could defend, no impudence out-
face :

And yet ev'n then she cries the marriage-vow
A mental reservation must allow ;
And there's a silent bargain still implied, 390
The parties should be pleased on either side :
And both may for their private needs provide.
Though men yourselves, and women us you call,
Yet *homo* is a common name for all.
There's nothing bolder than a woman caught, 395
Guilt gives them courage to maintain their fault.

You ask from whence proceed these monstrous
crimes ?

Once poor, and therefore chaste, in former times,
Our matrons were : no luxury found room
In low-roof'd houses, and bare walls of loan ; 400
Their hands with labour harden'd while 'twas light,
And frugal sleep supplied the quiet night,
While, pinch'd with want, their hunger held 'em
straight ;

When Hannibal was hovering at the gate :

Ver. 404. ——— *Hannibal*]. A famous Carthaginian captain, who was upon the point of conquering the Romans.

But wanton now, and lolling at our ease,
We suffer all th' inveterate ills of peace,
And wasteful riot; whose destructive charms
Revenge the vanquish'd world, of our victorious
arms.

No crime, no lustful postures are unknown;
Since Poverty, our guardian god, is gone:
Pride, laziness, and all luxurious arts,
Pour like a deluge in, from foreign parts:
Since gold obscene and silver found the way,
Strange fashions with strange bullion to convey.
And our plain simple manners to betray.

What care our drunken dames to whom they
spread?

Wine no distinction makes of tail or head;
Who, lewdly dancing at a midnight ball,
For hot eringoes and fat oysters call:
Full brimmers to their fuddled noses thrust;
Brimmers, the last provocatives of lust.
When vapours to their swimming brains advance,
And double tapers on the tables dance.

Now think what bawdy dialogues they have.
What Tullia talks to her confiding slave,
At Modesty's old statue, when by night
They make a stand, and from their litters light:
The good man early to the levee goes,
And treads the nasty paddle of his spouse.

The secrets of the goddess named the Good,
Are ev'n by boys and barbers understood:
Where the rank matrons, dancing to the pipe,
Gig with their bums, and are for action ripe;
With music raised, they spread abroad their hair;
And toss their heads like an enamour'd mare:
Laufella lays her garland by, and proves
The mimic lechery of manly loves.
Rank'd with the lady the cheap sinner lies;
For here not blood, but virtue, gives the prize.
Nothing is feign'd in this venereal strife;
'Tis downright lust, and acted to the life.

So full, so fierce, so vigorous, and so strong,
That, looking on, would make old Nestor young.
Impatient of delay, a general sound,
An universal groan of lust goes round;
For then, and only then, the sex sincere is found.
Now is the time of action; Now begin,
They cry, and let the lusty lovers in.
The whoresons are asleep; then bring the slaves,
And watermen, a race of strong-back'd knaves.

I wish, at least, our sacred rites were free
From those pollutions of obscenity:
But 'tis well known what singer, how disguised,
A lewd audacious action enterprised:
Into the fur, with women mix'd, he went,
Arm'd with a huge two-handed instrument;
A grateful present to those holy quires,
Where the mouse, guilty of his sex, retires:
And ev'n male-pictures modestly are veil'd;
Yet no profineness on that age prevail'd;
No scoffers at religious rites are found;
Though now, at every altar they abound.

I hear your cautious counsel, you would say,
Keep close your women under lock and key:

Ver. 430. *The Good goddess*] At whose feasts no men
were to be present.

Ver. 443. — *Nestor*] Who lived three hundred years.

Ver. 453. — *what singer, &c.*] He alludes to the
story of P. Clodius, who, disguised in the habit of a
singing woman, went into the house of Caesar, where the
feast of the Good goddess was celebrated, to find an oppor-
tunity with Caesar's wife Pompeia.

But who shall keep those keepers? Women,
nursed

In craft: begin with those, and bribe 'em first
The sex is turn'd all whore, they love the game:
And mistresses and maids are both the same.

The poor Ogulnia, on the poet's day,
Will borrow clothes, and chair, to see the play:
She, who before had mortgaged her estate,
And pawn'd the last remaining piece of plate.
Some are reduced their utmost shifts to try:
But women have no shame of poverty.
They live beyond their stint; as if their store,
The more exhausted, would increase the more:
Some men, instructed by the labouring ant,
Provide against th' extremities of want;
But womankind, that never knows a mean,
Down to the dregs their sinking fortune drain:
Hourly they give, and spend, and waste, and
wear,

And think no pleasure can be bought too dear.

There are, who in soft eunuchs place their bliss.
To shun the scrubbing of a bearded kiss;
And 'scape abortion; but their solid joy
Is when the page, already past a boy,
Is capon'd late; and to the gelder shown,
With his two pounders to perfection grown.
When all the navel-string could give, appears;
All but the beard, and that's the barber's loss,
not theirs.

Seen from afar, and famous for his ware,
He struts into the bath, among the fair:
Th' admiring crew to their devotions fall;
And, kneeling, on their new Priapus call.
Kerv'd for his lady's use, and with her lies;
And let him drudge for her, if thou art wise,
Rather than trust him with thy fav'rite boy;
He proffers death, in proffering to enjoy.

If songs they love, the singer's voice they force
Beyond his compass till his quail-pipe's hoarse;
His lute and lyre with their embrace is worn;
With knots they trim it, and with gems adorn:
Run over all the strings, and kiss the case;
And make love to it, in the master's place.

A certain lady once of high degree,
To Janus vow'd and Vesta's deity,
That Pollio might, in singing, win the prize;
Pollio the dear, the darling of her eyes:
She pray'd, and bribed; what could she more
have done

For a sick husband or an only son?
With her face veil'd, and heaving up her hands,
The shameless suppliant at the altar stands;
The forms of prayer she solemnly pursues;
And, pale with fear, the offer'd entrails views.
Answer, ye Powers: for, if you heard her vow,
Your godships, sure, had little else to do.

This is not all; for actors they implore:
An impudence not known to heaven before.
Th' Aruspex, tired with this religious rout,
Is forced to stand so long, he gets the gout.

Ver. 456. He taxes women with their loving eunuchs,
who can get no children; but adds, that they only love
such eunuchs as are gelded when they are already at the
age of manhood.

Ver. 494. — *Priapus*] The god of lust.

Ver. 507. — *Pollio*] A famous singing boy.

Ver. 517. That such an actor whom they love might
obtain the prize.

Ver. 519 *Th' Aruspex*,] He who inspects the entrails
of the sacrifice, and, from thence, foretells the successor.

But suffer not thy wife abroad to roam ;
If she loves singing, let her sing at home ;
Not strut in streets, with Amazonian pace ;
For that's to cuckold thee before thy face.

Their endless itch of news comes next in play ;

They vent their own, and hear what others say.
Know what in Thrace, or what in France is done ;
Th' intrigues betwixt the stepdame, and the son.
Tell who loves who, what favours some partake ;
And who is jilted for another's sake.

What pregnant widow in what month was made ;
How oft she did, and doing, what she said.
She, first, beholds the raging comet rise :
Knows whom it threatens, and what lands de-

stroys.
Still for the newest news she lies in wait ;
And takes reports just entering at the gate.
Wrecks, floods, and fires : whatever she can meet,
She spreads ; and is the fame of every street.

This is a grievance ; but the next is worse ;
A very judgment, and her neighbours' curse :
For, if their barking dog disturb her ease,
No prayer can bind her, no excuse appease.
Th' unmanner'd malefactor is arraign'd ;
But first the master, who the cur maintain'd,
Must feel the scourge ; by night she leaves her

bed,
By night her bathing equipage is led,
That marching armies a less noise create ;
She moves in tumult, and she sweats in state.
Meanwhile, her guests their appetites must keep ;
Some gape for hunger, and some gasp for sleep.
At length she comes, all flush'd ; but ere she

sup,
Swallows a swinging preparation-cup ;
And then to clear her stomach spews it up.
The deluge-vomit all the floor o'erflows,
And the sour savour nauseates every nose.
She drinks again ; again she spews a lake ;
Her wretched husband sees, and dares not speak ;
But mutters many a curse against his wife ;
And damns himself for choosing such a life.

But of all plagues, the greatest is untold :
The book-learn'd wife in Greek and Latin bold.
The critic-dame, who at her table sits ;
Homer and Virgil quotes, and weighs their wits ;
And pities Dido's agonizing fits.

She has so far th' ascendant of the board,
The prating pedant puts not in one word :
The man of law is non-pluss'd, in his suit ;
Nay, every other female tongue is mute.
Hammers, and beating anvils, you would swear,
And Vulcan with his whole militia there.
Tabors and trumpets cease ; for she alone
Is able to redeem the labouring Moon.
E'en wit's a burthen, when it talks too long :
But she, who has no continence of tongue,
Should walk in breeches, and should wear a

beard,
And mix among the philosophic herd.
Oh, what a midnight curse has he, whose side
Is pester'd with a mood and figure bride !

Ver. 570. — *Vulcan*] The god of smiths.*

Ver. 571. *Tabors and trumpets, &c.*] The ancients thought that with such sounds they could bring the moon out of her eclipse.

Ver. 578. — *a mood and figure bride*] A woman who has learned logic.

Let mine, ye gods ! (if such must be my fate)
No logic learn, nor history translate ;
But rather be a quiet, humble fool :
I hate a wife to whom I go to school.
Who climbs the grammar-tree, distinctly knows
Where noun, and verb, and participle grows ;
Corrects her country neighbour ; and, a-bed,
For breaking Priscian's, breaks her husband's

head.
The gaudy gossip, when she's set agog,
In jewels dress'd, and at each ear a bob,
Goes flaunting out, and, in her trim of pride,
Thinks all she says or does is justified.
When poor, she's scarce a tolerable evil ;
But rich, and fine, a wife's a very devil.

She duly, once a month, renews her face ;
Meantime, it lies in daub, and hid in grease ;
Those are the husband's nights ; she craves her

due,
He takes fat kisses, and is stuck in glue.
But, to the loved adulterer when she steers,
Fresh from the bath, in brightness she appears :
For him the rich Arabia sweats her gum ;
And precious oils from distant Indies come :
How haggardly soe'er she looks at home.
Th' eclipse then vanishes ; and all her face
Is open'd, and restored to every grace,
The crust removed, her cheeks as smooth as silk,
Are polish'd with a wash of asses' milk ;
And should she to the farthest North be sent,
A train of these attend her banishment.
But hadst thou seen her plaster'd up before,
'Twas so unlike a face, it seem'd a sore.

'Tis worth our while to know what all the day
They do, and how they pass their time away ;
For, if o'er-night the husband has been slack,
Or counterfeited sleep, and turn'd his back,
Next day, be sure, the servants go to wrack.
The chambermaid and dresser are call'd whores ;
The page is stripp'd, and beaten out of doors.
The whole house suffers for the master's crime :
And he himself is warn'd to wake another time.

She hires tormentors by the year ; she treats
Her visitors, and talks : but still she beats ;
Beats while she paints her face, surveys her gown,
Casts up the day's account, and still beats on :
Tired out, at length, with an outrageous tone,
She bids 'em in the devil's name be gone.
Compared with such a proud, insulting dame,
Sicilian tyrants may renounce their name.

For, if she hastes abroad to take the air,
Or goes to Isis' church (the bawdy-house of prayer)

She hurries all her handmaids to the task ;
Her head, alone, will twenty dressers ask.
Psecas, the chief, with breast and shoulders bare,
Trembling, considers every sacred hair ;
If any straggler from his rank be found,
A pinch must, for the mortal sin, compound.
Psecas is not in fault ; but, in the glass,
The dame's offended at her own ill face.
The maid is banish'd ; and another girl
More dexterous, manages the comb and curl ;

Ver. 586. A woman-grammarian, who corrects her husband for speaking false Latin, which is called breaking Priscian's head.

Ver. 607. *A train of these*] That is, of she-asses.

Ver. 626. *Sicilian tyrants*] Are grown to a proverb in Latin, for their cruelty.

The rest are summon'd on a point so nice;
And first, the grave old woman gives advice. 610
The next is call'd, and so the turn goes round,
As each for age, or wisdom, is renown'd:
Such counsel, such deliberate care they take,
As if her life and honour lay at stake:
With curls on curls, they build her head before, 645
And mount it with a formidable tower.
A giantess she seems; but look behind,
And then she dwindles to the pigmy kind.
Duck-legg'd, short-waisted, such a dwarf she is,
That she must rise on tiptoes for a kiss. 650
Meanwhile, her husband's whole estate is spent;
He may go bare, while she receives his rent.
She minds him not; she lives not as a wife,
But like a bawling neighbour, full of strife:
Near him, in this alone, that she extends 655
Her hate to all his servants and his friends.

Bellona's priests, an eunuch at their head,
About the streets a mad procession lead;
The venerable gelding, large, and high,
O'erlooks the herd of his inferior fry. 660
His awkward clergymen about him prance;
And beat the timbrels to their mystic dance.
Guiltless of testicles, they tear their throats,
And squeak, in treble, their unmanly notes.
Meanwhile, his cheeks the mitred prophet swells, 665
And dire presages of the year foretels.
Unless with eggs (his priestly hire) they haste
To expiate, and avert th' autumnal blast.
And add beside a murrey-colour'd vest,
Which, in their places, may receive the pest: 670
And, thrown into the flood, their crimes may
bear,

To purge th' unlucky omens of the year.
Th' astonish'd matrons pay, before the rest;
That sex is still obnoxious to the priest.

Through ice they beat, and plunge into the
stream, 675

If so the god has warn'd 'em in a dream.
Weak in their limbs, but in devotion strong,
On their bare hands and feet they crawl along
A whole field's length, the laughter of the throng.
Should Io (Io's priest I mean) command 680
A pilgrimage to Merce's burning sand,
Through deserts they would seek the secret
spring;

And holy water, for lustration, bring.
How can they pay their priests too much respect,
Who trade with heaven, and earthly gains neg-
lect! 685

With him, domestic gods discourse by night:
By day, attended by his quiver in white,
The bald-pate tribe runs madding through the
street,

And smile to see with how much ease they cheat.
The ghostly sire forgives the wife's delights, 690
Who sins, through frailty, on forbidden nights;
And tempts her husband in the holy time,
When carnal pleasure is a mortal crime.
The sweating image shakes his head, but he
With mumbled prayers atones the deity. 695

Ver. 645. This dressing up the head so high, which we call a tower, was an ancient way amongst the Romans.

Ver. 657. *Bellona's priests.* Were a sort of fortune-tellers; and the high-priest an eunuch.

Ver. 669. *And add beside, &c.* A garment was given to the priest, which he threw into the river; and that, they thought, bore all the sins of the people, which were drowned with it.

The pious priesthood the fat goose receive,
And they once bribed, the godhead must forgive.
No sooner these remove, but full of fear,
A gipsy Jewess whispers in your ear,
And begs an alms: an high-priest's daughter 701
she,

Versed in their Talmud, and divinity,
And prophecies beneath a shady tree.
Her goods a basket, and old hay her bed,
She strolls, and, telling fortunes, gains her bread:
Farthings, and some small monies, are her fees;
Yet she interprets all your dreams for these: 706
Foretels th' estate, when the rich uncle dies,
And sees a sweetheart in the sacrifice.

Such toys a pigeon's entrails can disclose:
Which yet th' Armenian augur far outgoes: 710
In dogs, a victim more obscene, he rakes,
And murder'd infants for inspection takes:
For gain, his impious practice he pursues;
For gain, will his accomplices accuse.

More credit, yet, is to Chaldeans given: 715
What they foretel, is deem'd the voice of heaven.
Their answers, as from Hammon's altar, come;
Since now the Delphian oracles are dumb.
And mankind, ignorant of future fate,
Believes what fond astrologers relate. 720

Of these the most in vogue is he, who, sent
Beyond seas, is return'd from banishment,
His art who to aspiring Otho sold,
And sure succession to the crown foretold.
For his esteem is in his exile placed; 725
The more believed, the more he was disgraced.

No astrologic wizard honour gains,
Who has not oft been banish'd, or in chains.
He gets renown, who, to the halter near,
But narrowly escapes, and buys it dear. 730

From him your wife inquires the planets' will,
When the black jaundice shall her mother kill:
Her sister's and her uncle's end would know:
But, first, consults his art, when you shall go.
And, what's the greatest gift that heaven can 735
give,

If, after her, th' adulterer shall live.
She neither knows nor cares to know the rest:
If Mars and Saturn shall the world infest;
Or Jove and Venus, with their friendly rays,
Will interpose, and bring us better days. 740

Beware the woman too, and shun her sight,
Who in these studies does herself delight.
By whom a greasy almanac is borne,
With often handling, like chafed amber, worn:
Not now consulting, but consulted, she 745
Of the twelve houses, and their lords, is free.
She, if the scheme a fatal journey show,
Stays safe at home, but lets her husband go.
If but a mile she travel out of town,
The planetary hour must first be known, 750
And lucky moment; if her eye but aches
Or itches, its decumbiture she takes:
No nourishment receives in her disease,
But what the stars and Ptolemy shall please.

Ver. 715. Chaldeans are thought to have been the first astrologers.

Ver. 723. Otho succeeded Galba in the empire: which was foretold him by an astrologer.

Ver. 738. Mars and Saturn are the two unfortunate planets; Jupiter and Venus, the two fortunate.

Ver. 754. ——— *Ptolemy* A famous astrologer, an Egyptian.

The middle sort who have not much to spare,
To chiro-mancers' cheaper art repair, ⁷⁵⁶
Who clap the pretty palm, to make the lines
more fair.

But the rich matron, who has more to give,
Her answers from the Brachman will receive : ⁷⁵⁹
Skill'd in the globe and sphere, he gravely stands,
And, with his compass, measures seas and lands.

The poorest of the sex have still an itch
To know their fortunes, equal to the rich.
The dairymaid inquires if she shall take
The trusty tailor, and the cook forsake. ⁷⁶⁵

Yet these, though poor, the pain of childbed
bear ;

And, without nurses, their own infants rear :
You seldom hear of the rich mantle, spread
For the babe, born in the great lady's bed.
Such is the power of herbs ; such arts they use
To make them barren, or their fruit to lose. ⁷⁷¹

But thou, whatever shops she will have bought,
Be thankful, and supply the deadly draught :
Help her to make man-slaughter ; let her bleed,
And never want for savin at her need. ⁷⁷³

For, if she holds till her nine months be run,
Thou may'st be father to an Æthiop's son ;
A boy, who, ready gotten to thy hands,
By law is to inherit all thy lands :
One of that hue, that, should he cross the way, ⁷⁸⁰
His omen would discolour all the day.

I pass the foundling by, a race unknown,
At doors exposed, whom matrons make their own
And into noble families advance

A nameless issue, the blind work of chance. ⁷⁸⁵
Indulgent Fortune does her care employ,
And, smiling, broods upon the naked boy :
Her garment spreads, and laps him in the fold,
And covers, with her wings, from nightly cold.

Gives him her blessing ; puts him in a way :
Sets up the farce, and laughs at her own play.
Him she promotes ; she favours him alone,
And makes provision for him as her own.

The craving wife the force of magic tries,
And philters for th' unable husband buys : ⁷⁹⁵
The potion works not on the part design'd :
But turns his brains, and stupefies his mind.

The sotted moon-calf gapes, and staring on,
Sees his own business by another done :
A long oblivion, a benumbing frost, ⁸⁰⁰
Constrains his head ; and yesterday is lost.
Some nimbler juice would make him foam and
rave,

Like that Cæsonia to her Caius gave :
Who, plucking from the forehead of the foal
His mother's love, infused it in the bowl. ⁸⁰⁵
The boiling blood ran hissing in his veins,
Till the mad vapour mounted to his brains.

Ver. 759. The Brachmans are Indian philosophers, who remain to this day ; and hold, after Pythagoras, the translation of souls from one body to another.

Ver. 777. — [to an Æthiop's son ;] His meaning is, help her to any kind of slops, which may cause her to miscarry ; for fear she may be brought to bed of a black-moor, which thou, being her husband, art bound to father ; and that bastard may, by law, inherit thy estate.

Ver. 781. *His omen, &c.* The Romans thought it ominous to see a black-moor in the morning, if he were the first man they met.

Ver. 803 Cæsonia, wife to Caius Caligula, the great tyrant : 'tis said she gave him a love-potion, which, flying up into his head, distracted him, and was the occasion of his committing so many acts of cruelty.

The Thunderer was not half so much on fire
When Juno's girdle kindled his desire.
What woman will not use the poisoning trade, ⁸¹
When Cæsar's wife the precedent has made ?

Let Agrippina's mushroom be forgot,
Given to a slaving, old, unuseful sot ;
That only closed the driving dotard's eyes,
And sent his godhead downward to the skies. ⁸¹⁵

But this fierce potion calls for fire and sword ;
Nor spares the commons, when it strikes the
lord :

So many mischiefs were in one combined ;
So much one single poisoner cost mankind.

If stepdames seek their sons-in-law to kill, ⁸²⁰
'Tis venial trespass ; let them have their will :
But let the child, entrusted to the care
Of his own mother, of her bread beware :

Beware the food she reaches with her hand ;
The morsel is intended for thy land. ⁸²⁵

Thy tutor be thy taster, ere thou eat ;
There's poison in thy drink, and in thy meat.

You think this feign'd ; the satire in a rage
Struts in the buskins of the tragic stage,

Forgets his business is to laugh and bite ;
And will of deaths and dire revenges write. ⁸³⁰

Would it were all a fable that you read !
But Drymon's wife pleads guilty to the deed.

I (she confesses) in the fact was caught,
Two sons despatching at one deadly draught. ⁸³⁵

What, two ! two sons, thou viper, in one day !
Yes, seven, she cries, if seven were in my way.

Medea's legend is no more a lie ;
One age adds credit to antiquity.

Great ills, we grant, in former times did reign, ⁸⁴⁰
And murders then were done ; but not for gain.
Less admiration to great crimes is due,
Which they through wrath, or through revenge,

pursue.

For, weak of reason, impotent of will,
The sex is hurried headlong into ill : ⁸⁴⁵

And, like a cliff from its foundations torn,
By raging earthquakes, into seas is borne.

But those are fiends, who crimes from thought
begin :

And, cool in mischief, meditate the sin.
They read th' example of a pious wife, ⁸⁵⁰

Redeeming, with her own, her husband's life ;
Yet, if the laws did that exchange afford,

Would save their lapdog sooner than their lord.
Where'er you walk, the Belides you meet ;

And Clytemnestras grow in every street : ⁸⁵⁵

Ver. 808. *The Thunderer, &c.* The story is in Homer ; where Juno borrowed the girdle of Venus, called Cæstos, to make Jupiter in love with her, while the Grecians and Trojans were fighting, that he might not help the latter.

Ver. 812. Agrippina was the mother of the tyrant Nero, who poisoned her husband Claudius, that Nero might succeed, who was her son, and not Britannicus, who was the son of Claudius, by a former wife.

Ver. 833. The widow of Drymon poisoned her sons, that she might succeed to their estate. This was done either in the poet's time, or just before it.

Ver. 838. Medea, out of revenge to Jason, who had forsaken her, killed the children which she had by him.

Ver. 854. — [the Belides] Who were fifty sisters, married to fifty young men, their cousin-germans ; and killed them all on their wedding-night, excepting Hyper-mestra, who saved her husband Linceus.

Ver. 855. — [Clytemnestra] The wife of Agamemnon, who, in favour to her adulterer Ægisthus was consenting to his murder.

But here's the difference; Agamemnon's wife
Was a gross butcher, with a bloody knife;
But murder now is to perfection grown,
And subtle poisons are employ'd alone;
Unless some antidote prevents their arts, 560
And lines with balsam all the nobler parts:
In such a case, reserved for such a need,
Rather than fail, the dagger does the deed.

THE TENTH SATIRE OF JUVENAL.

THE ARGUMENT.

The poet's design, in this divine Satire, is to represent the various wishes and desires of mankind; and to set out the folly of them. He runs through all the several heads of riches, honours, eloquence, fame for martial achievements, long life, and beauty; and gives instances, in each, how frequently they have proved the ruin of those that owned them. He concludes, therefore, that since we generally choose so ill for ourselves, we should do better to leave it to the gods, to make the choice for us. All we can safely ask of heaven, lies within a very small compass. 'Tis but health of body and mind. And if we have these, it is not much matter what we want besides; for we have already enough to make us happy.

Look round the habitable world, how few
Know their own good; or knowing it, pursue!
How void of reason are our hopes and fears!
What in the conduct of our life appears
So well design'd, so luckily begun, 5
But, when we have our wish, we wish undone?
Whole houses, of their whole desires possess'd,
Are often ruin'd, at their own request.
In wars and peace, things hurtful we require,
When made obnoxious to our own desire. 10

Ver. 863. *Rather than fail.*] It will easily be understood why it was impossible to make a single observation on this Sixth Satire, which, as he finely says in another place, is,

Too foul to name, too fulsome to be read.

Yet Lud. Pratellis wrote long notes for the use of the Dauphin, under the inspection of Bossuet. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 1. *Look round.*] There is not perhaps in our language a poem, of the moral and didactic species, written with more vigorous and strong sentiments, more penetrating and useful observations on life, in a diction remarkably close and compact, than the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, by Dr. Johnson, in imitation of this Tenth Satire of his favourite Juvenal. In point of sprightliness, and poignancy of wit and sarcasm, it may not be equal to his imitation of the Third; but indeed the nature and tone of the two pieces are essentially different; for here all is serious, solemn, and even devout. The evils of life are indeed aggravated and painted in the darkest and most disagreeable colours; but such an unwarrantable representation was a favourite topic with our author, touched as he was with a morbid melancholy; but surely to magnify and dwell too much on these evils, is, after all, very false philosophy, and an affront to our most benevolent and bounteous Creator. Those who hold this uncomfortable and gloomy opinion, would do well to consider attentively what such men as Cudworth, Archbishop King, Hutcheson, and Balguy, have so strongly urged in confutation of this opinion of the prepotence of evil in the world. It may not be unpleasant to lay before the reader some passages of Johnson's imitations, which seem particularly happy in the accommodation of modern facts and characters to the ancient; and we may imagine he put forth all his strength when he was to contend with Dryden. He certainly would not have succeeded so well if he had ever attempted to imitate Horace. Dr. J. WARTON.

With laurels some have fatally been crown'd;
Some, who the depths of eloquence have found,
In that unnavigable stream were drown'd.

The brawny fool, who did his vigour boast,
In that presuming confidence was lost: 15
But more have been by avarice oppress'd,
And heaps of money crowded in the chest:
Unwieldy sums of wealth, which higher mount
Than files of marshall'd figures can account.
To which the stores of Croesus, in the scale. 20
Would look like little dolphins, when they sail
In the vast shadow of the British whale.

For this, in Nero's arbitrary time,
When virtue was a guilt, and wealth a crime,
A troop of cut-throat guards were sent to seize 24
The rich men's goods, and gut their palaces:
The mob, commission'd by the government,
Are seldom to an empty garret sent.

The fearful passenger, who travels late,
Charged with the carriage of a paltry plate, 30
Shakes at the moonshine shadow of a rush;
And sees a red-coat rise from every bush:
The beggar sings, ev'n when he sees the place
Beset with thieves, and never mends his pace.

Of all the vows, the first and chief request 35
Of each is, to be richer than the rest:
And yet no doubts the poor man's draught control,
He dreads no poison in his homely bowl;
Then fear the deadly drug, when gems divine
Enchase the cup, and sparkle in the wine. 40

Will you not now the pair of sages praise,
Who the same end pursued, by several ways?
One pitied, one condemn'd the woful times:
One laugh'd at follies, one lamented crimes: 45
Laughter is easy; but the wonder lies,
What store of brine supplied the weeper's eyes.
Democritus could feed his spleen, and shake
His sides and shoulders till he felt 'em ache;
Though in his country-town no lictors were,
Nor rods, nor axe, nor tribune did appear; 50
Nor all the foppish gravity of show,
Which cunning magistrates on crowds bestow.

What had he done, had he beheld on high
Our pretor seated, in mock majesty;
His chariot rolling o'er the dusty place, 55
While, with dumb pride, and a set formal face,
He moves, in the dull ceremonial track,
With Jove's embroider'd coat upon his back?
A suit of hangings had not more oppress'd
His shoulders, than that long, laborious vest: 60
A heavy gawgaw (call'd a crown), that spread
About his temples, drown'd his narrow head:
And would have crush'd it with the massy freight,
But that a sweating slave sustain'd the weight:
A slave in the same chariot seen to ride, 65
To mortify the mighty madman's pride.
Add now th' imperial eagle, raised on high,
With golden beak (the mark of majesty),
Trumpets before, and on the left and right,
A cavalcade of nobles, all in white: 70

Ver. 14. Milo, of Crotona, who, for a trial of his strength, going to rend an oak, perished in the attempt; for his arms were caught in the trunk of it, and he was devoured by wild beasts.

Ver. 53. *What had he done.*] All this is false, on the unavoidable marks of state and distinction in every country. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 66. *To mortify.*] One of his happiest alliterations. Dr. J. WARTON.

In their own natures false and flattering tribes,
But made his friends, by places and by bribes.

In his own age, Democritus could find
Sufficient cause to laugh at human kind :
Learn from so great a wit ; a land of bogs ⁷⁵
With ditches fenced, a heaven fat with fogs,
May form a spirit fit to sway the state ;
And make the neighbouring monarchs fear their
fate.

He laughs at all the vulgar cares and fears ;
At their vain triumphs, and their vainer tears : ⁸⁰
An equal temper in his mind he found,
When Fortune flatter'd him, and when she frown'd.
'Tis plain, from hence, that what our vows re-
quest,

Are hurtful things, or useless at the best.
Some ask for envied power ; which public hate
Pursues, and hurries headlong to their fate : ⁸⁵
Down go the titles ; and the statue crown'd,
Is by base hands in the next river drown'd.
The guiltless horses, and the chariot wheel,
The same effects of vulgar fury feel : ⁹⁰

The smith prepares his hammer for the stroke,
While the lung'd bellows hissing fire provoke ;
Sejanus, almost first of Roman names,
The great Sejanus crackles in the flames :
Form'd in the forge, the plant brass is laid ⁹⁵
On anvils ; and of head and limbs are made
Pans, cans, and piss-pots, a whole kitchen trade.

Adorn your doors with laurels ; and a bull,
Milk-white, and large, lead to the Capitol ;
Sejanus with a rope is dragg'd along, ¹⁰⁰
The sport and laughter of the giddy throng !
Good Lord, they cry, what Ethiop lips he has,
How foul a snout, and what a hanging face !
By heaven, I never could endure his sight ;
But say, how came his monstrous crimes to light ?
What is the charge, and who the evidence, ¹⁰⁵
(The saviour of the nation and the prince ?)
Nothing of this ; but our old Cæsar sent
A noisy letter to his parliament :
Nay, Sirs, if Cæsar writ, I ask no more, ¹¹⁰
He's guilty ; and the question's out of door.

Ver. 93. Sejanus was Tiberius's first favourite, and while he continued so had the highest marks of honour bestowed on him: statues and triumphal chariots were everywhere erected to him; but as soon as he fell into disgrace with the emperor, these were all immediately dismantled, and the senate and common people insulted over him as meanly as they had fawned on him before.

Ver. 94. *The great Sejanus.* Modern history could not afford a more proper substitute for Sejanus, to exemplify the lamentable end of ambitious projects, than what Johnson has given us in the following lines, in the character and fate of *Wolsey* :—

"In full-blown dignity see *Wolsey* stand,
Law in his voice, and fortune in his hand :
To him the church, the realm, their powers consign,
Thro' him the rays of regal bounty shine ;
Still to new heights his restless wishes tower,
Claim leads to claim, and power advances power ;
Till conquest unresisted ceased to please,
And rights submitted left him none to seize.
At length his sovereign frowns—the train of state
Mark the keen glance, and watch the sign to hate ;
Where'er he turns he meets a stranger's eye,
His suppliants scorn him, and his followers fly :
At once is lost the pride of awful state,
The golden canopy, the glittering plate,
The regal palace, the luxurious board,
The liveried army, and the martial lord ;
With age, with cares, with maladies oppress,
He seeks the refuge of monastic rest ;
Grief aids disease, remember'd folly stings,
And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings."

Dr. J. WATSON.

How goes the mob ? (for that's a mighty thing.)
When the king's trump, the mob are for the king :
They follow fortune, and the common cry
Is still against the rogue condemn'd to die. ¹¹⁵

But the same very mob, that rascal crowd,
Had cried Sejanus, with a shout as loud ;
Had his designs (by fortune's favour bless'd)
Succeeded, and the prince's age oppress'd.
But long, long since, the times have changed their
face, ¹²⁰

The people grown degenerate and base ;
Not suffer'd now the freedom of their choice,
To make their magistrates, and sell their voice.

Our wise forefathers, great by sea and land,
Had once the power and absolute command ; ¹²⁵
All offices of trust, themselves disposed ;
Raised whom they pleased, and whom they pleased
deposed.

But we, who give our native rights away,
And our enslaved posterity betray,
Are now reduced to beg an alms, and go ¹³⁰
On holidays to see a puppet-show.

There was a damn'd design, cries one, no doubt ;
For warrants are already issued out ;
I met Brutidius in a mortal fright ;
He's dipp'd for certain, and plays least in sight. ¹³⁵

I fear the rage of our offended prince,
Who thinks the senate slack in his defence !
Come, let us haste, our loyal zeal to show,
And spurn the wretched corpse of Cæsar's foe :
But let our slaves be present there, lest they ¹⁴⁰
Accuse their masters, and for gain betray.

Such were the whispers of those jealous times,
About Sejanus' punishment and crimes.

Now tell me truly, would'st thou change thy fate
To be, like him, first minister of state ? ¹⁴⁵

To have thy levees crowded with resort
Of a depending, gaping, servile court :
Dispose all honours of the sword and gown,
Grace with a nod, and ruin with a frown : ¹⁵⁰

To hold thy prince in pupillage, and sway
That monarch, whom the master'd world obey ?
While he, intent on secret lusts alone,
Lives to himself, abandoning the throne ;
Coop'd in a narrow isle, observing dreams
With flattering wizards, and erecting schemes !

I well believe, thou would'st be great as he ; ¹⁵⁵

For every man's a fool to that degree ;
All wish the dire prerogative to kill ;
Ev'n they would have the power, who want the
will : ¹⁶⁰

But would'st thou have thy wishes understood,
To take the bad together with the good,
Would'st thou not rather choose a small renown,
To be the mayor of some poor paltry town,
Bigly to look, and barbarously to speak ;
To pound false weights, and scanty measures
break ? ¹⁶⁵

Then, grant we that Sejanus went astray
In every wish, and knew not how to pray :

Ver. 135. — *plays least*] One of his vulgar modern ideas. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 146. *To have*] Here are six nervous and finished lines to stave for 135. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 154. The island of Caprea, which lies about a league out at sea from the Campanian shore, was the scene of Tiberius's pleasures in the latter part of his reign. There he lived for some years with diviners, soothsayers, and worse company ; and from thence despatched all his orders to the senate.

For he who grasp'd the world's exhausted store,
Yet never had enough, but wish'd for more,
Rais'd a top-heavy tower, of monstrous height,
Which, mouldering, crush'd him underneath the weight. 171

What did the mighty Pompey's fall beget?
It ruin'd him, who, greater than the Great,
The stubborn pride of Roman nobles broke;
And bent their haughty necks beneath his yoke:
What else but his immoderate lust of power, 175
Prayers made and granted in a luckless hour?
For few usurpers to the shades descend
By a dry death, or with a quiet end.

The boy, who scarce has paid his entrance down
To his proud pedant, or declined a noun, 181
(So small an elf, that when the days are foul,
He and his satchel must be borne to school.)
Yet prays, and hopes, and aims at nothing less,
To prove a Tully, or Demosthenes; 185

But both those orators, so much renown'd,
In their own depths of eloquence were drown'd:
The hand and head were never lost, of those
Who dealt in doggrel, or who punn'd in prose.
"Fortune foretuned the dying notes of Rome, 190
Till I, thy consul sole, consoled thy doom."
His fate had crept below the lifted swords,
Had all his malice been to murder words.

I rather would be Mævius, thrash for rhymes
Like his, the scorn and scandal of the times, 195
Than that Philippic, fatally divine,
Which is inscribed the second, should be mine.

Nor he, the wonder of the Grecian throng,
Who drove them with the torrent of his tongue,

Ver. 173. Julius Cæsar, who got the better of Pompey, that was styled the Great.

Ver. 185. Demosthenes and Tully both died for their oratory. Demosthenes gave himself poison to avoid being carried to Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, who had then made himself master of Athens. Tully was murdered by Marc Anthony's order, in return for those invectives he had made against him.

Ver. 186. But both those orators,] *Lydiat*, mentioned by Johnson in the subsequent imitation, was not generally known, though a very learned man, and able mathematician, and many persons inquired who he was. *Gahleo* was well chosen to exemplify the hard fate of a very illustrious philosopher.

"Deign on the passing world to turn thine eyes,
And pause awhile from letters, to be wise;
There mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail.
See nations slowly wise, and meanly just,
To buried Merit raise the tardy bust.
If dreams yet flatter, once again attend,
Hear *Lydiat's* life, and *Gahleo's* end."

I cannot forbear adding, that *Johnson* made an alteration in the fourth of these lines; at first it stood,

Toil, envy, want, the *garret*, and the jail.

When Lord Chesterfield disappointed him of the patronage he expected, he suddenly altered it to

the *patron*, and the jail.

This Mr. William Collins informed me of, who was present at the time. He himself at last met with a suitable reward for his labours, by the gracious and generous pension which the King gave him of 300*l.* a year. And a superb monument and statue of him is erected in St. Paul's cathedral. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 190. The Latin of this couplet is a famous verse of Tully's, in which he sets out the happiness of his own consulship; famous for the vanity, and the ill poetry of it; for Tully, as he had a good deal of the one, so he had no great share of the other.

Ver. 196. The orations of Tully against Marc Anthony were styled by him *Philippics*, in imitation of Demosthenes, who had given that name before to those he made against Philip of Macedon.

Who shook the theatres, and sway'd the state 200
Of Athens, found a more propitious fate;
Whom, born beneath a boding horoscope,
His sire, the bear-eyed Vulcan of a shop,
From Mars his forge, sent to Minerva's schools,
To learn the unlucky art of wheedling fools. 205

With itch of honour, and opinion, vain,
All things beyond their native worth we strain:
The spoils of war, brought to Feretrian Jove,
An empty coat of armour hung above
The conqueror's chariot, and in triumph borne, 210
A streamer from a boarded galley torn,
A chapfall'n beaver loosely hanging by
The cloven helm, an arch of victory,
On whose high convex sits a captive foe,
And sighing casts a mournful look below; 215
Of every nation, each illustrious name,
Such toys as these have cheated into fame:
Exchanging solid quiet, to obtain
The windy satisfaction of the brain.

So much the thirst of honour fires the blood:
So many would be great, so few be good. 220
For who would Virtue for herself regard,
Or wed, without the portion of reward?
Yet this mad chase of fame, by few pursued,
Has drawn destruction on the multitude: 225
This avarice of praise in times to come,
Those long inscriptions, crowded on the tomb,
Should some wild fig-tree take her native bent,
And heave below the gaudy monument,
Would crack the marble tiles, and disperse 230
The characters of all the lying verse:
For sepulchres themselves must crumbling fall
In time's abyss, the common grave of all.

Great Hannibal within the balance lay;
And tell how many pounds his ashes weigh; 235
Whom Afric was not able to contain,
Whose length runs level with the Atlantic main,
And wears fruitful Nilus, to convey
His sun-beat waters by so long a way;
Which Ethiopia's double clime divides, 240
And elephants in other mountains hides.
Spain first he won, the Pyreneans pass'd,
And steepy Alps, the mounds that Nature cast:
And with corroding juices, as he went,
A passage through the living rocks he rent. 245
Then, like a torrent, rolling from on high,
He pours his headlong rage on Italy;

Ver. 205. *To learn*] A just definition of eloquence, and its abuse, especially in democracies. Dr. J. WARTON.

Ver. 208. This is a mock account of a Roman triumph.

Ver. 241. *He pours his headlong*] Charles XII. of Sweden was a very favourite character of Dr. Johnson. Though he condemned so many of the other works of Voltaire, yet he used to speak in the terms of high approbation of his history of this extraordinary warrior.

"On what foundation stands the warrior's pride,
How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide:
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire,
A frame of adamant, a soul of fire;
O'er love, o'er fear extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain.
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,
War sounds the tramp, he rushes to the field.
Behold surrounding kings their power combine,
And one capitulate, and one resign.
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain,
'Think nothing gain'd,' he cries, 'till nought remain.
On Moscow's walls till *Gahleo's* standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'
The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait.
Stern Famine guards the solitary coast,
And Winter barricades the realm of frost:

In three victorious battles overrun;
Yet, still uneasy, cries, There's nothing done,
Till level with the ground their gates are laid; 250
And Punic flags on Roman towers display'd.

Ask what a face belong'd to his high fame:

His picture scarcely would deserve a frame:

A sign-post dauber would disdain to paint
The one-eyed hero on his elephant. 255

Now what's his end, O charming Glory! say,
What rare fifth act to crown this huffing play?

In one deciding battle overcome,

He flies, is banish'd from his native home:

Begs refuge in a foreign court, and there 260

Attends, his mean petition to prefer:

Repulsed by surly grooms, who wait before

The sleeping tyrant's interdicted door.

What wondrous sort of death has heaven
design'd,

Distinguish'd from the herd of human kind, 265

For so untamed, so turbulent a mind!

Nor swords at hand, nor hissing darts afar,

Are doom'd to avenge the tedious bloody war;

But poison, drawn through a ring's hollow plate,

Must finish him, a sucking infant's fate. 270

Go, climb the rugged Alps, ambitious fool,

To please the boys, and be a theme at school.

One world sufficed not Alexander's mind:

Coop'd up, he seem'd in earth and seas confined:

And, struggling, stretch'd his restless limbs about

The narrow globe, to find a passage out. 275

Yet, enter'd in the brick-built town, he tried

The tomb, and found the strait dimensions wide:

"Death only this mysterious truth unfolds,

The mighty soul, how small a body holds!" 280

Old Greece a tale of Athos would make out,

Cut from the continent, and sail'd about;

Seas hid with navies, chariots passing o'er

The channel, on a bridge from shore to shore:

Rivers, whose depth no sharp beholder sees, 285

Drunk at an army's dinner, to the lees;

He comes; nor want, nor cold, his course delay.

Hide, blushing glory, hide *Pulvosa's* day!

The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,

And shows his miseries in distant lands.

Condemn'd a needy suppliant to wait,

While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.

But did not chance at length her error mend?

Did not subverted empire mark his end?

Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?

Or hostile millions press him to the ground?

His fall was destined to a barren strand,

A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;

He left the name, at which the world grew pale,

To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

I do not recollect any passage in the works of Pope, of greater energy and force of expression than the foregoing passage. The last lines do not tally with the original; for contempt is heightened by the address,

"I, demens, et sœvas curæ per Alpes,
Ut pueri placeas et declamatio fias."

DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 278. Babylon, where Alexander died.

Ver. 282. Xerxes is represented in history after a very romantic manner, affecting fame beyond measure, and doing the most extravagant things to compass it. Mount Athos made a prodigious promontory in the *Ægean* sea; he is said to have cut a channel through it, and to have sailed round it. He made a bridge of boats over the Hellespont, where it was three miles broad; and ordered a whipping for the winds and seas, because they had once crossed his designs, as we have a very solemn account of it in *Herodotus*. But after all these vain boasts, he was shamefully beaten by *Themistocles* at *Salamis*, and returned home, leaving most of his fleet behind him.

With a long legend of romantic things,
Which in his cups the bousy poet sings.

But how did he return, this haughty brave,
Who whipp'd the winds, and made the sea his slave? 290

(Though Neptune took unkindly to be bound;

And Eurus never such hard usage found

In his *Æolian* prisons under-ground;)

What god so mean, ev'n he who points the way,

So merciless a tyrant to obey! 295

But how return'd he? let us ask again:

In a poor skiff he pass'd the bloody main,

Choked with the slaughter'd bodies of his train.

For fame he pray'd, but let the event declare

He had no mighty penn'worth of his prayer. 300

Jove, grant me length of life, and years good store

Heap on my bending back, I ask no more.

Both sick and healthful, old and young, conspire

In this one silly mischievous desire.

Mistaken blessing, which old age they call, 305

'Tis a long, nasty, darksome hospital,

A ropy chain of rheums; a visage rough,

Deform'd, unfeatured, and a skin of buff.

A stitch-fall'n cheek, that hangs below the jaw;

Such wrinkles, as a skilful hand would draw 310

For an old grandam ape, when, with a grace,

She sits at squat, and scrubs her leathern face.

In youth, distinctions infinite abound;

No shape, or feature, just alike are found;

The fair, the black, the feeble, and the strong; 315

But the same foulness does to age belong,

The self-same palsy, both in limbs and tongue.

The skull and forehead one bald barren plain;

And gums unarm'd to mumble meat in vain.

Besides the eternal drivel, that supplies 320

The dropping beard, from nostrils, mouth, and eyes.

His wife and children loathe him, and, what's

worse,

Himself does his offensive carrion curse!

Flatterers forsake him too, for who would kill

Himself, to be remember'd in a wall? 325

His taste, not only pall'd to wine and meat,

But to the relish of a nobler treat

The limber nerve, in vain provoked to rise,

Inglorious from the field of battle flies:

Poor feeble dotard, how could he advance 330

With his blue head-piece, and his broken lance?

Add, that endeavouring still without effect,

A lust more sordid justly we suspect.

Those senses lost, behold a new defeat,

The soul dislodging from another seat. 335

What music, or enchanting voice, can cheer

A stupid, old, impenetrable ear?

No matter in what place, or what degree

Of the full theatre, he sits to see;

Cornets and trumpets cannot reach his ear: 340

Under an actor's nose he's never near.

His boy must bawl, to make him understand

The hour of th' day, or such a lord's at hand:

The little blood that creeps within his veins

Is but just warm'd in a hot fever's pains. 345

In fine, he wears no limb about him sound:

With sores and sicknesses beleaguerr'd round:

Ver. 295. Mercury, who was a god of the lowest size, and employed always in errands between heaven and hell; and mortals used him accordingly, for his statues were anciently placed where roads met, with directions on the hangers of them pointing out the several ways to travellers.

Ask me their names, I sooner could relate
How many drudges on salt Hippia wait;
What crowds of patients the town-doctor kills, 350
Or how, last fall, he raised the weekly bills:
What provinces by Basilus were spoil'd,
What herds of heirs by guardians are beguiled:
How many bouts a day that bitch has tried;
How many boys that pedagogue can ride! 355
What lands and lordships for their owner know
My quondam barber, but his worship now.

This dotard of his broken back complains,
One, his legs fail, and one, his shoulder pains:
Another is of both his eyes bereft; 360
And envies who has one for aiming left.
A fifth, with trembling lips expecting stands,
As in his childhood, cramm'd by others' hands:
One, who at sight of supper open'd wide
His jaws before, and whetted grinders tried; 365
Now only yawns, and waits to be supplied:
Like a young swallow, when with weary wings
Expected food her fasting mother brings.

His loss of members is a heavy curse,
But all his faculties decay'd, a worse! 370
His servants' names he has forgotten quite;
Knows not his friend who supp'd with him last
night;

Not ev'n the children he begot and bred;
Or his will knows 'em not: for, in their stead, 375
In form of law, a common hackney jade,
Sole heir, for secret services, is made:
So lewd, and such a batter'd brothel whore,
That she defies all comers at her door.
Well, yet suppose his senses are his own,
He lives to be chief mourner for his son: 380
Before his face his wife and brother burns;
He numbers all his kindred in their urns.
These are the fines he pays for living long;
And dragging tedious age in his own wrong:
Griefs always green, a household still in tears, 385
Sad pomps, a threshold throng'd with daily biers,
And liveries of black for length of years.

Next to the raven's age, the Fylian king
Was longest lived of any two-logg'd thing;
Bless'd, to defraud the grave so long, to mount 390
His number'd years, and on his right hand count;
Three hundred seasons, guzzling must of wine:
But, hold a while, and hear himself repine
At fate's unequal laws; and at the clue
Which, mercurious in length, the midmost sister 395
drew.

Ver. 383. *These are the fines*] There is something very tender and pathetic in the following lines of Johnson on this subject:—

"Yet ev'n on this her load Misfortune flings,
To press the weary minutes' flagging wings,
New sorrow rises as the day returns,
A sister sickens, or a daughter mourns.
Now kindred Mart fills the sable bier,
Now lacerated Friendship claims a tear.
Year chases year, decay pursues decay.
Still drops some joy from withering life away.
New forms arise, and different views engage,
Superfluous lags the veteran on the stage;
Till pitying Nature signs the last release,
And bids afflicted Worth retire to peace."

DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 388. Nestor, king of Pylos, who was 900 years old, according to Homer's account; at least, as he is understood by his expositors.

Ver. 391. The ancients counted by their fingers; their left hands served them till they came up to an hundred; after that they used their right, to express all greater numbers.

Ver. 395. The Fates were three sisters, which had all

When his brave son upon the funeral pyre
He saw extended, and his beard on fire,
He turn'd, and weeping, ask'd his friends, what
crime

Had curs'd his age to this unhappy time?
Thus mourn'd old Peleus for Achilles slain, 400
And thus Ulysses' father did complain.

How fortunate an end had Priam made,
Among his ancestors a mighty shade,
While Troy yet stood; when Hector, with the
race

Of royal bastards, might his funeral grace; 405
Amidst the tears of Trojan dames inurn'd,
And by his loyal daughters truly mourn'd!
Had heaven so bless'd him, he had died before
The fatal fleet to Sparta Paris bore.

But mark what age produced; he lived to see 410
His town in flames, his falling monarchy:
In fine, the feeble sire, reduced by fate
To change his sceptre for a sword, too late,
His last effort before Jove's altar tries;
A soldier half, and half a sacrifice: 415
Falls like an ox, that waits the coming blow;
Old and unprofitable to the plough.

At least, he died a man; his queen survived,
To howl, and in a barking body lived.

I hasten to our own; nor will relate 420
Great Mithridates', and rich Cressus' fate;
Whom Solon wisely counsel'd to attend
The name of happy, till he knew his end.

That Marius was an exile, that he fled,
Was ta'en, in ruin'd Carthage begg'd his bread, 425
All these were owing to a life too long:
For whom had Rome beheld so happy, young?
High in his chariot, and with laurel crown'd,
When he had led the Cimbrian captives round
The Roman streets; descending from his state, 430
In that blest hour he should have begg'd his fate;
Then, then, he might have died of all admired,
And his triumphant soul with shouts expired.

Campania, fortune's malice to prevent, 435
To Pompey an indulgent fever sent;
But public prayers imposed on heaven, to give
Their much-loved leader an unkind reprieve.

some peculiar business assigned them by the poets, in relation to the lives of men. The first held the distaff, the second spun the thread, and the third cut it.

Ver. 414. Whilst Troy was sacked by the Greeks, old King Priam is said to have buckled on his armour to oppose them; which he had no sooner done, but he was met by Pyrrhus, and slain before the altar of Jupiter, in his own palace, as we have the story finely told in Virgil's second *Æneid*.

Ver. 418. Hecuba, his queen, escaped the swords of the Grecians, and outlived him. It seems she behaved herself so fiercely and uneasily to her husband's murderers while she lived, that the poets thought fit to turn her into a bitch, when she died.

Ver. 421. Mithridates, after he had disputed the empire of the world, for forty years together, with the Romans, was at last deprived of life and empire by Pompey the Great.

Ibid. Cressus, in the midst of his prosperity, making his boast to Solon how happy he was, received this answer from the wise man: "That no one could pronounce himself happy till he saw what his end should be." The truth of this Cressus found, when he was put in chains by Cyrus, and condemned to die.

Ver. 435. Pompey, in the midst of his glory, fell into a dangerous fit of sickness at Naples; a great many cities then made public supplications for him; he recovered, was beaten at Pharsalia, fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and, instead of receiving protection at his court, had his head stuck off by his order, to please Cæsar.

The city's fate and his conspired to save
The head, reserved for an Egyptian slave.

Cethegus, though a traitor to the state,
And tortured, 'scaped this ignominious fate :
And Sergius, who a bad cause bravely tried,
All of a piece, and undiminish'd, died.

To Venus, the fond mother makes a prayer,
That all her sons and daughters may be fair :
True, for the boys a mumbling vow she sends ;
But, for the girls, the vaulted temple rends :
They must be finish'd pieces : 'tis allow'd
Diana's beauty made Latona proud,
And pleased, to see the wondering people pray
To the new-rising sister of the day.

And yet Lucretia's fate would bar that vow :
And fair Virginia would her fate bestow
On Rutilla ; and change her faultless make
For the foul rumple of her camel back.

But, for his mother's boy, the beau, what
frights

His parents have by day, what anxious nights !
Form join'd with virtue is a sight too rare :
Chaste is no epithet to suit with fair.

Suppose the same traditionary strain
Of rigid manners in the house remain ;
Inveterate truth, an old plain Sabine's heart ;
Suppose that Nature, too, has done her part ;
Infused into his soul a sober grace,

And blush'd a modest blood into his face,
(For Nature is a better guardian far,
Than saucy pedants, or dull tutors are :)
Yet still the youth must ne'er arrive at man ;
(So much almighty bribes and presents can :)

Ev'n with a parent, where persuasions fail,
Money is impudent, and will prevail.

We never read of such a tyrant king,
Who gelt a boy deform'd, to hear him sing.
Nor Nero, in his more luxurious rage,
E'er made a mistress of an ugly page :
Sporus, his spouse, nor crooked was, nor lame,
With mountain back, and belly, from the game
Cross-barr'd : but both his sexes well became.
Go, boast your springal, by his beauty cursed
To ills, nor think I have declared the worst :
His form procures him journey-work ; a strife
Betwixt town-madams, and the merchant's wife :
Guess, when he undertakes this public war,
What furious beasts offended cuckolds are.

Adulterers are with dangers round beset ;
Born under Mars, they cannot 'scape the net ;
And from revengeful husbands oft have tried
Worse handling than severest laws provide :
One stabs ; one slashes ; one, with cruel art,
Makes colon suffer for the peccant part.

But your Endymion, your smooth, smook-faced
boy,

Unrival'd, shall a beauteous dame enjoy :
Not so : one more salacious, rich, and old,
Outbids, and buys her pleasure for her gold :
Now he must moil, and drudge, for one he loathes,
She keeps him high in equipage and clothes :

Ver. 440. Cethegus was one that conspired with Catiline,
and was put to death by the Senate.

Ver. 442. Catiline died fighting.

Ver. 453. Virginia was killed by her own father, to prevent
her being exposed to the lust of Appius Claudius, who
had ill designs upon her. The story at large is in Livy's
third book ; and it is a remarkable one, as it gave occasion
to the putting down the power of the Decemviri, of whom
Appius was one.

She pawns her jewels, and her rich attire,
And thinks the workman worthy of his hire :
In all things else immoral, stingy, mean ;
But, in her lusts, a conscionable quean.

She may be handsome, yet be chaste, you say ;
Good observer, not so fast away :
Did it not cost the modest youth his life,
Who shunn'd th' embraces of his father's wife ?
And was not t' other stripling forced to fly,
Who coldly did his patron's queen deny,
And pleaded laws of hospitality ?
The ladies charged 'em home, and turn'd the tale ;
With shame they reddend, and with spite grew
pale.

'Tis dangerous to deny the longing dame ;
She loses pity, who has lost her shame.

Now Silius wants thy counsel, give advice ;
Wed Cæsar's wife, or die ; the choice is nice.

Her comet-eyes she darts on every grace ;
And takes a fatal liking to his face.

Adorn'd with bridal pomp she sits in state ;
The public notaries and Aruspex wait :
The genial bed is in the garden dress'd :

The portion paid, and every rite express'd,
Which in a Roman marriage is profess'd.

'Tis no stol'n wedding this, rejecting awe,
She scorns to marry, but in form of law :

In this moot case, your judgment : to refuse
Is present death, besides the night you lose :

If you consent, 'tis hardly worth your pain ;
A day or two of anxious life you gain :

Till loud reports through all the town have pass'd
And reach the prince : for cuckolds hear the last.

Indulge thy pleasure, youth, and take thy swing ;
For not to take is but the self-same thing ;

Inevitable death before thee lies ;
But looks more kindly through a lady's eyes.

What then remains ? Are we deprived of will ;
Must we not wish, for fear of wishing ill ?

Receive my counsel, and securely move ;
Entrust thy fortune to the Powers above.

Leave them to manage for thee, and to grant
What their unerring wisdom sees thee want :

In goodness as in greatness they excel ;
Ah that we loved ourselves but half so well !

We, blindly by our headstrong passions led,
Are hot for action, and desire to wed ;

Then wish for heirs : but to the gods alone
Our future offspring, and our wives, are known ;

Th' audacious strumpet, and ungracious son.

Yet not to rob the priests of pious gain,
That alars be not wholly built in vain ;

Forgive the gods the rest, and stand confined
To health of body, and content of mind :

Ver. 503. Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, was loved by
his mother-in-law Phædra ; but he not complying with her,
she procured his death.

Ver. 505. Bellerophon, the son of king Glaucus, residing
some time at the court of Pætus, king of the Argives, the
queen, Sthenobee, fell in love with him ; but he refusing
her, she turned the accusation upon him, and he narrowly
escaped Pætus's vengeance.

Ver. 512. Messalina, wife to the emperor Claudius,
infamous for her lewdness. She set her eyes upon C. Silius,
a fine youth, forced him to quit his own wife, and marry
her with all the formalities of a wedding, whilst Claudius
Cæsar was sacrificing at Hostia. Upon his return, he put
both Silius and her to death.

Ver. 546. Yet not to rob ! He could not forbear dragging
in an improper and ill-applied sarcasm on priests. Dr. J
WARTON.

A soul, that can securely death defy,
And count it nature's privilege, to die;
Serene and manly, harden'd to sustain
The load of life, and exercised in pain:
Guiltless of hate, and proof against desire;
That all things weighs, and nothing can admire.
That dares prefer the toils of Hercules
To dalliance, banquet, and ignoble ease.
The path to peace is virtue: what I show,
Thyself may freely on thyself bestow:
Fortune was never worshipp'd by the wise;
But, set aloft by fools, usurps the skies.

THE
SIXTEENTH SATIRE OF JUVENAL.

THE ARGUMENT.

The poet, in this Satire, proves, that the condition of a soldier is much better than that of a countryman: first, because a countryman, however affronted, provoked, and struck himself, dares not strike a soldier; who is only to be judged by a court-martial: and by the law of Camillus, which obliges him not to quarrel without the trenches, he is also assured to have a speedy hearing, and quick despatch: whereas the townsman or peasant is delayed in his suit by frivolous pretences, and not sure of justice when he is heard in the court. The soldier is also privileged to make a will, and to give away his estate, which he got in war, to whom he pleases, without consideration of parentage or relations, which is denied to all other Romans. This Satire was written by Juvenal, when he was a commander in Egypt: it is certainly his, though I think it not finished. And if it be well observed, you will find he intended an invective against a standing army.

WHAT vast prerogatives, my Gallus, are
Accruing to the mighty man of war!
For, if into a lucky camp I light,
Though raw in arms, and yet afraid to fight,
Befriend me my good stars, and all goes right:
One happy hour is to a soldier better
Than mother Juno's recommending letter,
Or Venus, when to Mars she would prefer
My suit, and own the kindness done to her.
See what our common privileges are:
As, first, no saucy citizen shall dare

Ver. 550. *A soul, that*] These six following lines in Dryden are highly finished in his best manner. Yet we may perhaps read Dr. Johnson's admirable conclusion of this satire with great pleasure:—

"Yet when the sense of sacred presence fires,
And strong devotion to the skies aspires,
Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
Obedient passions, and a will resign'd;
For love, which scarce collective man can fill,
For patience, sovereign o'er transmuted ill;
For faith, that, panting for a happier seat,
Counts death, kind nature's signal of retreat;
These goods for man the laws of heaven ordain,
These goods he grants, who grants the power to gain.
With these celestial Wisdom calms the mind,
And makes the happiness she does not find."

DR. J. WARTON

Ver. 1. *What vast prerogatives,*] This Satire is much inferior to the rest. The old scholiast denies that it is by Juvenal. I suppose Dryden was forced to add it to fill up his volume.—Barten Holyday's notes, and also his translation of Juvenal, are worth reading. DR. J. WARTON.

Ver. 7. Juno was mother to Mars, the god of war: Venus was his mistress.

To strike a soldier, nor, when struck, resent
The wrong, for fear of farther punishment:
Not though his teeth are beaten out, his eyes
Hang by a string, in bumps his forehead rise,
Shall he presume to mention his disgrace,
Or beg amends for his demolish'd face.
A booted judge shall sit to try his cause,
Not by the statute, but by martial laws;
Which old Camillus order'd, to confine
The brawls of soldiers to the trench and line:
A wise provision; and from thence 'tis clear,
That officers a soldier's cause should hear:
And taking cognizance of wrongs received,
An honest man may hope to be relieved.
So far 'tis well: but with a general cry
The regiment will rise in mutiny,
The freedom of their fellow-rogue demand,
And, if refused, will threaten to disband.
Withdraw thy action, and depart in peace;
The remedy is worse than the disease:
This cause is worthy him, who in the hall
Would for his fee, and for his client, bawl:
But would'st thou, friend, who hast two legs alone,
(Which, heaven be praised! thou yet may'st call
thy own)

Would'st thou to run the gauntlet these expose
To a whole company of hobnail'd shoes?
Sure the good-breeding of wise citizens
Should teach 'em more good-nature to their shins.
Besides, whom canst thou think so much thy
friend,

Who dares appear thy business to defend!
Dry up thy tears, and pocket up th' abuse,
Nor put thy friend to make a bad excuse:
The judge cries out, Your evidence produce.
Will he, who saw the soldier's mutton-fist,
And saw thee mau'd, appear within the list,
To witness truth? When I see one so brave,
The dead, think I, are risen from the grave;
And with their long spade beards, and matted hair,
Our honest ancestors are come to take the air.
Against a clown, with more security,
A witness may be brought to swear a lie,
Than, though his evidence be full and fair,
To vouch a truth against a man of war.

More benefits remain, and claim'd as rights,
Which are a standing army's perquisites.
If any rogue vexatious suits advance
Against me for my known inheritance,
Enter by violence my fruitful grounds,
Or take the sacred landmark from my bounds,
Those bounds which, with procession and with
prayer,
And offer'd cakes, have been my annual care:

Ver. 30. Camillus, (who being first banished by his ungrateful countrymen the Romans, afterwards returned, and freed them from the Gauls,) made a law, which prohibited the soldiers from quarrelling without the camp, lest upon that pretence they might happen to be absent when they ought to be on duty.

Ver. 32. *This cause is worthy him, &c.*] The poet names a Modenesse lawyer, whom he calls Vagellius; who was so impudent that he would plead any cause, right or wrong, without shame or fear.

Ver. 37. — *hobnail'd shoes?*] The Roman soldiers wore plates of iron under their shoes, or stuck them with nails as countrymen do now.

Ver. 62. Landmarks were used by the Romans, almost in the same manner as now: and as we go once a-year in procession, about the bounds of parishes, and renew them, so they offered cakes upon the stone, or landmark

Or if my debtors do not keep their day,
 Deny their hands, and then refuse to pay ;
 I must with patience all the terms attend, ⁶⁵
 Among the common causes that depend,
 Till mine is call'd ; and that long look'd-for day
 Is still encumber'd with some new delay :
 Perhaps the cloth of state is only spread,
 Some of the quorum may be sick a-bed ; ⁷⁰
 That judge is hot, and doffs his gown, while this
 O'er-night was bousy, and goes out to piss :
 So many rubs appear, the time is gone
 For hearing, and the tedious suit goes on :
 But buff and beltmen never know these cares, ⁷⁵
 No time, nor trick of law, their action bars :
 Their cause they to an easier issue put :
 They will be heard, or they lug out, and cut.
 Another branch of their revenue still
 Remains, beyond their boundless right to kill, ⁸⁰

Ver. 69. The courts of judicature were hung and spread, as with us ; but spread only before the hundred judges who were to sit and judge public causes, which were called by lot.

Their father yet alive, empower'd to make a will.
 For, what their prowess gain'd the law declares,
 Is to themselves alone, and to their heirs :
 No share of that goes back to the begetter.
 But if the son fights well, and plunders better, ⁸⁵
 Like stout Coranus, his old shaking sire
 Does a remembrance in his will desire :
 Inquisitive of fights, and longs in vain
 To find him in the number of the slain :
 But still he lives, and, rising by the war, ⁹⁰
 Enjoys his gains, and has enough to spare :
 For 'tis a noble general's prudent part
 To chernish valour, and reward desert :
 Let him be daub'd with lace, live high, and whore ;
 Sometimes be lousy, but be never poor. ⁹⁵

Ver. 81. The Roman soldiers had the privilege of making a will, in their father's life-time, of what they had purchased in the wars, as being no part of their patrimony. By this will they had power of excluding their own parents, and giving the estate so gotten to whom they pleased. Therefore, says the poet, Coranus, (a soldier contemporary with Juvenal, who had raised his fortune by the wars) was courted by his own father, to make him his heir.

TRANSLATIONS FROM PERSIUS.

THE FIRST SATIRE OF PERSIUS.

ARGUMENT OF THE PROLOGUE TO THE FIRST SATIRE.

The design of the author was to conceal his name and quality. He lived in the dangerous times of the tyrant Nero ; and aims particularly at him in most of his Satires. For which reason, though he was a Roman knight, and of a plentiful fortune, he would appear in this prologue but a beggarly poet, who writes for bread. After this, he breaks into the business of the first Satire ; which is chiefly to decry the poetry then in fashion, and the impudence of those who were endeavouring to pass their stuff upon the world.

PROLOGUE TO THE FIRST SATIRE.

I NEVER did on cleft Parnassus dream,
 Nor taste the sacred Heliconian stream ;
 Nor can remember when my brain, inspired,
 Was, by the Muses, into madness fired.

Ver. 1. Parnassus and Helicon were hills consecrated to the Muses ; and the supposed place of their abode. Parnassus was forked on the top ; and from Helicon ran a stream, the spring of which was called the Muses' well.

My share in pale Pyrene I resign ; ⁵
 And claim no part in all the mighty Nine.
 Statues, with winding ivy crown'd, belong
 To nobler poets, for a nobler song :
 Heedless of verse, and hopeless of the crown, ¹⁰
 Scarce half a wit, and more than half a clown,
 Before the shrine I lay my rugged numbers down.
 Who taught the parrot human notes to try,
 Or with a voice endued the chattering pie ?
 'Twas witty want, fierce hunger to appease :
 Want taught their masters, and their masters ¹⁵
 these.
 Let gain, that gilded bait, be hung on high,
 The hungry wretches have it in their eye ;
 Pies, crows, and daws, poetic presents bring :
 You say they squeak ; but they will swear they ²⁰
 sing.

Ver. 5. ——— *Pyrene*] A fountain in Corinth ; consecrated also to the Muses.

Ver. 7. *Statues, &c.*] The statues of the poets were crowned with ivy about their brows.

Ver. 11. *Before the shrine*] That is, before the shrine of Apollo, in his temple at Rome, called the Palatine.

THE FIRST SATIRE.

IN DIALOGUE BETWIXT THE POET AND HIS FRIEND OR MONITOR.

THE ARGUMENT.

I need not repeat, that the chief aim of the author is against bad poets in this Satire. But I must add, that he includes also bad orators, who began at that time (as Petronius in the beginning of his book tells us) to enervate manly eloquence, by tropes and figures, ill placed, and worse applied. Amongst the poets, Persius covertly strikes at Nero; some of whose verses he recites with scorn and indignation. He also takes notice of the noblemen and their abominable poetry, who, in the luxury of their fortune, set up for wits and judges. The Satire is in dialogue, betwixt the author and his friend or monitor; who dissuades him from this dangerous attempt of exposing great men. But Persius, who is of a free spirit, and has not forgotten that Rome was once a commonwealth, breaks through all those difficulties, and boldly arraigns the false judgment of the age in which he lives.—The reader may observe that our poet was a Stoic philosopher, and that all his moral sentences, both here and in all the rest of his Satires, are drawn from the dogmas of that sect.

PERSIUS.

How anxious are our cares, and yet, how vain
The bent of our desires!

FRIEND.

Thy spleen contain:
For none will read thy satires.

PERSIUS.

This to me?

FRIEND.

None, or what's next to none, but two or three.
'Tis hard I grant.

PERSIUS.

"Tis nothing; I can bear
That paltry scribblers have the public ear:
That this vast universal fool, the Town,
Should cry up Labeo's stuff, and cry me down.
They damn themselves; nor will my Muse descend
To clap with such, who fools and knaves commend:
Their smiles and censures are to me the same:
I care not what they praise, or what they blame.
In full assemblies let the crowd prevail:
I weigh no merit by the common scale.
The conscience is the test of every mind;
"Seek not thyself, without thyself, to find."
But where's that Roman?—Somewhat I would
say,
But Fear;—let Fear, for once, to Truth give way.
Truth lends the Stoic courage: when I look
On human acts, and read in Nature's book,
From the first pastimes of our infant age,
To elder cares, and man's severer page;

Ver. 1. *How anxious*] None of my author's hard metaphors or forced expressions, says Dryden, are in my translation. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 11. — *Labeo's stuff*] Nothing is remaining of Atticus Labeo, (so he is called by the learned Casaubon) nor is he mentioned by any other poet, besides Persius. Casaubon, from an old commentator on Persius, says, that he made a very foolish translation of Homer's *Iliads*.

When stern as tutors, and as uncles hard,
We lash the pupil, and defraud the ward:
Then, then I say,—or would say, if I durst—
But thus provoked, I must speak out, or burst.

FRIEND.

Once more forbear.

PERSIUS.

I cannot rule my spleen;
My scorn rebels, and tickles me within.
First, to begin at home; our authors write
In lonely rooms, secured from public sight;
Whether in prose or verse, 'tis all the same:
The prose is fustian, and the numbers lame.
All noise, and empty pomp, a storm of words,
Labouring with sound, that little sense affords.
They comb, and then they order every hair:
A gown, or white, or scourd to whiteness, wear:
A birthday jewel bobbing at their ear.
Next, gargle well their throats, and thus prepared,
They mount, a God's name, to be seen and heard,
From their high scaffold, with a trumpet cheek,
And ogling all their audience ere they speak.
The nauseous nobles, ev'n the chief of Rome,
With gaping mouths to these rehearsals come,
And pant with pleasure, when some lusty line
The marrow pierces, and invades the chine.
At open fulsome bawdery they rejoice,
And slimy jests applaud with broken voice.
Base prostitute, thus dost thou gain thy bread?
Thus dost thou feed their ears, and thus art fed!
At his own filthy stuff he grins and brays:
And gives the sign where he expects their praise.

Why have I learn'd, say'st thou, if thus confin'd,

I choke the noble vigour of my mind?
Know, my wild fig-tree, which in rocks is bred,
Will split the quarry, and shoot out the head.
Fine fruits of learning! old ambitious fool,
Durst thou apply that adage of the school;
As if 'tis nothing worth that lies conceal'd,
And "science is not science till reveal'd?"
Oh, but 'tis brave to be admired, to see
The crowd with pointing fingers, cry, That's he:
That's he whose wondrous poem is become
A lecture for the noble youth of Rome!
Who, by their fathers, is at feasts renown'd;
And often quoted when the bowls go round.
Full gorged and flush'd, they wantonly rehearse:
And add to wine the luxury of verse.
One, clad in purple, not to lose his time,
Eats, and recites some lamentable rhyme:
Some senseless Phillis, in a broken note,
Snuffing at nose, and croaking in his throat:
Then graciously the mellow audience nod:
Is not th' immortal author made a god?
Are not his manes bless'd, such praise to have?
Lies not the turf more lightly on his grave?
And roses (while his loud applause they sing)
Stand ready from his sepulchre to spring?

All these, you cry, but light objections are;
Mere malice, and you drive the jest too far.

Ver. 29. *They comb, &c.*] He describes a poet preparing himself to rehearse his works in public, which was commonly performed in August. A room was hired, or lent by some friend; a scaffold was raised, and a pulpit placed for him, who was to hold forth; who borrowed a new gown, or scoured his old one, and adorned his ears with jewels, &c.

Ver. 53. — *my wild fig-tree,*] Trees of that kind grow wild in many parts of Italy, and make their way through rocks, sometimes splitting the tombstones.

For does there breathe a man, who can reject
A general fame, and his own lines neglect? 85
In cedar tablets worthy to appear,
That need not fish, or frankincense to fear?

Thou, whom I make the adverse part to bear,
Be answer'd thus: If I by chance succeed
In what I write (and that's a chance indeed), 90
Know, I am not so stupid, or so hard,
Not to feel praise, or fame's deserved reward:
But this I cannot grant, that thy applause
Is my work's ultimate, or only, cause.

Prudence can ne'er propose so mean a prize; 95
For mark what vanity within it lies.

Like Labeo's *Iliads*, in whose verse is found
Nothing but trifling care, and empty sound:
Such little elegies as nobles write,
Who would be poets, in Apollo's spite. 100
Them and their woful works the Muse defies:
Products of citron beds, and golden canopies.
To give thee all thy due, thou hast the heart
To make a supper, with a fine dessert;
And to thy threadbare friend, a cast old suit
impart. 105

Thus bribed, thou thus bespeak'st him: Tell me,
friend,

(For I love truth, nor can plain speech offend.)
What says the world of me and of my Muse?

The poor dare nothing tell but flattering news:
But shall I speak? Thy verse is wretched rhyme;
And all thy labours are but loss of time. 111
Thy strutting belly swells, thy paunch is high;
Thou writ'st not, but thou pissest poetry.

All authors to their own defects are blind;
Hast thou but, Janus-like, a face behind, 115
To see the people, what splay-mouths they make;
To mark their fingers, pointed at thy back:
Their tongues lol'd out, a foot beyond the pitch,
When most athirst, of an Apulian bitch:
But noble scribblers are with flattery fed; 120
For none dare find their faults, who eat their bread.

To pass the poets of patrician blood,
What is't the common reader takes for good?
The verse in fashion is, when numbers flow,
Soft without sense, and without spirit slow: 125
So smooth and equal, that no sight can find
The rivet where the polish'd piece was join'd.
So even all, with such a steady view,
As if he shut one eye to level true.

Whether the vulgar vice his satire stings, 130
The people's riots, or the rage of kings,
The gentle poet is alike in all;
His reader hopes no rise, and fears no fall.

FRIEND.

Hourly we see some raw pin-feather'd thing
Attempt to mount, and fights and heroes sing; 135

Ver. 86. The Romans wrote on cedar and cypress tables, in regard of the duration of the wood: ill verses might justly be afraid of frankincense; for the papers in which they were written were fit for nothing but to wrap it up.

Ver. 102. *Products of citron beds, &c.* Writings of noblemen, whose bedsteads were of the wood of citron.

Ver. 115. — *Janus-like, &c.* Janus was the first king of Italy; who refused Saturn when he was expelled by his son Jupiter from Crete, or, as we now call it, Candia. From his name the first month of the year is called January. He was pictured with two faces, one before and one behind, as regarding the past time and the future. Some of the mythologists think he was Noah, for the reason given above.

Who for false quantities was whipp'd at school
But t' other day, and breaking grammar rule,
Whose trivial art was never tried above
The bare description of a native grove:
Who knows not how to praise the country store,
The feasts, the baskets, nor the fatted boar; 141
Nor paint the flowery fields, that paint themselves
before.

Where Romulus was bred, and Quintius born,
Whose shining ploughshare was in furrows worn,
Met by his trembling wife, returning home, 145
And rustically joy'd as chief of Rome:
She wiped the sweat from the blear-eyed fathers' brow;
And o'er his back his robe did rudely throw;
The victors bore in state their lord's triumphant
plough.

Some love to hear the fustian poet roar; 150
And some on antiquated authors pore:
Rummage for sense; and think those only good
Who labour most, and least are understood.
When thou shalt see the blear-eyed fathers teach
Their sons this harsh and mouldy sort of speech;
Or others new affected ways to try, 155
Of wanton smoothness, female poetry;
One would inquire from whence this motley
style

Did first our Roman purity defile:
For our old dotards cannot keep their seat; 160
But leap and catch at all that's obsolete.

Others, by foolish ostentation led,
When call'd before the bar, to save their head,
Bring trifling tropes, instead of solid sense; 164
And mind their figures more than their defence:
Are pleased to hear their thick-skull'd judges
cry,

Well mended, oh finely said, and decently!
Theft (says the accuser) to thy charge I lay,
O Pedius! what does gentle Pedius say?
Studious to please the genius of the times, 170
With periods, points, and tropes, he slurs his
crimes:

"He robb'd not, but he borrow'd from the poor;
And took but with intention to restore."
He lards with flourishes his long harangue;
'Tis fine, say'st thou: What, to be praised, and
hang? 175

Effeminate Roman, shall such stuff prevail
To tickle thee, and make thee wag thy tail?
Say, should a shipwreck'd sailor sing his woe,
Would'st thou be moved to pity, or bestow
An alms? What's more preposterous than to see
A merry beggar? Mirth in misery? 181

PERSIUS.

He seems a trap, for charity to lay:
And cons, by night, his lesson for the day.

FRIEND.

But to raw numbers, and unfinish'd verse,
Sweet sound is added now, to make it terse: 185

Ver. 143. *Where Romulus, &c.* He speaks of the country in the foregoing verses, the praises of which are the most easy theme for poets; but which a bad poet cannot naturally describe; then he makes a digression to Romulus, the first king of Rome, who had a rustic education; and enlarges upon Quintius Cincinnatus, a Roman senator, who was called from the plough, to be dictator of Rome.

Ver. 171. *With periods, &c.* Persius here names antitheses, or seeming contradictions, which in this place are meant for rhetorical flourishes, as I think with Casaubon.

"'Tis tagg'd with rhyme, like Berecynthian Atys,
The mid-part chimes with art, which never flat is.
The dolphin brave, that cuts the liquid wave,
Or he who in his line, can chine the long-ribb'd
Appennine."

PERSIUS.

All this is doggrel stuff.

190

FRIEND.

What if I bring
A nobler verse? "Arms and the man I sing."

PERSIUS.

Why name you Virgil with such fops as these?
He's truly great, and must for ever please;
Not fierce, but awful is his manly page;
Bold is his strength, but sober is his rage.

195

FRIEND.

What poems think you soft? and to be read
With languishing regards, and bending head?

PERSIUS.

"Their crooked horns the Mimmallonian crew
With blasts inspired; and Bassaris who slew
The scornful calf, with sword advanced on high,
Made from his neck his haughty head to fly.
And Mœnas, when with ivy bridles bound,
She led the spotted lynx, then Evion rung around;
Evion from woods and floods repairing echoes
sound."

200

205

Could such rude lines a Roman mouth become,
Were any manly greatness left in Rome?
Mœnas and Atys in the mouth were bred;
And never hatch'd within the labouring head:
No blood from bitten nails those poems drew:
But churn'd, like spittle, from the lips they flew.

210

FRIEND.

'Tis fustian all; 'tis execrably bad:
But if they will be fools, must you be mad?
Your satires, let me tell you, are too fierce;
The great will never bear so blunt a verse.
Their doors are barr'd against a bitter flout:
Snarl, if you please, but you shall snarl without.
Expect such pay as railing rhymes deserve,
You're in a very hopeful way to starve.

215

PERSIUS.

Rather than so, uncensured let 'em be;
All, all is admirably well, for me.
My harmless rhyme shall 'scape the dire disgrace
Of common-shores, and every pissing-place.

220

Ver. 186. — *Berecynthian Atys*, &c.] Foolish verses of Nero, which the poet repeats, and which cannot be translated properly into English.

Ver. 192. — *"Arms and the man,"* &c.] The first line of Virgil's *Æneids*.

Ver. 199. *"Their crooked horns,"* &c.] Other verses of Nero, that were mere bombast. I only note, that the repetition of these and the former verses of Nero, might justly give the poet a caution to conceal his name.

Ver. 208. *Mœnas and Atys*] Poems on the Mœnades, who were priestesses of Bacchus; and of Atys, who made himself an eunuch, to attend on the sacrifices of Cybele, called Berecynthia by the poets; she was mother of the gods.

Two painted serpents shall, on high, appear;
'Tis holy ground; you must not urinate here.
This shall be writ to fright the fry away,
Who draw their little baubles, when they play.

225

Yet old Lucilius never fear'd the times,
But lash'd the city, and dissected crimes.
Mutius and Lupus both by name he brought;
He mouth'd 'em, and betwixt his grinders caught.
Unlike in method, with conceal'd design,
Did crafty Horace his low numbers join:
And, with a sly insinuating grace,
Laugh'd at his friend, and look'd him in the face:
Would raise a blush, where secret vice he found;
And tickle, while he gently probed the wound.
With seeming innocence the crowd beguiled:
But made the desperate passes, when he smiled.

230

234

Could he do this, and is my Muse controll'd?
By servile awe? Born free, and not be bold?
At least, I'll dig a hole within the ground;
And to the trusty earth commit the sound:
The reeds shall tell you what the poet fears,
"King Midas has a snout, and asses' ears."
This mean conceit, this darling mystery,
Which thou think'st nothing, friend, thou shalt
not buy,

240

245

Nor will I change, for all the flashy wit,
That flattering Labeo in his *Iliads* writ.

Thou, if there be a thou in this base town,
Who dares, with angry Eupolis, to frown;
He, who, with bold Cratinus, is inspired
With zeal, and equal indignation fired;
Who, at enormous villany, turns pale,
And steers against it with a full-blown sail,
Like Aristophanes, let him but smile
On this my honest work, though writ in homely
style:

250

255

And if two lines or three in all the vein
Appear less drossy, read those lines again.
May they perform their author's just intent,
Glow in thy ears, and in thy breast ferment.
But from the reading of my book and me,
Be far, ye foes of virtuous poverty:
Who fortune's fault upon the poor can throw;
Point at the tatter'd coat, and ragged shoe:
Lay nature's failings to their charge, and jeer
The dim weak eyesight, when the mind is clear.
When thou thyself, thus insolent in state,
Art but, perhaps, some country magistrate;

260

265

Ver. 224. *Two painted serpents*, &c.] Two snakes twined with each other were painted on the walls, by the ancients, to show the place was holy.

Ver. 228. *Yet old Lucilius*, &c.] Lucilius wrote long before Horace, who imitates his manner of satire, but far excels him in the design.

Ver. 245. *"King Midas"*, &c.] The story is vulgar, that Midas, king of Phrygia, was made judge betwixt Apollo and Pan, who was the best musician; he gave the prize to Pan; and Apollo in revenge gave him asses' ears. He wore his hair long to hide them; but his barber discovering them, and not daring to divulge the secret, dug a hole in the ground, and whispered into it; the place was marshy, and when the reeds grew up, they repeated the words which were spoken by the barber. By Midas the poet meant Nero.

Ver. 251. Eupolis and Cratinus, as also Aristophanes mentioned afterwards, were all Athenian poets, who wrote that sort of comedy which was called the old comedy, where the people were named who were satirised by those authors.

Ver. 264. *Who fortune's fault*, &c.] The people of Rome, in the time of Persius, were apt to scorn the Grecian philosophers, particularly the Cynics and Stoics who were the poorest of them.

Whose power extends no farther than to speak²⁷⁰
Big on the bench, and scanty weights to break.

Him, also, for my censor I disdain,
Who thinks all science, as all virtue, vain;
Who counts geometry, and numbers, toys;
And, with his foot, the sacred dust destroys: ²⁷⁵
Whose pleasure is to see a strumpet tear
A Cynic's beard, and lug him by the hair.
Such, all the morning, to the pleadings run;
But when the business of the day is done,
On dice, and drink, and drabs, they spend their
afternoon. ²⁸⁰

THE
SECOND SATIRE OF PERSIUS.

DEDICATED TO HIS FRIEND PLOTTUS MACHINUS, ON HIS
BIRTHDAY.

THE ARGUMENT.

This Satire contains a most grave and philosophical argument, concerning prayers and wishes. Undoubtedly it gave occasion to Juvenal's tenth Satire; and both of them had their original from one of Plato's dialogues, called the Second Alcibiades. Our author has induced it with great mastery of art, by taking his rise from the birthday of his friend; on which occasions, prayers were made, and sacrifices offered by the native. Persius commending the purity of his friend's vows, descends to the impious and immoral requests of others. The Satire is divided into three parts. The first is the exordium to Macrinus, which the poet confines within the compass of four verses. The second relates to the matter of the prayers and vows, and an enumeration of those things, wherein men commonly sinned against right reason, and offended in their requests. The third part consists in showing the repugnances of those prayers and wishes to those of other men, and inconsistencies with themselves. He shows the original of these vows, and sharply inveighs against them; and lastly, not only corrects the false opinion of mankind concerning them, but gives the true doctrine of all addresses made to Heaven, and how they may be made acceptable to the Powers above, in excellent precepts, and more worthy of a Christian than a Heathen.

LET this auspicious morning be express'd
With a white stone, distinguish'd from the rest:
White as thy fame, and as thy honour clear;
And let new joys attend on thy new added year.
Indulge thy genius, and o'erflow thy soul, ⁵
Till thy wit sparkle, like the cheerful bowl.
Pray; for thy prayers the test of heaven will bear;
Nor need'st thou take the gods aside to hear:
While others, ev'n the mighty men of Rome,
Big swell'd with mischief, to the temples come; ¹⁰

Ver. 275. *And, with his foot, &c.* Arithmetic and geometry were taught on floors which were strewed with dust or sand, in which the numbers and diagrams were made and drawn, which they might strike out again at pleasure.

Ver. 280. *On dice,* Barten Holyday observes that "in Persius the difficulty is to find a meaning; in Juvenal to choose a meaning: so crabbed is Persius, and so copious is Juvenal. So much is the understanding employed in the one, and so much the judgment in the other. So difficult is it to find any sense in the former, and the best sense of the latter." Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 2. — *white stone,* The Romans were used to mark their fortunate days, or any thing that luckily befell them, with a white stone which they had from the island Creta; and their unfortunate, with a coal.

And in low murmurs, and with costly smoke,
Heaven's help, to prosper their black vows, invoke.
So boldly to the gods mankind reveal
What from each other they, for shame, conceal.

Gave me good fame, ye Powers, and make me
just: ¹⁵

Thus much the rogue to public ears will trust:
In private then — "When wilt thou, mighty Jove,
My wealthy uncle from this world remove?
Or — O thou Thunderer's son, great Hercules,
That once thy bounteous deity would please ²⁰
To guide my rake, upon the chinking sound
Of some vast treasure, hidden under ground!

O were my pupil fairly knock'd o' the head;
I should possess the estate, if he were dead!
He's so far gone with rickets, and with the evil, ²⁵
That one small dose will send him to the devil.

This is my neighbour Nerius his third spouse,
Of whom in happy time he rides his house.
But my eternal wife! — Grant heaven I may
Survive to see the fellow of this day! ³⁰
Thus, that thou may'st the better bring about
Thy wishes, thou art wickedly devout:
In Tyber ducking thrice, by break of day,
To wash the obscenities of night away.

But pry'thee tell me, ('tis a small request) ³⁵
With what ill thoughts of Jove art thou possess'd?
Would'st thou prefer him to some man? Suppose
I dipp'd among the worst, and Staius chose?
Which of the two would thy wise head declare ⁴⁰
The truster tutor to an orphan heir?
Or, put it thus: Unfold to Staius, straight,
What to Jove's ear thou didst impart of late:
He'll stare, and, O good Jupiter! will cry;
Canst thou indulge him in this villany!
And think'st thou, Jove himself, with patience, ⁴⁵
then,

Can hear a prayer condemn'd by wicked men?
That, void of care, he lolls supine in state,
And leaves his business to be done by fate?
Because his thunder splits some burly tree,
And is not darted at thy house and thee? ⁵⁰
Or that his vengeance falls not at the time,
Just at the perpetration of thy crime:
And makes thee a sad object of our eyes,
Fit for Ergenna's prayer and sacrifice?
What well-fed offering to appease the god, ⁵⁵
What powerful present to procure a nod,
Hast thou in store? What bribe hast thou prepared,
To pull him, thus unpunish'd, by the beard?

Our superstitions with our life begin:
The obscene old grandam, or the next of kin, ⁶⁰
The new-born infant from the cradle takes,
And first of spittle a lustration makes:

Ver. 19. Hercules was thought to have the key and power of bestowing all hidden treasure.

Ver. 33. The ancients thought themselves tainted and polluted by night itself, as well as bad dreams in the night, and therefore purified themselves by washing their heads and hands every morning; which custom the Turks observe to this day.

Ver. 54. When any one was thunderstruck, the sooth-sayer (who is here called Ergenna) immediately repaired to the place to expiate the displeasure of the gods, by sacrificing two sheep.

Ver. 62. The poet laughs at the superstitious ceremonies which the old women made use of in their lustration or purification days, when they named their children, which was done on the eighth day to females, and on the ninth to males.

Then in the spawl her middle finger dips,
Anoints the temples, forehead, and the lips,
Pretending force of magic to prevent;
By virtue of her nasty excrement
Then dandles him with many a mutter'd prayer
That heaven would make him some rich miser's
heir,

Lucky to ladies, and, in time, a king;
Which to ensure, she adds a length of navel-string;⁶⁵
But no fond nurse is fit to make a prayer:
And Jove, if Jove be wise, will never hear;
Not though she prays in white, with lifted hands:
A body made of brass the crone demands
For her loved nursling, strung with nerves of wire,⁷⁰
Tough to the last, and with no toil to tire:
Unconscionable vows, which when we use,
We teach the gods, in reason, to refuse.
Suppose they were indulgent to thy wish:
Yet the fat entrails, in the spacious dish,
Would stop the grant: the very over-care,
And nauseous pomp, would hinder half the prayer.
Thou hop'st with sacrifice of oxen slain
To compass wealth, and bribe the god of gain
To give thee flocks and herds, with large increase,⁷⁵
Fool! to expect them from a bullock's grease!
And think'st that when the fatten'd flames aspire,
Thou seest the accomplishment of thy desire!
Now, now, my bearded harvest gilds the plain,
The scanty folds can scarce my sheep contain,⁸⁰
And showers of gold come pouring in amain!
Thus dreams the wretch, and vainly thus dreams
on,

Till his lank purse declares his money gone.

Should I present thee with rare figured plate,
Or gold as rich in workmanship as weight;⁸⁵
O how thy rising heart would throb and beat,
And thy left side, with trembling pleasure, sweat!
Thou measurest by thyself the Powers Divine;
Thy gods are burnish'd gold, and silver is their
shrine.

Thy puny godlings of inferior race,¹⁰⁰
Whose humble statues are content with brass,
Should some of these, in visions purged from
phlegm,

Fortell events, or in a morning dream;
E'en those thou would'st in veneration hold;
And, if not faces, give 'em beards of gold.¹⁰⁵

Ver. 102. ——— in visions purged from phlegm, &c.] It was the opinion both of Grecians and Romans, that the gods, in visions or dreams, often revealed to their favourites a cure for their diseases, and sometimes those of others. Thus Alexander dreamt of an herb which cured Ptolemy. These gods were principally Apollo and Æsculapius; but, in after times, the same virtue and good will was attributed to Isis and Osiris; which brings to my remembrance an odd passage in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, or in his *Vulgar Errors*; the sense whereof is, "That we are beholding, for many of our discoveries in physic, to the courteous revelation of spirits." By the expression of visions purged from phlegm, our author means such dreams or visions as proceed not from natural causes, or humours of the body, but such as are sent from heaven, and are, therefore certain remedies.

The priests in temples now no longer care
For Saturn's brass, or Numa's earthen ware;
Or vestal urns, in each religious rite:
This wicked gold has put 'em all to flight.
O souls, in whom no heavenly fire is found,¹¹¹
Fat minds, and ever grovelling on the ground!
We bring our manners to the blest abodes,
And think what pleases us must please the gods.
Of oil and cassia one the ingredients takes,
And, of the mixture, a rich ointment makes:¹¹⁵
Another finds the way to dye in grain,
And makes Calabrian wool receive the Tyrian
stain;

Or from the shells their orient treasure takes,
Or, for their golden ore, in rivers rakes;
Then melts the mass: all these are vanities!¹²⁰
Yet still some profit from their pains may rise:
But tell me, priest, if I may be so bold,
What are the gods the better for this gold?
The wretch, that offers from his wealthy store
These presents, bribes the Powers to give him more:
As maids to Venus offer baby-toys,¹²⁵
To bless the marriage-bed with girls and boys.
But let us for the gods a gift prepare,
Which the great man's great chargers cannot bear:
A soul, where laws, both human and divine,¹³⁰
In practice more than speculation shine:
A genuine virtue, of a vigorous kind,
Pure in the last recesses of the mind:
When with such offerings to the gods I come,
A cake, thus given, is worth a hecatomb.¹³⁵

Ver. 107. *For Saturn's brass, &c.*] Brazen vessels, in which the public treasure of the Romans was kept: it may be the poet means only old vessels, which were all call'd *Kēvra*, from the Greek name of Saturn. Note also, that the Roman Treasury was in the temple of Saturn.

Ibid. ——— *Numa's earthen ware*;] Under Numa, the second king of Rome, and for a long time after him, the holy vessels for sacrifice were of earthen ware, according to the superstitious rites which were introduced by the same Numa; though afterwards, when Munimius had taken Corinth, and Paulus Emilius had conquered Macedonia, luxury began amongst the Romans; and then their utensils of devotion were of gold and silver, &c.

Ver. 117. *And makes Calabrian wool, &c.* The wool of Calabria was of the finest sort in Italy: as Juvenal also tells us.—The Tyrian stain is the purple colour dyed at Tyrus; and I suppose, but dare not positively affirm, that the richest of that dye was nearest our crimson, and not scarlet, or that other colour more approaching to the blue. I have not room to justify my conjecture.

Ver. 126. *As maids to Venus, &c.*] Those baby-toys were little babies, or puppets, as we call them; in Latin, *Pupae*; which the girls, when they came to the age of puberty, or child-bearing, offered to Venus; as the boys at fourteen or fifteen years of age offered their Bullae, or bossus.

Ver. 135. *A cake, thus given, &c.*] A cake of barley, or coarse wheat meal, with the bran in it: the meaning is, that God is pleased with the pure and spotless heart of the offerer, and not with the riches of the offering. Labeetus, in the fragments of his *Mimes*, has a verse like this: "*Puras, Deus, non plenas aspiciat manus.*" What I had forgotten before, in its due place, I must here tell the reader: that the first half of this Satire was translated by one of my sons, now in Italy; but I thought so well of it, that I let it pass without any alteration.

THE
THIRD SATIRE OF PERSIUS.

THE ARGUMENT.

Our author has made two Satires concerning study; the first and the third: the first related to men; this to young students, whom he desired to be educated in the Stoic philosophy: he himself sustains the person of the master, or preceptor, in this admirable Satire, where he upbraids the youth of sloth, and negligence in learning. Yet he begins with one scholar reproaching his fellow-students with late rising to their books. After which he takes upon him the other part, of the teacher: and addressing himself particularly to young noblemen, tells them, that, by reason of their high birth, and the great possessions of their fathers, they are careless of adorning their minds with precepts of moral philosophy: and withal, incenates to them the miseries which will attend them in the whole course of their life, if they do not apply themselves betimes to the knowledge of virtue, and the end of their creation, which he pathetically insinuates to them. The title of this Satire, in some ancient manuscripts, was *The Reproach of Idleness*: though in others of the scholiasts it is inscribed, *Against the Luxury and Vices of the Rich*. In both of which the intention of the poet is pursued; but principally in the former.

I remember I translated this Satire, when I was a King's scholar at Westminster-school, for a Thursday-night's Exercise; and believe that it, and many other of my Exercises of this nature, in English verse, are still in the hands of my learned master, the Reverend Doctor Busby.

Is this thy daily course! The glaring sun
Breaks in at every chink: the cattle run
To shades, and noon-tide rays of summer shun:
Yet plunged in sloth we lie; and snore supine,
As fill'd with fumes of undigested wine. ⁵

This grave advice some sober student bears;
And loudly rings it in his fellow's ears.
The yawning youth, scarce half awake, essays
His lazy limbs and dozy head to raise:
Than rubs his gummy eyes, and scrubs his pate;¹⁰
And cries, I thought it had not been so late:
My clothes; make haste: why when! if none be
near,

He mutters first, and then begins to swear:
And brays aloud, with a more clamorous note,
Than an Arcadian ass can stretch his throat. ¹⁵

With much ado, his book before him laid,
And parchment with the smoother side display'd;
He takes the papers; lays 'em down again;
And, with unwilling fingers, tries the pen:
Some peevish quarrel straight he strives to pick;
His quill writes double, or his ink 's too thick; ²¹
Infuse more water; now 'tis grown so thin,
It sinks, nor can the character be seen.

O wretch, and still more wretched every day!
Are mortals born to sleep their lives away? ²⁵
Go back to what thy infancy began,
Thou who wert never meant to be a man:
Eat pap and spoon-meat; for thy gewgaws cry;
Be sullen, and refuse the lullaby.
No more accuse thy pen; but charge the crime ³⁰
On native sloth, and negligence of time.
Think'st thou thy master or thy friends to cheat?
Fool, 'tis thyself, and that's a worse deceit.
Beware the public laughter of the town;
Thou spring'st a leak already in thy crown. ³⁵

Ver. 17. *And parchment, &c.* The students used to write their notes on parchments; the inside, on which they wrote, was white; the other side was hairy, and commonly yellow. Quintilian reproves this custom, and advises rather table-books, lined with wax, and a stile, like that we use in our vellum table-books, as more easy.

A flaw is in thy ill-baked vessel found;
'Tis hollow, and returns a jarring sound.
Yet, thy moist clay is phant to command;
Unwrought, and easy to the potter's hand:

Now take the mould; now bend thy mind to feel
The first sharp motions of the forming wheel. ⁴¹

But thou hast land, a country-seat, secure
By a just title; costly furniture;
A fuming-pan thy Lares to appease:
What need of learning when a man's at ease? ⁴⁵
If this be not enough to swell thy soul,
Then please thy pride, and search the herald's
roll,

Where thou shalt find thy famous pedigree
Drawn from the root of some old Tuscan tree;
And thou, a thousand off, a fool of long degree; ⁵⁰
Who, clad in purple, canst thy censor greet,
And loudly call him cousin in the street.

Such pageantry be to the people shown;
There boast thy horse's trappings, and thy own: ⁵⁵
I know thee to thy bottom; from within
Thy shallow centre, to thy outmost skin:
Dost thou not blush to live so like a beast,
So trim, so dissolute, so loosely drest?

But 'tis in vain: the wretch is drench'd too deep;
His soul is stupid, and his heart asleep; ⁶⁰
Fatten'd in vice; so callous and so gross,
He sins, and sees not; senseless of his loss.

Down goes the wretch at once, unskill'd to swim,
Hopeless to bubble up, and reach the water's brim.

Great father of the gods, when, for our crimes, ⁶⁵
Thou send'st some heavy judgment on the times;
Some tyrant-king, the terror of his age,
The type and true vicegerent of thy rage;
Thus punish him: set virtue in his sight,
With all her charms adorn'd, with all her graces ⁷⁰
bright:

But set her distant, make him pale to see
His gains outweigh'd by lost felicity!

Sicilian tortures and the brazen bull
Are emblems, rather than express the full
Of what he feels: yet what he fears is more: ⁷⁵
The wretch, who, sitting at his plenteous board,
Look'd up, and view'd on high the pointed sword

Ver. 44. *A fuming-pan, &c.* Before eating, it was customary to cut off some part of the meat, which was first put into a pan, or little dish; then into the fire; as an offering to the household gods; this they called a libation.

Ver. 49. *Drawn from the root, &c.* The Thuscans were accounted of most ancient nobility. Horace observes this, in most of his compliments to Mæcenæus; who was derived from the old kings of Tuscany, now the dominion of the great dukes.

Ver. 51. *Who, clad in purple, &c.* The Roman knights, attired in the robe called *Trabea*, were summoned by the censor to appear before him; and to salute him, in passing by, as their names were called over. They led their horses in their hand. See more of this, in Pompey's life, written by Pintarch.

Ver. 73. *Sicilian tortures, &c.* Some of the Sicilian kings were so great tyrants, that the name is become proverbial. The brazen bull is a known story of Phalaris, one of those tyrants, who, when Perillus, a famous artist, had presented him with a bull of that metal hollowed within, which, when the condemned person was inclosed in it, would render the sound of a bull's roaring, caused the workman to make the first experiment.—“*Docuitque sum mægne juvenem.*”

Ver. 76. *The wretch, who, sitting, &c.* He alludes to the story of Damocles, a flatterer of one of those Sicilian tyrants, namely Dionysius. Damocles had infinitely extolled the happiness of kings. Dionysius, to convince him of the contrary, invited him to a feast, and clothed him in purple; but caused a sword with the point downward, to be

Hang o'er his head, and hanging by a twine,
Did with less dread, and more securely dine.
Ev'n in his sleep he starts, and fears the knife, 80
And, trembling, in his arms takes his accomplice
wife:

Down, down he goes; and from his darling friend
Conceals the woes his guilty dreams portend.

When I was young, I, like a lazy fool,
Would blear my eyes with oil to stay from school:
Averse from pains, and loth to learn the part 85
Of Cato, dying with a dauntless heart:
Though much my master that stern virtue praised,
Which o'er the vanquisher the vanquish'd raised;
And my pleased father came with pride to see 90
His boy defend the Roman liberty.

But then my study was to cog the dice,
And dexterously to throw the lucky side:
To shun ames-ace, that swept my stakes away;
And watch the box, for fear they should convey 95
False bones, and put upon me in the play.
Careful, besides, the whirling top to whip,
And drive her giddy, till she fell asleep.

Thy years are ripe, nor art thou yet to learn
What's good or ill, and both their ends discern: 101
Thou in the Stoic Porch, severely bred,
Hast heard the dogmas of great Zeno read:
There on the walls, by Polygnotus' hand,
The conquer'd Medians in trunk-breeches stand:
Where the shorn youth to midnight lectures rise,
Roused from their slumbers to be early wise: 105
Where the coarse cake, and homely husks of beans,
From pampering riot the young stomach weans.
And where the Samian Y directs thy steps to run
To Virtue's narrow steep, and broad-way Vice to 110
shun.

And yet thou snor'st; thou draw'st thy drunken
breath,
Sour with debauch, and sleep'st the sleep of death:
Thy chaps are fallen, and thy frame disjointed;
Thy body as dissolved as is thy mind.

Hast thou not, yet, proposed some certain end,
To which thy life, thy every act may tend? 115
Hast thou no mark, at which to bend thy bow?
Or like a boy pursuest the carrion crow
With pellets, and with stones, from tree to tree;
A fruitless toil; and liv'st extempore? 120

Watch the disease in time: for, when within
The dropsy rages and extends the skin,
In vain for hellebore the patient cries,
And fees the doctor; but too late is wise:
Too late for cure, he proffers half his wealth; 125
Conquest and Guibbons cannot give him health.

Learn, wretches, learn the motions of the mind,
Why you were made, for what you were design'd;
And the great moral end of human kind.

hung over his head, by a silken twine; which, when he perceived, he could eat nothing of the delicacies that were set before him.

Ver. 101. *Thou in the Stoic Porch, &c.* The Stoics taught their philosophy under a Portico, to secure their scholars from the weather. Zeno was the chief of that sect.

Ver. 103. *Polygnotus* A famous painter, who drew the pictures of the Medes and Persians, conquered by Miltiades, Themistocles, and other Athenian captains, on the walls of the portico, in their natural habits.

Ver. 109. *And where the Samian Y, &c.* Pythagoras of Samos made the allusion of the Y, or Greek Upsilon, to vice and virtue. One side of the letter, being broad, characters vice, to which the ascent is wide and easy. The other side represents virtue, to which the passage is strait and difficult; and perhaps our Saviour might also allude to this, in those noted words of the evangelist, "The way to heaven," &c.

Study thyself, what rank or what degree 130
The wise Creator has ordain'd for thee:
And all the offices of that estate
Perform; and with thy prudence guide thy fate.

Pray justly, to be heard: nor more desire
Than what the decencies of life require. 135
Learn what thou ow'st thy country, and thy
friend;

What's requisite to spare, and what to spend:
Learn this; and after, envy not the store
Of the greased advocate, that grinds the poor;
Fat fees from the defended Umbrian draws; 140
And only gains the wealthy client's cause:
To whom the Marsians more provision send,
Than he and all his family can spend.
Gammons, that give a relish to the taste,
And potted fowl, and fish, come in so fast. 145

That, ere the first is out, the second stinks:
And mouldy mother gathers on the drinks.
But, here, some captain of the land or fleet.
Stout of his hands, but of a soldier's wit,
Cries, I have sense to serve my turn, in store; 150
And he's a rascal who pretends to more.

Dammes, whate'er those book-learn'd blockheads
say,
Solon's the veriest fool in all the play.
Top-heavy drones, and always looking down,
(As over-ballasted within the crown) 155
Muttering betwixt their lips some mystic thing,
Which, well examined, is flat conjuring,
Mere madmen's dreams: for what the schools
have taught,

Is only this, that nothing can be brought
From nothing; and, what is, can ne'er be turn'd 160
to nought.

Is it for this they study? to grow pale,
And miss the pleasures of a glorious meal?
For this, in rags accoutred, are they seen,
And made the may-game of the public spleen?

Proceed, my friend, and rail; but hear me tell
A story, which is just thy parallel. 165

A spark, like thee, of the man-killing trade,
Fell sick, and thus to his physician said:
Methinks I am not right in every part;
I feel a kind of trembling at my heart: 170
My pulse unequal, and my breath is strong:
Besides a filthy furr upon my tongue.

The doctor heard him, exercised his skill:
And, after, bid him for four days be still.
Three days he took good counsel, and began 175
To mend, and look like a recovering man:
The fourth, he could not hold from drink; but
sends

His boy to one of his old trusty friends;
Adjuring him, by all the Powers Divine,
To pity his distress, who could not dine 180
Without a flagon of his healing wine.

He drinks a swelling draught; and, lined within.
Will supple in the bath his outward skin.
Whom should he find but his physician there,
Who, wisely, bade him once again beware: 185
Sir, you look wan, you hardly draw your breath;
Drinking is dangerous, and the bath is death.
'Tis nothing, says the fool: But, says the friend,
This nothing, sir, will bring you to your end.

Ver. 140. *Fat fees, &c.* Casaubon here notes, that, among all the Romans who were brought up to learning, few besides the orators, or lawyers, grew rich.

Ver. 142. The Marsians and Umbrians were the most plentiful of all the provinces in Italy.

Do I not see your dropsy-belly swell? 190
 Your yellow skin?—No more of that; I'm well.
 I have already buried two or three
 That stood betwixt a fair estate and me;
 And, doctor, I may live to bury thee. 194
 Thou tell'st me, I look ill, and thou look'st worse.
 I've done, says the physician; take your course.
 The laughing sot, like all unthinking men,
 Bathes and gets drunk; then bathes and drinks
 again:

His throat half throttled with corrupted phlegm,
 And breathing through his jaws a belching steam:
 Amidst his cups with fainting shivering seized, 201
 His limbs disjointed, and all o'er diseased,
 His hand refuses to sustain the bowl;
 And his teeth chatter, and his eye-balls roll:
 Till, with his meat, he vomits out his soul: 205
 Then trumpets, torches, and a tedious crew
 Of hireling mourners, for his funeral due.
 Our dear departed brother lies in state,
 His heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the
 gate;
 And slaves, now manumized, on their dead master
 wait. 210

They hoist him on the bier, and deal the dole;
 And there's an end of a luxurious fool.

But what's thy fulsome parable to me?
 My body is from all diseases free:
 My temperate pulse does regularly beat; 215
 Feel, and be satisfied, my hands and feet:
 These are not cold, nor those oppress'd with heat.
 Or lay thy hand upon my naked heart,
 And thou shalt find me hale in every part.
 I grant this true: but, still, the deadly wound
 Is in thy soul; 'tis there thou art not sound. 221
 Say, when thou seest a heap of tempting gold,
 Or a more tempting harlot dost behold;
 Then, when she casts on thee a side-long glance,
 Then try thy heart, and tell me if it dance. 225

Some coarse cold salad is before thee set;
 Bread, with the bran perhaps, and broken meat;
 Fall on, and try thy appetite to eat.
 These are not dishes for thy dainty tooth:
 'That, hast thou got an ulcer in thy mouth? 230
 Why stand'st thou picking? Is thy palate sore?
 That beet and radishes will make thee roar?
 Such is the unequal temper of thy mind;
 Thy passions in extremes, and unconfined:
 Thy hair so bristles with unmanly fears, 235
 As fields of corn, that rise in bearded ears:
 And, when thy cheeks with flushing fury glow,
 The rage of boiling caldrons is more slow,
 When fed with fuel and with flames below.
 With foam upon thy lips, and sparkling eyes, 240
 Thou say'st, and dost, in such outrageous wise,
 That mad Orestes, if he saw the show,
 Would swear thou wert the madder of the two.*

Ver. 209. *His heels stretch'd out, &c.* The Romans were buried without the city; for which reason the poet says, that the dead man's heels were stretched out towards the gate.

Ver. 242. *That mad Orestes.* Orestes was son to Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. Agamemnon, at his return from the Trojan wars, was slain by Ægysthus, the son of Clytemnestra. Orestes, to revenge his father's death, slew both Ægysthus and his mother; for which he is punished with madness by the Eumenides or furies, and so continually haunted him.

* Æschylus calls smoke the brother of fire, and dust he calls the brother of mud. The first passage is in *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 500. The latter in *Agamemnon*, v. 508. Yet

THE

FOURTH SATIRE OF PERSIUS.

THE ARGUMENT.

Our author, living in the time of Nero, was contemporary and friend to the noble poet Lucan; both of them were sufficiently sensible, with all good men, how unskillfully he managed the commonwealth: and perhaps might guess at his future tyranny, by some passages, during the latter part of his first five years; though he broke not out into his great excesses, while he was restrained by the counsels and authority of Seneca. Lucan has not spared him in the poem of his *Pharsalia*: for his very compliment looked askint, as well as Nero. Persius has been bolder, but with caution likewise. For here, in the person of young Alcibiades, he arraigns his ambition of meddling with state-affairs, without judgment or experience. It is probable that he makes Seneca, in this Satire, sustain the part of Socrates, under a borrowed name. And, withal, discovers some secret vices of Nero, concerning his lust, his drunkenness, and his effeminacy, which had not yet arrived to public notice. He also reprehends the flattery of his courtiers, who endeavoured to make all his vices pass for virtues. Covetousness was undoubtedly none of his faults; but it is here described as a veil cast over the true meaning of the poet, which was to satirise his prodigality and voluptuousness; to which he makes a transition. I find no instance in history of that emperor's being a Patihque, though Persius seems to brand him with it. From the two dialogues of Plato, both called *ALCIBIADES*, the poet took the arguments of the Second and Third Satires, but he inverted the order of them: for the Third Satire is taken from the first of those dialogues.

The commentators before Casanbon were ignorant of our author's secret meaning; and thought he had only written against young noblemen in general, who were too forward in aspiring to public magistracy: but this excellent scholiast has unravelled the whole mystery; and made it appear that the sting of this Satire was particularly aimed at Nero.

WHOE'ER thou art, whose forward years are bent
 On state-affairs, to guide the government;
 Hear first, what Socrates of old has said
 To the loved youth, whom he, at Athens, bred.
 Tell me, thou pupil to great Pericles, 5
 Our second hope, my Alcibiades,
 What are the grounds, from whence thou dost
 prepare
 To undertake, so young, so vast a care?
 Perhaps thy wit: (a chance not often heard,
 That parts and prudence should prevent the
 beard.) 10
 'Tis seldom seen, that senators so young
 Know when to speak, and when to hold their tongue.

there are commentators who admire these affected expressions, and compare it with the "*Sylva filia nobilis*" of Horace. Persius abounds in the most harsh and concealed expressions, and in far-sought and almost unintelligible metaphors. Æschines called some expressions in Demosthenes himself *ἀσκήματα* not *ἐκρήματα*. But, says Quintilian, "*Pervasis jam multos ista persuasio, ut id jam demum elegantius, atque exquisitius dictum putent, quod interpretandum sit.*" It would be too invidious to name one or two late writers, who might have profited by attending to this passage of Quintilian. Dr. J. WATSON.

Ver. 3. Socrates, whom the oracle of Delphos praised as the wisest man of his age, lived in the time of the Peloponnesian war. He, finding the uncertainty of natural philosophy, applied himself wholly to the moral. He was master to Xenophon and Plato, and to many of the Athenian young noblemen; amongst the rest, to Alcibiades, the most lovely youth then living; afterwards a famous captain, whose life is written by Plutarch.

Ver. 5. Pericles was tutor, or rather overseer of the will of Clinias, father to Alcibiades. While Pericles lived, who was a wise man, and an excellent orator, as well as a great general, the Athenians had the better of the war.

Sure thou art born to some peculiar fate;
When the mad people rise against the state,
To look them into duty : and command
An awful silence with thy lifted hand.
Then to bespeak 'em thus : Athenians, know
Against right reason all your counsels go ;
This is not fair , nor profitable that ;
Nor t'other question proper for debate.
But, thou, no doubt, canst set the business right,
And give each argument its proper weight :
Knowst, with an equal hand, to hold the scale :
Seest where the reasons pinch, and where they fail,
And where exceptions o'er the general rule
prevail :
And, taught by inspiration, in a trice,
Canst punish crimes, and brand offending vice.
Leave, leave to fathom such high points as these,
Nor be ambitious, ere thy time, to please :
Unseasonably wise, till age and cares
Have form'd thy soul, to manage great affairs.
Thy face, thy shape, thy outside, are but vain ;
Thou hast not strength such labours to sustain :
Drink hellebore, my boy, drink deep, and purge
thy brain.

What aim'st thou at, and whither tends thy
care,
In what thy utmost good ? Delicious fare ;
And, then, to sun thyself in open air.

Hold, hold ; are all thy empty wishes such ?
A good old woman would have said as much.
But thou art nobly born : 'tis true ; go boast
Thy pedigree, the thing thou valuest most :
Besides thou art a beau : what's that, my child ?
A fop well dress'd, extravagant, and wild :
She, that cures herbs, has less impertinence ;
And, in her calling, more of common sense.

None, none descends into himself, to find
The secret imperfections of his mind :
But every one is eagle-eyed, to see
Another's faults, and his deformity.
Say, dost thou know Vectidius ? Who, the wretch⁵⁰
Whose lands beyond the Sabines largely stretch ;
Cover the country, that a sailing kite
Can scarce o'er-fly 'em, in a day and night ;
Him dost thou mean, who, spite of all his store,
Is ever craving, and will still be poor ?
Who cheats for halfpence, and who doffs his
coat,

To save a farthing in a ferry-boat ?
Ever a glutton, at another's cost,
But in whose kitchen dwells perpetual frost ?
Who eats and drinks with his domestic slaves ;⁵⁰
A verner hind than any of his knaves ?
Born with the curse and anger of the gods,
And that indulgent Genius he defrauds ?

Ver. 27. *Canst punish crimes, &c.* That is by death. When the judges would condemn a malefactor, they cast their votes into an urn, as, according to the modern custom, a balloting-box. If the suffrages were marked with Θ they signified the sentence of death to the offender, as being the first letter of *Θάνατος*, which in English is death.

Ver. 34. *Drink hellebore, &c.* The poet would say, that such an ignorant young man, as he here describes, is fitter to be governed himself, than to govern others. He therefore advises him to drink hellebore, which purges the brain.

Ver. 50. *Say, dost thou know Vectidius ? &c.* The name of Vectidius is here used appellatively to signify any rich covetous man ; though perhaps there might be a man of that name then living. I have translated this passage paraphrastically, and loosely : and leave it for those to look on, who are not unlike the picture.

At harvest-home, and on the shearing-day,
When he should thanks to Pan and Pales pay,⁵⁵
And better Ceres ; trembling to approach
The little barrel, which he fears to broach :
He essays the wibble, often draws it back,
And deals to thirsty servants but a smack.
To a short meal he makes a tedious grace,⁵⁶
Before the barley-pudding comes in place :
Then bids fall on : himself, for saving charges,
A peel'd sliced onion eats, and tipples verjuice.
Thus fares the drudge : but thou, whose life's a
dream

Of lazy pleasures, tak'st a worse extreme.
'Tis all thy business, business how to shun ;
To bask thy naked body in the sun ;
Suppling thy stiffen'd joints with fragrant oil :
Then, in thy spacious garden, walk a while,
To suck the moisture up, and soak it in ;⁵⁸
And this, thou think'st, but vainly think'st, unseen.
But, know, thou art observed ; and there are those
Who, if they durst, would all thy secret sins expose.
The depilation of thy modest part :
Thy catamite, the darling of thy heart,⁵⁶
His engine-hand, and every lewder art :
When prone to bear, and patient to receive,
Thou tak'st the pleasure which thou canst not give.
With odorous oil thy head and hair are sleek .
And then thou kemb'st the tuzzes on thy cheek :
Of these thy barbers take a costly care,⁵⁹
While thy salt tail is overgrown with hair.
Not all thy pincers, nor unmanly arts,
Can smooth the roughness of thy shameful parts.
Not five, the strongest that the Circus breeds,⁵⁶
From the rank soil can root those wicked weeds .
Though suppl'd first with soap, to ease thy pain,
The stubborn fern springs up, and sprouts again.

Thus others we with defamations wound.
While they stab us ; and so the jest goes round.
Vain are thy hopes to 'scape censorious eyes ;¹⁰¹
Truth will appear through all the thin disguise :
Thou hast an ulcer which no leech can heal,
Though thy broad shoulder-belt the wound conceal.

Ver. 65. *When he should thanks, &c.* Pan, the god of shepherds, and Pales, the goddess presiding over rural affairs, whom Virgil invokes in the beginning of his second Georgic. I give the epithet of *better* to Ceres, because she first taught the use of corn for bread, as the poets tell us men, in the first rude ages, feeding only on acorns or mast, instead of bread.

Ver. 84. *The depilation of thy modest part : &c.* Our author here taxes Nero covertly with that effeminate custom, now used in Italy, and especially by harlots of smoothing their bellies, and taking off the hairs which grow about their secrets. In Nero's times they were pulled off with pincers, but now they use a paste, which, if applied to those parts, when it is removed, carries away with it those excrescences.

Ver. 95. *Not five, the strongest, &c.* The learned Holyday (who has made us amends for his bad poetry in this and the rest of these Satires, with his excellent illustrations) here tells us from good authority, that the number five does not allude to the five fingers of one man, who used them all in taking off the hairs before-mentioned ; but to five strong men, such as were skilful in the five robust exercises then in practice at Rome, and were performed in the Circus, or public place ordained for them. These five he reckons up in this manner : 1 The Cestus, or whirlingbat, described by Virgil, in his fifth *Æneid* ; and thus was the most dangerous of all the rest. The second was the foot-race ; the third the Discus, like the throwing a weighty ball, a sport now used in Cornwall, and other parts of England ; we may see it daily practised in Red-Lion-fields. The fourth was the Saltus, or leaping ; and the fifth wrestling naked, and besmeared with oil. They who were practised in these five manly exercises were called *Illyriades*.

Say thou art sound and hale in every part, 103
We know, we know thee rotten at thy heart.
We know thee sullen, impotent, and proud :
Nor canst thou cheat thy nerve, who cheat'st the crowd.

But when they praise me, in the neighbourhood,
When the pleased people take me for a god, 110
Shall I refuse their incense ? Not receive
The loud applauses which the vulgar give ?

If thou dost wealth, with longing eyes, behold ;
And, greedily, art gaping after gold ;
If some alluring girl, in gliding by, 115
Shall tip the wink, with a lascivious eye,
And thou, with a consenting glance, reply ;
If thou thy own solicitor become,
And bidd'st arise the lumpish pendulum :
If thy lewd lust provokes an empty storm, 120
And prompts to more than nature can perform ;
If, with thy guards, thou scour'st the streets by night,

And dost in murders, rapes, and spoils delight ;
Please not thyself, the flattering crowd to hear ;
'Tis fulsome stuff to feed thy itching ear. 125
Reject the nauseous praises of the times ;
Gave thy base poets back their cobbled rhymes :
Survey thy soul, not what thou dost appear,
But what thou art ; and find the beggar there.

THE FIFTH SATIRE OF PERSIUS.

INSCRIBED TO THE
REVEREND DR. BUSBY.

THE SPEAKERS, PERSIUS AND CORNUTUS.

THE ARGUMENT.

The judicious Casaubon, in his poem to this Satire, tells us, that Aristophanes, the grammarian, being asked, what poem of Archilochus his lambs he preferred before the rest, answered, the longest. His answer may justly be applied to this Fifth Satire ; which, being of a greater length than any of the rest, is also, by far, the most instructive : for this reason I have selected it from all the others, and inscribed it to my learned master, Dr. Busby ; to whom I am not only obliged myself for the best part of my own education, and that of my two sons, but have also received from him the first and truest taste of Persius. May he be pleased to find in this translation, the gratitude, or at least some small acknowledgment of his unworthy scholar, at the distance of forty-two years, from the time when I departed from under his tuition.

This Satire consists of two distinct parts : the first contains the praises of the Stoic philosopher Cornutus, master and tutor to our Persius. It also declares the love and piety of Persius to his well-deserving master ; and the mutual friendship which continued betwixt them, after

Ver. 108. — *thy nerve, &c.* That is, thou canst not deceive thy obscene part, which is weak or impotent, though thou makest ostentation of thy performances with women.

Ver. 122. *If, with thy guards, &c.* Persius durst not have been so bold with Nero, as I dare now ; and therefore there is only an intimation of that in him, which I publicly speak ; I mean of Nero's walking the streets by night in disguise ; and committing all sorts of outrages ; for which he was sometimes well beaten.

Ver. 128. *Survey thy soul, &c.* That is, look into thyself, and examine thy own conscience ; there thou shalt find, that, how wealthy soever thou appearest to the world, yet thou art but a beggar, because thou art destitute of all virtues ; which are the riches of the soul. This also was a paradox of the Stoic school.

Persius was now grown a man. As also his exhortation to young noblemen, that they would enter themselves into his institution. From hence he makes an artful transition into the second part of his subject : when can he first complaints of the sloth of scholars, and afterwards persuades them to the pursuit of their true liberty : here our author excellently treats that paradox of the Stoics, which affirms, that the wise or virtuous man is only free, and that all vicious men are naturally slaves. And, in the illustration of this dogma, he takes up the remaining part of this inimitable Satire.

PERSIUS.

Of ancient use to poets it belongs,
To wish themselves an hundred mouths and tongues :

Whether to the well-lung'd tragedian's rage
They recommend the labours of the stage,
Or sing the Parthian, when transfix'd he lies, 5
Wrenching the Roman javelin from his thighs.

CORNUTUS.

And why would'st thou these mighty morsels choose,

Of words unchew'd, and fit to choke the muse ?
Let fustian poets with their stuff be gone,
And suck the mists that hang o'er Helicon ; 10
When Progne or Thyestes' feast they write ;
And, for the mouthing actor, verse indite.
Thou neither, like a bellows, swell'st thy face,
As if thou wert to blow the burning mass
Of melting ore, nor canst thou strain thy throat, 15
Or murmur in an undistinguish'd note,
Like rolling thunder, till it breaks the cloud,
And rattling nonsense is discharged aloud.
Soft elocution does thy style renown,
And the sweet accents of the peaceful gown : 20
Gentle or sharp, according to thy choice,
To laugh at follies, or to lash at vice.
Hence draw thy theme, and to the stage permit
Raw-head and Bloody-bones, and hands and feet,
Ragouts for Tereus or Thyestes dress'd ; 25
'Tis task enough for thee to expose a Roman feast.

PERSIUS.

'Tis not, indeed, my talent to engage
In lofty trifles, or to swell my page
With wind and noise ; but freely to impart,
As to a friend, the secrets of my heart ; 30
And, in familiar speech, to let thee know
How much I love thee, and how much I owe.
Knock on my heart : for thou hast skill to find
If it sound solid, or be fill'd with wind ;
And, through the veil of words, thou view'st the 35
naked mind.

For this a hundred voices I desire,
To tell thee what a hundred tongues would tire ;
Yet never could be worthily express'd,
How deeply thou art seated in my breast.

When first my childish robe resign'd the charge,
And left me, unconfined, to live at large ; 41

Ver. 11. Progne was wife to Tereus, king of Thracia : Tereus fell in love with Philomela, sister to Progne, ravished her, and cut out her tongue : in revenge of which, Progne killed Tereus, her own son by Tereus, and served him up at a feast, to be eaten by his father.

Ibid. Thyestes and Atræus were brothers, both kings ; Atræus, to revenge himself of his unnatural brother, killed the sons of Thyestes, and invited him to eat them.

Ver. 40 By the childish robe is meant the Pretexta, or first gowns which the Roman children of quality wore : these were welled with purple, and on those welts were

When now my golden Bulla (hung on high
To household gods) declared me past a boy ;
And my white shield proclaim'd my liberty ;
When with my wild companions, I could roll 45
From street to street, and sin without control ;
Just at that age, when manhood set me free,
I then deposed myself, and left the reins to thee.
On thy wise bosom I reposed my head,
And by my better Socrates was bred. 50
Then thy straight rule set virtue in my sight,
The crooked line reforming by the right
My reason took the bent of thy command,
Was form'd and polish'd by thy skilful hand :
Long summer-days thy precepts I rehearse ; 55
And winter-nights were short in our converse :
One was our labour, one was our repose,
One frugal supper did our studies close.
Sure on our birth some friendly planet shone ;
And, as our souls, our horoscope was one : 60
Whether the mounting Twins did heaven adorn,
Or with the rising Balance we were born ;
Both have the same impressions from above,
And both have Saturn's rage, repell'd by Jove.
What star I know not, but some star I find, 65
Has given thee an ascendant o'er my mind.

CORNUTUS.

Nature is ever various in her frame :
Each has a different will, and few the same :
The greedy merchants, led by lucre, run
To the parch'd Indies, and the rising sun ; 70
From thence hot pepper and rich drugs they bear,
Bartering for spices their Italian ware :
The lazy glutton safe at home will keep,
Indulge his sloth, and batten with his sleep :
One bribes for high preferments in the state ; 75
A second shakes the box, and sits up late :
Another shakes the bed, dissolving there,
Till knots upon his gouty joints appear,
And chalk is in his crippled fingers found ;
Rots like a dodder'd oak, and piecemeal falls to 80
ground ;
Then his lewd follies he would late repent ;
And his past years, that in a mist were spent.

PERSIUS.

But thou art pale, in nightly studies, grown,
To make the Stoic institutes thy own ;

fastened the Bullæ, or little bells, which, when they came to the age of puberty, were hung up, and consecrated to the Lares, or household gods.

Ver. 44. The first shields which the Roman youths wore were white, and without any impress or device on them, to show they had yet achieved nothing in the wars.

Ver. 50. Socrates by the Oracle was declared to be the wisest of mankind : he instructed many of the Athenian young noblemen in morality, and amongst the rest Alcibiades.

Ver. 60. Astrologers divide the heaven into twelve parts, according to the number of the twelve signs of the zodiac : the sign or constellation which rises in the east, at the birth of any man, is called the ascendant : Persius, therefore, judges that Cornutus and he had the same, or a like nativity.

Ver. 61. The sign of Gemini.

Ver. 62. The sign of Libra.

Ver. 64. Astrologers have an axiom, that whatsoever Saturn ties is loosed by Jupiter. they account Saturn to be a planet of a malevolent nature, and Jupiter of a propitious influence.

Ver. 84. Zeno was the great master of the Stoic

Thou long, with studious care, hast till'd our 85
youth,
And sown our well-purged ears with wholesome
truth.
From these both old and young, with profit, learn
The bounds of good and evil to discern.

CORNUTUS.

Unhappy he who does this work adjourn,
And to to-morrow would the search delay :
His lazy morrow will be like to-day.

PERSIUS.

But is one day of ease too much to borrow ?

CORNUTUS.

Yes, sure : for yesterday was once to-morrow.
That yesterday is gone, and nothing gain'd :
And all thy fruitless days will thus be drain'd ; 95
For thou hast more to-morrows yet to ask,
And wilt be ever to begin thy task ;
Who, like the hindmost chariot-wheels, art cursed,
Still to be near, but ne'er to reach the first.

O freedom ! first delight of human kind ! 100
Not that which bondmen from their masters find,
The privilege of doles ; not yet to inscribe
Their names in this or t' other Roman tribe :
That false enfranchisement with ease is found :
Slaves are made citizens by turning round. 105

How, replies one, can any be more free ?
Here's Dama, once a groom of low degree,
Not worth a farthing, and a sot beside ;
So true a rogue, for lying's sake he lied :
But, with a turn, a freeman he became ; 110
Now Marcus Dama is his worship's name.
Good gods ! who would refuse to lend a sum,
If wealthy Marcus surety will become !
Marcus is made a judge, and for a proof
Of certain truth, He said it, is enough. 115

A will is to be proved ; put in your claim ;
'Tis clear, if Marcus has subscribed his name.
This is true liberty, as I believe ;
What can we farther from our caps receive,
Than as we please without control to live ? 120
Not more to noble Brutus could belong.
Hold, says the Stoic, your assumption's wrong :

philosophy, and Cleanthes was second to him in reputation. Cornutus, who was master or tutor to Persius, was of the same school.

Ver 102. When a slave was made free, he had the privilege of a Roman born, which was to have a share in the donatives or doles of bread, &c, which were distributed by the magistrates amongst the people.

Ver. 108. The Roman people was distributed into several tribes : he who was made free was enrolled into some one of them, and thereupon enjoyed the common privileges of a Roman citizen.

Ver. 105. The master, who intended to enfranchise a slave, carried him before the city prætor, and turned him round, using these words, "I will that this man be free."

Ver. 111. Slaves had only one name before their freedom ; after it they were admitted to a Prænomen, like our christened names ; so Dama is now called Marcus Dama.

Ver. 117. At the proof of a testament, the magistrates were to subscribe their names, as allowing the legality of the will.

Ver. 119. Slaves, when they were set free, had a cap given them, in sign of their liberty.

Ver. 121. Brutus freed the Roman people from the tyranny of the Tarquins, and changed the form of the government into a glorious commonwealth.

I grant true freedom you have well defined :

But, living as you list, and to your mind,
Are loosely tack'd, and must be left behind. 125
What ! since the prator did my fetters loose,
And left me freely at my own dispose,
May I not live without control and awe,
Excepting still the letter of the law ?

Hear me with patience, while thy mind I free 130
From those fond notions of false liberty :
'Tis not the prator's province to bestow
True freedom ; nor to teach mankind to know
What to ourselves, or to our friends, we owe.
He could not set thee free from cares and strife, 135
Nor give the reins to a lewd vicious life :
As well he for an ass a harp might string,
Which is against the reason of the thing ;
For reason still is whispering in your ear,
Where you are sure to fail, the attempt forbear. 140
No need of public sanctions this to bind,
Which Nature has implanted in the mind :
Not to pursue the work, to which we're not de-
sign'd.

Unskill'd in hellebore, if thou should'st try 145
To mix it, and mistake the quantity,
The rules of physic would against thee cry.
The high-shoe'd ploughman, should he quit the
land,

To take the pilot's rudder in his hand,
Artless of stars, and of the moving sand,
The gods would leave him to the waves and wind,
And think all shame was lost in human kind. 151

Tell me, my friend, from whence hadst thou the
skill,

So nicely to distinguish good from ill ?
Or by the sound to judge of gold and brass,
What piece is tinkers' metal, what will pass ? 155
And what thou art to follow, what to fly,
This to condemn, and that to ratify ?

When to be bountiful, and when to spare,
But never craving, or oppress'd with care ?
The baits of gifts and money to despise,
And look on wealth with undesiring eyes ? 160
When thou canst truly call these virtues thine,
Be wise and free, by heaven's consent, and mine.

But thou, who lately of the common strain,
Wert one of us, if still thou dost retain 165
The same ill-habits, the same follies too,
Gloss'd over only with a saint-like show,
Then I resume the freedom which I gave,
Still thou art bound to vice, and still a slave.
Thou canst not wag thy finger, or begin 170
"The least light motion, but it tends to sin."

How's this ! Not wag my finger, he replies ?
No, friend ; nor fuming gums, nor sacrifice,
Can ever make a madman free, or wise.

"Virtue and Vice are never in one soul : 175
A man is wholly wise, or wholly is a fool."
A heavy bumpkin, taught with daily care,
Can never dance three steps with a becoming air.

PERSIUS.

In spite of this, my freedom still remains.

CORNUTUS.

Free ! what, and fetter'd with so many chains ?
Canst thou no other master understand 181
Than him that freed thee by the prator's wand ?
Should he, who was thy lord, command thee now,
With a harsh voice, and supercilious brow,
To serve duties, thou would'st fear no more ; 185
The gallows and the whip are out of door.
But if thy passions lord it in thy breast,
Art thou not still a slave, and still oppress'd ?

Whether alone, or in thy harlot's lap,
When thou would'st take a lazy morning's nap 190
Up, up, says Avarice ; thou snor'st again ;
Stretchest thy limbs, and yawn'st, but all in vain ;
The tyrant Lucre no denial takes ;
At his command the unwilling sluggard wakes :
What must I do ? he cries : What ? says his
lord : 195

Why, rise, make ready, and go straight abroad :
With fish, from Euxine seas, thy vessel freight ;
Flax, castor, Coan wines, the precious weight
Of pepper, and Sabæan incense, take
With thy own hands, from the tired camel's 200
back ;

And with post-haste thy running markets make.
Be sure to turn the penny ; lie and swear ;
'Tis wholesome sin : but Jove, thou say'st, will
hear :

Swear, fool, or starve ; for the dilemma's even :
A tradesman thou ! and hope to go to heaven ! 205

Resolved for sea, the slaves thy baggage pack,
Each saddled with his burden on his back ;
Nothing retards thy voyage, now, unless
Thy other lord forbids, Voluptuousness ;
And he may ask this civil question : Friend, 210
What dost thou make a shipboard ? to what end ?
Art thou of Bethlem's noble college free ?
Stark, staring mad, that thou would'st tempt the
sea ?

Cubb'd in a cabin, on a mattress laid,
On a brown george, with lousy swobbers fed, 215
Dead wine, that stinks of the borachio, sup
From a foul jack, or greasy maple-cup ?
Say, would'st thou bear all this, to raise thy store
From six ! the hundred, to six hundred more ?
Indulge, and to thy Genius freely give ; 220
For, not to live at ease, is not to live ;
Death stalks behind thee, and each flying hour
Does some loose remnant of thy life devour.

Live, while thou liv'st ; for death will make us all
A name, a nothing but an old wife's tale. 225

Speak ; wilt thou Avarice, or Pleasure, choose
To be thy lord ? Take one, and one refuse.

But both, by turns, the rule of thee will have ;
And thou, betwixt 'em both, wilt be a slave.

Nor think when once thou hast resisted one,
That all thy marks of servitude are gone : 231

The struggling greyhound gnaws his leash in vain ;
If, when 'tis broken, still he drags the chain.

Says Phædria to his man, Believe me, friend,
To this uneasy love I'll put an end : 235

Ver. 129. The text of the Roman laws was written in red letters, which was called the Rubric, translated here, in more general words, "The Letter of the Law."

Ver. 175. The Stoics held this paradox, that any one vice, or notorious folly, which they called madness, hundered a man from being virtuous, that a man was of a piece, without a mixture, either wholly vicious or good, one virtue or vice according to them, including all the rest.

Ver. 182. The pretor held a wand in his hand, with which he softly struck the slave on the head when he declared him free.

Ver. 234. This alludes to the play of Terence called the Eunuch, which was excellently imitated of late in English by Sir Charles Sedley. In the first scene of that comedy, Phædria was introduced with his man Pamphilus, discussing, whether he should leave his mistress Thais, or return to her, now that she had invited him.

Shall I run out of all? My friends disgrace,
And be the first lewd unthrift of my race?
Shall I the neighbours' nightly rest invade
At her deaf doors, with some vile serenade?
Well hast thou freed thyself, his man replies, 240
Go, thank the gods, and offer sacrifice.
Ah, says the youth, if we unkindly part,
Will not the poor fond creature break her heart?
Weak soul! and blindly to destruction led!
She break her heart! she'll sooner break your 245
head.

She knows her man, and when you rant and swear,

Can draw you to her with a single hair.
But shall I not return? Now, when she sues?
Shall I my own and her desires refuse?
Sir, take your course; but my advice is plain: 250
Once freed, 'tis madness to resume your chain.

AY; there's the man, who, loosed from lust and self,

Less to the prætor owes, than to himself.
But write him down a slave, who, humbly proud,
With presents begs preferments from the crowd, 255
That early suppliant, who salutes the tribes,
And sets the mob to scramble for his bribes:
That some old dotard, sitting in the sun,
On holidays may tell, that such a feat was done:
In future times this will be counted rare. 260

Thy superstition too may claim a share:
When flowers are strewn'd, and lamps in order placed,

And windows with illuminations graced,
On Herod's day; when sparkling bowls go round,
And tunny's tails in savoury sauce are drown'd, 265
Thou mutter'st prayers obscene; nor dost refuse
The fasts and sabbaths of the curtail'd Jews.
Then a crack'd egg-shell thy sick fancy frights,
Besides the childish fear of walking sprites.
Of o'ergrown gelding priests thou art afraid; 270
The tumbrel, and the squintifigo maid
Of Isis, awe thee: lest the gods, for sin,
Should, with a swelling dropsy, stuff thy skin:
Unless three garlic heads the curse avert,
Eaten each morn, devoutly, next thy heart. 275

Preach this among the brawny guards, say'st thou,

And see if they thy doctrine will allow:
The dull fat captain, with a hound's deep throat,
Would bellow out a laugh, in a base note;
And prize a hundred Zenos just as much. 280
As a clipp'd sixpence, or a schilling Dutch.

Ver. 256. He who sued for any office amongst the Romans was called a candidate, because he wore a white gown, and sometimes chalked it to make it appear whiter. He rose early, and went to the houses of those who headed the people; saluted also the tribes severally, when they were gathered together to choose their magistrates, and distributed a largess amongst them, to engage them for their voices, much resembling our elections of parliament men.

Ver. 264. The commentators are divided what Herod this was whom our author mentions; whether Herod the Great, whose birth-day might possibly be celebrated after his death by the Herodians, a sect amongst the Jews, who thought him their Messiah, or Herod Agrippa, living in the author's time, and after it. The latter seems the more probable opinion.

Ver. 268. The ancients had a superstition, contrary to ours, concerning egg-shells; they thought that if an egg-shell were cracked, or a hole bored in the bottom of it, they were subject to the power of sorcery: we as vainly break the bottom of an egg-shell, and cross it when we have eaten the egg, lest some hag should make use of it in bewitching

THE SIXTH SATIRE OF PERSIUS.

TO CÆSIUS BASSUS, A LYRIC POET.

THE ARGUMENT.

This Sixth Satire treats an admirable common-place of Moral Philosophy; of the true Use of Riches. They are certainly intended, by the Power who bestows them, as instruments and helps of living commodiously ourselves, and of administering to the wants of others who are oppressed by fortune. There are two extremes in the opinions of men concerning them. One error, though on the right hand, yet a great one, is, that they are no helps to a virtuous life; the other places all our happiness in the acquisition and possession of them; and this is, undoubtedly, the worse extreme. The mean betwixt these, is the opinion of the Stoics; which is, that riches may be useful to the leading a virtuous life; in case we rightly understand how to give according to right reason; and how to receive what is given us by others. The virtue of giving well, is called liberality, and it is of this virtue that Persius writes in this Satire; wherein he not only shows the lawful use of riches, but also shapily inveighs against the vices which are opposed to it; and especially of those which consist in the defects of giving or spending, or in the abuse of riches. He writes to Cæsius Bassus, his friend, and a poet also; inquires first of his health and studies; and afterwards informs him of his own, and where he is now resident. He gives an account of himself, that he is endeavouring by little and little to wear off his vices, and particularly that he is combating ambition, and the desire of wealth. He dwells upon the latter vice; and being sensible that few men either desire or use riches as they ought, he endeavours to convince them of their folly; which is the main design of the whole Satire.

Has winter caused thee, friend, to change thy seat,
And seek, in Sabine air, a warm retreat?
Say, dost thou yet the Roman harp command?
Do the strings answer to thy noble hand?
Great master of the muse, inspired to sing 5
The beauties of the first created spring;
The pedigree of nature to rehearse,
And sound the Maker's work, in equal verse;
Now sporting on thy lyre the loves of youth,
Now virtuous age, and venerable truth; 10
Expressing justly Sappho's wanton art
Of odes, and Pindar's more majestic part.

For me, my warmer constitution waits
More cold, than our Ligurian winter grants;
And therefore to my native shores retired, 15
I view the coast old Ennius once admired;
Where cliffs on either side their points display;
And, after opening in an ampler way,
Afford the pleasing prospect of the bay.
'Tis worth your while, O Romans, to regard 20
The port of Luna, says our learned bard;

us, or sailing over the sea in it if it were whole. The rest, of the priests of Isis, and her one-eyed or squinting priestesses, is more largely treated in the Sixth Satire of Juvenal, where the superstitions of women are related.

Ver. 2. *And seek, in Sabine air, &c.* All the studious, and particularly the poets, about the end of August, began to set themselves on work, refraining from writing during the heats of the summer. They wrote by night, and sat up the greatest part of it; for which reason, the product of their studies was called their Elucidations, or nightly labours. They who had country seats retired to them while they studied; as Persius did to his, which was near the Port of the Moon in Etruria; and Bassus to his, which was in the country of the Sabines, nearer Rome.

Ver. 9. *Now sporting on thy lyre, &c.* This proves Cæsius Bassus to have been a lyric poet. 'Tis said of him, that by an eruption of the flaming mountain Vesuvius, near which the greatest part of his fortune lay, he was burnt himself, together with all his writings.

Who, in a drunken dream, beheld his soul
The fifth within the transmigrating roll;
Which first a peacock, then Euphorbus was,
Then Homer next, and next Pythagoras;
And last of all the line did into Ennius pass.

Secure and free from business of the state,
And more secure of what the vulgar prate,
Here I enjoy my private thoughts; nor care
What rots for sheep the southern winds prepare:
Survey the neighbouring fields, and not repine,
When I behold a larger crop than mine:
To see a beggar's brat in riches flow,
Adds not a wrinkle to my even brow;
Nor, envious at the sight, will I forbear
My plenteous bowl, nor bate my bounteous cheer;
Nor yet unseal the dregs of wine that stink
Of cask; nor in a nasty flagon drink.
Let others stuff their guts with homely fare:
For men of different inclinations are;
Though born, perhaps, beneath one common star.
In minds and manners twins opposed we see
In the same sign, almost the same degree:
One, frugal, on his birth-day fears to dine,
Does at a penny's cost in herbs repine,
And hardly dares to dip his fingers in the brine:
Prepared as priest of his own rites to stand,
He sprinkles pepper with a sparing hand.
His jolly brother, opposite in sense,
Laughs at his thrift; and lavish of expence,
Quaffs, crams, and guttles, in his own defence.
For me, I'll use my own; and take my share;
Yet will not turbots for my slaves prepare;
Nor be so nice in taste myself to know
If what I swallow be a thrush, or no.
Live on thy annual income; spend thy store;
And freely grind, from thy full threshing-floor;
Next harvest promises as much, or more.
Thus I would live; but friendship's holy band.
And offices of kindness hold my hand:
My friend is shipwreck'd on the Brutian strand,

Ver. 22. *Who, in a drunken dream, &c.* I call it a drunken dream of Ennius, not that my author in this place gives me any encouragement for the epithet, but because Horace, and all who mention Ennius, say he was an excessive drinker of wine. In a dream, or vision, call you it which you please, he thought it was revealed to him that the soul of Pythagoras was transmigrated into him, as Pythagoras before him believed that himself had been Euphorbus in the wars of Troy. Commentators differ in placing the order of this soul, and who had it first. I have here given it to the peacock, because it looks more according to the order of nature, that it should lodge in a creature of an inferior species, and so by gradation rise to the informing of a man. And Persius favours me by saying that Ennius was the fifth from the Pythagorean peacock.

Ver. 61. *My friend is shipwreck'd on, &c.* Perhaps this is only a fine transition of the poet, to introduce the business of the Satire, and not that any such accident had happened to one of the friends of Persius. But, however, this is the most poetical description of any in our author; and since he and Lucan were so great friends, I know not but Lucan might help him in two or three of these verses, which seem to be written in his style: certain it is that, besides this description of a shipwreck, and two lines more, which are at the end of the Second Satire, our poet has written nothing elegantly. I will, therefore, transcribe both the passages to justify my opinion. The following are the last verses, saving one, of the Second Satire:—

Compositum jus, fasque animi; sanctoque recessus
Mentis, et innotum generoso pectus honesto:

The others are those in this present Satire, which are subjoined:—

trade ruptâ, Brutia Saxa
Prendit amicus inops; remque omnem, surdaque vota
Condidit Ionio; jacet ipse in littore; et unda
Ingentes de puppe Dei; jamque obvia mergis
Costa ratis lacerae.

His riches in the Ionian main are lost;
And he himself stands shivering on the coast;
Where, destitute of help, forlorn, and bare,
He wears the deaf gods with fruitless prayer.
Their images, the relics of the wrack,
Torn from the naked poop, are tided back
By the wild waves, and, rudely thrown ashore,
Lie impotent; nor can themselves restore
The vessel sticks, and shows her open'd side,
And on hershatter'd mast the mewsin triumph ride.
From thy new hope, and from thy growing store,
Now lend assistance and relieve the poor.
Come; do a noble act of charity;
A pittance of thy land will set him free.
Let him not bear the badges of a wrack,
Nor beg with a blue table on his back:
Nor tell me that thy frowning heir will say,
'Tis mine that wealth thou squander'st thus away.
What is 't to thee, if he neglect thy um,
Or without spices lets thy body burn?
If odours to thy ashes he refuse,
Or buys corrupted cassia from the Jews?
All these, the wiser Bestius will reply,
Are empty pomp, and dead men's luxury:
We never knew this vain expence, before
The effeminated Grecians brought it o'er.
Now toys and trifles from their Athens come;
And dates and pepper have unsnew'd Rome:
Our sweating hinds their salads, now, defile,
Infecting homely herbs with fragrant oil.
But, to thy fortune be not thou a slave:
For what hast thou to fear beyond the grave?
And thou who gap'st for my estate, draw near;
For I would whisper somewhat in thy ear.
Hear'st thou the news, my friend? the express is come
With laurel'd letters from the camp to Rome:
Cæsar salutes the queen and senate thus:
My arms are on the Rhine victorious.

Ver. 72. *From thy new hope, &c.* The Latin is, *Nunc et de cæspite vivo, frange aliquid*. Casaubon only opposes, the *cæspes vivus*, which, word for word, is the living turf, to the harvest or annual income. I suppose the poet rather means, sell a piece of land already sown, and give the money of it to my friend, who has lost all by shipwreck; that is, do not stay till thou hast reaped, but help him immediately, as his wants require.

Ver. 77. *Nor beg with a blue table, &c.* Holyday translates it a green table; the sense is the same; for the table was painted of the sea colour, which the shipwrecked person carried on his back, expressing his losses thereby to excite the charity of the spectators.

Ver. 81. *Or without spices, &c.* The bodies of the rich, before they were burnt, were embalmed with spices, or rather spices were put into the urn, with the relics of the ashes. Our author here names cinnamon and cassia, which cassia was sophisticated with cherry gum, and probably enough by the Jews, who adulterate all things which they sell. But whether the ancients were acquainted with the spices of the Molucca Islands, Ceylon, and other parts of the Indies, or whether their pepper and cinnamon, &c., were the same with ours, is another question. As for nutmegs and mace, it is plain that the Latin names of them are modern.

Ver. 98. *Cæsar salutes, &c.* The Cæsar here mentioned is Caius Caligula, who affected to triumph over the Germans, whom he never conquered, as he did over the Britons; and accordingly sent letters, wrapt about with laurels, to the Senate, and the Empress Cæsarion, whom I here call Queen, though I know that name was not used amongst the Romans; but the word Empress would not stand in that verse, for which reason I adjourned it to another. The dust which was to be swept away from the altars was either the ashes which were left there after the last sacrifice for victory, or might, perhaps, mean the dust or ashes which were left on the altars since some former

From mourning altars sweep the dust away : 100
Cease fasting, and proclaim a fat thanksgiving day.
The goodly empress, jollily inclined,
Is to the welcome bearer wondrous kind :
And, setting her good housewifery aside,
Prepares for all the pageantry of pride. 105
The captive Germans, of gigantic size,
Are rank'd in order, and are clad in frize :
The spoils of kings and conquer'd camps we boast,
Their arms in trophies hang on the triumphal post. 110

Now, for so many glorious actions done
In foreign parts, and mighty battles won ;
For peace at home, and for the public wealth,
I mean to crown a bowl to Cæsar's health ;
Besides, in gratitude for such high matters,
Know, I have vow'd two hundred gladiators. 115
Say, would'st thou hinder me from this expence ?
I disinherit thee, if thou dar'st take offence.
Yet more, a public largess I design
Of oil and pies, to make the people dine :
Control me not, for fear I change my will. 120

And yet methinks I hear thee grumbling still :
You give as if you were the Persian king :
Your land does no such large revenues bring.
Well ; on my terms thou wilt not be my heir :
If thou car'st little, less shall be my care : 125
Were none of all my father's sisters left ;
Nay, were I of my mother's kin bereft ;
None by an uncle's or a grandame's side,
Yet I could some adopted heir provide.
I need but take my journey half a day 130
From haughty Rome, and at Aricia stay,
Where fortune throws poor Manius in my way.
Him will I choose : What him, of humble birth,
Obscure, a foundling, and a son of earth ?
Obscure ! Why, prythee what am I ? I know 135
My father, grandsire, and great grandsire too :
If farther I derive my pedigree,
I can but guess beyond the fourth degree.
The rest of my forgotten ancestors
Were sons of earth, like him, or sons of whores. 140
Yet why would'st thou, old covetous wretch, aspire
To be my heir, who might'st have been my sire ?
In nature's race, should'st thou demand of me
My torch, when I in course run after thee ?

defeat of the Romans by the Germans : after which overthrow the altars had been neglected.

Ver. 102. *Cæsonia*, wife to Caius Caligula, who afterwards, in the reign of Claudius, was proposed, but ineffectually, to be married to him, after he had executed Messalina for adultery.

Ver. 106. *The captive Germans, &c.* He means only such as were to pass for Germans in the triumph ; large-bodied men, as they are still, whom the Empress clothed now, with coarse garments, for the greater ostentation of the victory.

Ver. 115. *Know, I have vow'd two hundred gladiators.* A hundred pair of gladiators were beyond the purse of a private man to give ; therefore, this is only a threatening to his heir, that he could do what he pleased with his estate.

Ver. 143. ——— *should'st thou demand of me My torch, &c.*
Why should'st thou who art an old fellow, hope to outlive

Think I approach thee like the god of gain, 145
With wings on head and heels, as poets feign :
Thy moderate fortune from my gift receive ;
Now fairly take it, or as fairly leave.
But take it as it is, and ask no more.
What, when thou hast embezzled all thy store ? 150
Where's all thy father left ? 'Tis true, I grant,
Some I have mortgaged, to supply my want :
The legacies of Tadius too are flown :
All spent, and on the self-same errand gone.
How little then to my poor share will fall ! 155
Little indeed ; but yet that little's all.

Nor tell me, in a dying father's tone,
Be careful still of the main chance, my son ;
Put out the principal in trusty hands :
Live of the use ; and never dip thy lands : 160
But yet what's left for me ? What's left, my friend !

Ask that again, and all the rest I spend.
Is not my fortune at my own command ?
Pour oil, and pour it with a plenteous hand,
Upon my salads, boy : shall I be fed 165
With sodden nettles, and a singed sow's head ?
'Tis holiday ; provide me better cheer ;
'Tis holiday, and shall be round the year.
Shall I my household gods and Genius cheat,
To make him rich, who grudges me my meat, 170
That he may loll at ease, and pamper'd high,
When I am laid, may feed on gible-pie ?
And when his throbbing lust extends the vein,
Have wherewithal his whores to entertain ?
Shall I in homespun cloth be clad, that he 175
His paunch in triumph may before him see ?
Go, miser, go ; for lucre sell thy soul,
Truck wares for wares, and trudge from pole to pole :

'That men may say, when thou art dead and gone,
See what a vast estate he left his son ! 180
How large a family of brawny knaves,
Well fed, and fat as Cappadocian slaves !
Increase thy wealth, and double all thy store :
'Tis done : Now double that, and swell the score ;

To every thousand add ten thousand more. 185
Then say, Chrysippus, thou who would'st confine
Thy heap, where I shall put an end to mine.

me, and be my heir, who am much younger. He who was first in the course, or race, delivered the torch, which he carried, to him who was second.

Ver. 182. *Well fed, and fat as Cappadocian slaves !* Who were famous for their lustiness, and being, as we call it, in good liking. They were set on a stall when they were exposed to sale, to show the good habit of their body, and made to play tricks before the buyers, to show their activity and strength.

Ver. 186. *Then say, Chrysippus, &c.* Chrysippus, the Stoic, invented a kind of argument, consisting of more than three propositions, which is called *Sorites*, or a heap. But as Chrysippus could never bring his propositions to a certain stint, so neither can a covetous man bring his craving desires to any certain measure of riches, beyond which he could not wish for any more.

TRANSLATIONS FROM HOMER.

THE
FIRST BOOK OF HOMER'S ILIAS.

THE ARGUMENT.

Chryses, priest of Apollo, brings presents to the Grecian princes, to ransom his daughter, Chryseis, who was prisoner in the fleet. Agamemnon, the general, whose captive and mistress the young lady was, refuses to deliver her, threatens the venerable old man, and dismisses him with contumely. — The priest craves vengeance of his god, who sends a plague among the Greeks, which occasions Achilles, their great champion, to summon a council of the chief officers: he encourages Calchas, the high priest and prophet, to tell the reason why the gods were so much incensed against them. — Calchas is fearful of provoking Agamemnon, till Achilles engages to protect him: then, emboldened by the hero, he accuses the general as the cause of all, by detaining the fair captive, and refusing the presents offered for her ransom. By this proceeding, Agamemnon is obliged, against his will, to restore Chryseis, with gifts, that he might appease the wrath of Phœbus; but, at the same time, to revenge himself on Achilles, sends to seize his slave, Briseis. Achilles, thus affronted, complains to his mother, Thetis; and begs her to revenge his injury, not only on the general, but on all the army, by giving victory to the Trojans, till the ungrateful king became sensible of his injustice. At the same time he retires from the camp into his ships, and withdraws his aid from his countrymen. Thetis prefers her son's petition to Jupiter, who grants her suit. Juno suspects her errand, and quarrels with her husband, for his grant; till Vulcan reconciles his parents with a bowl of nectar, and sends them peacefully to bed.

THE wrath of Peleus' son, O Muse, resound; *
Whose dire effects the Grecian army found,
And many a hero, king, and hardy knight,
Were sent, in early youth, to shades of night:
Their limbs a prey to dogs and vultures made. 5
So was the sovereign will of Jove obey'd;
From that ill-omen'd hour when strife begun,
Betwixt Atreides great, and Thetis' god-like son.
What Power provoked, and for what cause, relate,
Sow'd in their breasts the seeds of stern debate: 10
Jove's and Latona's son his wrath express'd,
In vengeance of his violated priest,

* Pope made a ridiculous blunder, mistaking by an old Latin translation of Diodorus Siculus, where Homer was called Medicus by an error of the press for Mendiculus; whence Pope affirmed that Homer was a physician.

This is not the place to enter into a long dissertation on the admirable disposition and economy of the Iliad. We may however just observe one or two circumstances. It is an essential beauty in a well-constituted epic poem, that there should be an apparent necessity for every incident that arises. It was absolutely necessary that each of the Grecian chiefs should be brought forward, in order to heighten the effects of the absence and anger of Achilles. It was absolutely necessary for Vulcan to make a shield for Achilles, because the Trojans had seized and carried away his armour. It was absolutely necessary that funeral games should be performed on the death of Patroclus; but not so necessary that Æneas should stop in Sicily, to which island he had happened to be driven by contrary winds, and there celebrate the anniversary of his father's death. Neither was there so absolute a necessity for the beautiful expedition of Nisus and Euryalus, as for that of Dolon and Diomedes. Dr. J. Warton.

Against the king of men; who, swoll'n with pride,
Refused his presents, and his prayers denied.
For this the god a swift contagion spread 15
Amid the camp, where heaps on heaps lay dead.

For venerable Chryses came to buy,
With gold and gifts of price, his daughter's liberty.
Suppliant before the Grecian chiefs he stood,
Awful, and arm'd with ensigns of his god: 20
Bare was his hoary head; one holy hand
Held forth his laurel crown, and oar his sceptre
of command.

His suit was common; but above the rest,
To both the brother-princes thus address'd:

Ye sons of Atreus, and ye Grecian powers, 25
So may the gods who dwell in heavenly bowers
Succeed your siege, accord the vows you make,
And give you Troy's imperial town to take;
So, by their happy conduct, may you come
With conquest back to your sweet native home;
As you receive the ransom which I bring,
(Respecting Jove, and the far-shooting King.)
And break my daughter's bonds, at my desire;
And glad with her return her grieving sire.

With shouts of loud acclaim the Greeks decree 3
To take the gifts, to set the damsel free.
The king of men alone with fury burn'd;
And, haughty, these opprobrious words return'd:
Hence, holy dotard, and avoid my sight,
Ere evil intercept thy tardy flight: 40
Nor dare to tread this interdicted strand,
Lest not that idle sceptre in thy hand,
Nor thy god's crown, my vow'd revenge withstand
Hence on thy life: the captive maid is mine,
Whom not for price or prayers I will resign: 45
Mine she shall be, till creeping age and time
Her bloom have wither'd, and consumed her prime.
Till then my royal bed she shall attend;
And, having first adorn'd it, late ascend:
This, for the night, by day, the web and loom, 50
And homely household-task, shall be her doom,
Far from thy loved embrace, and her sweet native
home.

He said: the helpless priest replied no more,
But sped his steps along the hoarse-resounding
shore:

Silent he fled; secure at length he stood, 55
Devoutly cursed his foes, and thus invoked his god:

O source of sacred light, attend my prayer,
God with the silver bow, and golden hair;
Whom Chrysa, Cilla, Tenedos obeys,
And whose broad eye their happy soil surveys; 60
If, Smintheus, I have pour'd before thy shrine
The blood of oxen, goats, and ruddy wine,
And larded thighs on loaded altars laid,
Hear, and my just revenge propitious aid!
Pierce the proud Greeks, and with thy shafts
attest 65

How much thy power is injured in thy priest.

He pray'd, and Phœbus, hearing, urged his flight,
With fury kindled, from Olympus' height;

His quiver o'er his ample shoulders threw;
His bow twang'd, and his arrows rattled as they flew. 70

Black as a stormy night, he ranged around
The tents, and compass'd the devoted ground.
Then with full force his deadly bow he bent,
And feather'd fates among the mules and sumpters sent,

The essay of rage; on faithful dogs the next; 75
And last, in human hearts his arrows fix'd.
The god nine days the Greeks at rovers kill'd,
Nine days the camp with funeral fires was fill'd;
The tenth, Achilles, by the Queen's command,
Who bears heaven's awful sceptre in her hand, 80
A council summon'd for the goddess griev'd
Her favour'd host should perish unreliev'd.

The kings, assembled, soon their chief enclose;
Then from his seat the goddess-born arose,
And thus undaunted spoke: What now remains, 85
But that once more we tempt the watery plains,
And, wandering homeward, seek our safety hence,
In flight at least, if we can find defence?
Such woes at once encompass us about,
The plague within the camp, the sword without. 90
Consult, O king, the prophets of the event:
And whence these ills, and what the god's intent,
Let them by dreams explore, for dreams from Jove are sent.

What want of offer'd victims, what offence 95
In fact committed could the Sun incense,
To deal his deadly shafts? What may remove
His settled hate, and reconcile his love?
That he may look propitious on our toils;
And hungry graves no more be glutted with our spoils.

Thus to the king of men the hero spoke, 100
Then Calchas the desired occasion took:
Calchas the sacred seer, who had in view
Things present and the past; and things to come foreknew.

Supreme of augurs, who, by Phœbus taught,
The Grecian powers to Troy's destruction brought. 105
Skill'd in the secret causes of their woes,
The reverend priest in graceful act arose;
And thus bespoke Pelides: Care of Jove,
Favour'd of all the immortal Powers above;
Would'st thou the seeds deep sown of mischief know, 110

And why, provoked, Apollo bends his bow?
Plight first thy faith, inviolably true,
To save me from those ills, that may ensue.

For I shall tell ungrateful truths to those,
Whose boundless powers of life and death dis- 115
pose.

And sovereigns, ever jealous of their state,
Forgive not those whom once they mark for hate;
Ev'n though the offence they seemingly digest,
Revenge, like embers raked, within their breast,
Bursts forth in flames; whose unresisted power
Will seize the unwary wretch, and soon devour. 120
Such, and no less is he, on whom depends
The sum of things; and whom my tongue of force offends.

Secure me then from his foreseen intent,
That what his wrath may doom, thy valour may 125
prevent.

To this the stern Achilles made reply:
Be bold, and on my plighted faith rely,
To speak what Phœbus has inspired thy soul
For common good, and speak without control. 130
His godhead I invoke, by him I swear,
That while my nostrils draw this vital air,
None shall presume to violate those bands;
Or touch thy person with unhallow'd hands:
Ev'n not the king of men, that all commands. 135

At this, resuming heart, the prophet said:
Nor hecatomb unslain, nor vows unpaid,
On Greeks accus'd this dire contagion bring,
Or call for vengeance from the bowyer King;
But he the tyrant, whom none dares resist,
Affronts the godhead in his injured priest: 140
He keeps the damsel captive in his chain,
And presents are refused, and prayers preferr'd in vain.

For this the avenging Power employs his darts,
And empties all his quiver in our hearts;
Thus will persist, relentless in his ire, 145
Till the fair slave be render'd to her sire;
And ransom-free restored to his abode,
With sacrifice to reconcile the god:
Then he, perhaps, atoned by prayer, may cease
His vengeance justly vow'd, and give the peace. 150
Thus having said, he sat: thus answer'd then,
Upstarting from his throne, the king of men,
His breast with fury fill'd, his eyes with fire;
Which, rolling round, he shot in sparkles on the sire:

Angur of ill, whose tongue was never found 155
Without a priestly curse, or boding sound;
For not one bless'd event foretold to me
Pass'd through that mouth, or pass'd unwillingly
And now thou dost with lies the throne invade,
By practice harden'd in thy slandering trade. 160
Obtending heaven, for whate'er ills befall;
And sputtering under specious names thy gall.
Now Phœbus is provoked, his rites and laws
Are in his priest profaned, and I the cause:
Since I detain a slave, my sovereign prize; 165
And sacred gold, your idol-god, despise.
I love her well: and well her merits claim
To stand preferr'd before my Grecian dame:
Not Clytemnestra's self in beauty's bloom
More charm'd, or better plied the various loom:
Mine is the maid; and brought in happy hour, 171
With every household-grace adorn'd, to bless my nuptial bower.

Yet shall she be restored; since public good
For private interest ought not to be withstood,
To save the effusion of my people's blood. 175
But right requires, if I resign my own,
I should not suffer for your sakes alone;
Alone excluded from the prize I gain'd,
And by your common suffrage have obtain'd.
The slave without a ransom shall be sent: 180
It rests for you to make the equivalent.

To this the fierce Thessalian prince replied:
O first in power, but passing all in pride,
Gripping, and still tennacious of thy hold,
Would'st thou the Grecian chiefs, though largely 185
soul'd,
Should give the prizes they had gain'd before,
And with their loss thy sacrilege restore?
Whate'er by force of arms the soldier got,
Is each his own, by dividend of lot:
Which to resume, were both unjust and base; 190
Not to be borne but by a servile race.

Ver. 71. *Black as a stormy*] No epithet is added to *night* in the original, which is more emphatical; and so thought Milton. Dr. J. WATSON.

But this we can : if Saturn's son bestows
The sack of Troy, which he by promise owes ;
Then shall the conquering Greeks thy loss restore,
And with large interest make the advantage more.

To this Atrides answer'd : Though thy boast ¹⁹⁶
Assumes the foremost name of all our host,
Pretend not, mighty man, that what is mine,
Controll'd by thee, I tamely should resign.
Shall I release the prize I gain'd by right, ²⁰⁰
In taken towns, and many a bloody fight,
While thou detain'st Briseis in thy bands,
By priestly glossing on the god's commands ?
Resolve on this, (a short alternative)
Quit mine, or, in exchange, another give ; ²⁰⁵
Else I, assure thy soul, by sovereign right
Will seize thy captive in thy own despite ;
Or from stout Ajax, or Ulysses, bear
What other prize my fancy shall prefer.
Then softly murmur, or aloud complain, ²¹⁰
Rage as you please, you shall resist in vain.
But more of this, in proper time and place ;
To things of greater moment let us pass.
A ship to sail the sacred seas prepare ;
Proud in her trim ; and put on board the fair, ²¹⁵
With sacrifice and gifts, and all the pomp of prayer.
The crew well chosen, the command shall be
In Ajax ; or if other I decree,
In Creta's king, or Ithacus, or, if I please, in thee :
Most fit thyself to see perform'd the intent ²²⁰
For which my prisoner from my sight is sent ;
(Thanks to thy pious care) that Phœbus may relent.

At this, Achilles roll'd his furious eyes,
Fix'd on the king askant ; and thus replies : ²²⁵
O impudent, regardless of thy own,
Whose thoughts are centred on thyself alone,
Advanced to sovereign sway for better ends
Than thus like abject slaves to treat thy friends.
What Greek is he, that, urged by thy command,
Against the Trojan troops will lift his hand ? ²³⁰
Not I : nor such enforced respect I owe :
Nor Pergamus I hate, nor Priam is my foe.
What wrong, from Troy remote, could I sustain,
To leave my fruitful soil, and happy reign,
And plough the surges of the stormy main ? ²³⁵
Thee, frontless man, we follow'd from afar ;
Thy instruments of death, and tools of war.
Thine is the triumph ; ours the toil alone :
We bear thee on our backs, and mount thee on
the throne.

For thee we fall in fight ; for thee redress ²⁴⁰
Thy baffled brother ; not the wrongs of Greece.
And now thou threaten'st, with unjust decree,
To punish thy affronting heaven, on me ;
To seize the prize which I so dearly bought,
By common suffrage given, confirm'd by lot. ²⁴⁵
Mean match to thine : for still above the rest,
Thy hook'd rapacious hands usurp the best ;
Though mine are first in fight, to force the prey,
And last sustain the labours of the day.
Nor grudge I thee the much the Grecians give ; ²⁵⁰
Nor murmuring take the little I receive.
Yet ev'n this little, thou, who would'st engross
The whole, insatiate, enviest as thy loss.
Know, then, for Phthia fix'd is my return :
Better at home my ill-paid pains to mourn, ²⁵⁵
Than from an equal here sustain the public scorn.

The king, whose brows with shining gold were
bound,
Who saw his throne with sceptred slaves encom-
pass'd round.

Thus answer'd stern : Go, at thy pleasure, go :
We need not such a friend, nor fear we such a foe.
There will not want to follow me in fight : ²⁶⁰
Jove will assist, and Jove assert my right.
But thou of all the kings (his care below)
Art least at my command, and most my foe.
Debates, dissensions, uproars are thy joy ; ²⁶⁵
Provoked without offence, and practised to destroy.
Strength is of brutes, and not thy boast alone ;
At least 'tis lent from heaven, and not thy own.
Fly then, ill-manner'd, to thy native land,
And there thy ant-born Myrmidons command. ²⁷⁰
But mark this menace ; since I must resign
My black-eyed maid, to please the Powers divine ;
(A well-rigg'd vessel in the port attends,
Mann'd at my charge, commanded by my friends,)
The ship shall wait her to her wish'd abode, ²⁷⁵
Full fraught with holy bribes to the far-shooting
god.

This thus dispatch'd, I owe myself the care
My fame and injured honour to repair ;
From thy own tent, proud man, in thy despite,
This hand shall ravish thy pretended right. ²⁸⁰
Briseis shall be mine, and thou shalt see
What odds of awful power I have on thee :
That others at thy cost may learn the difference
of degree.

At this the impatient hero sourly smiled :
His heart impetuous in his bosom boil'd, ²⁸⁵
And justled by two tides of equal sway,
Stood, for a while, suspended in his way.
Betwixt his reason and his rage untamed :
One whisper'd soft, and one aloud reclaim'd :
That only counsel'd to the safer side ; ²⁹⁰
This to the sword his ready hand applied.
Unpunish'd to support the affront was hard :
Nor easy was the attempt to force the guard.
But soon the thirst of vengeance fired his blood :
Half-shone his falchion, and half-sheathed it stood. ²⁹⁵

In that nice moment, Pallas, from above,
Commission'd by the imperial wife of Jove,
Descended swift : (the white-arm'd Queen was loth
The fight should follow ; for she favour'd both.)
Just as in act he stood, in clouds enshrined, ³⁰⁰
Her hand she fasten'd on his hair behind ;
Then backward by his yellow curls she drew ;
To him, and him alone confess'd in view.
Tamed by superior force, he turn'd his eyes
Aghast at first, and stupid with surprise : ³⁰⁵
But by her sparkling eyes, and ardent look,
The virgin-warrior known, he thus bespoke :
Com'st thou, Celestial, to behold my wrongs ?
To view the vengeance which to crinuces belongs ?

Thus he. The blue-eyed goddess thus rejoind : ³¹¹
I come to calm thy turbulence of mind,
If reason will resume her sovereign sway,
And, sent by Juno, her commands obey.
Equal she loves you both, and I protect :
Then give thy guardian gods their due respect ; ³¹⁵
And cease contention ; be thy words severe,
Sharp as he merits : but the sword forbear.
An hour unhoped already wings her way,
When he his dire affront shall dearly pay :
When the proud king shall sue, with treble gain, ³²⁰
To quit thy loss, and conquer thy disdain.
But thou, secure of my unflinching word,
Compose thy swelling soul, and sheathe the sword.

The youth thus answer'd mild : Auspicious
Maid,
Heaven's will be mine, and your commands obey'd

The gods are just, and when, subduing sense, 325
We serve their powers, provide the recompense.
He said, with surly faith believed her word,
And in the sheath, reluctant, plunged the sword.
Her message done, she mounts the bless'd abodes.
And mix'd among the senate of the gods 331

At her departure his disdain return'd:
The fire she fann'd, with greater fury burn'd;
Rumbling within, till thus it found a vent:
Dastard, and drunkard, mean and insolent: 335
Tongue-valiant hero, vaunter of thy might,
In threats the foremost, but the lag in fight;
When didst thou thrust amid the mingled prease,
Content to bide the war aloof in peace?
Arms are the trade of each plebeian soul; 340
'Tis death to fight; but kingly to control.
Lord-like at ease, with arbitrary power,
To peel the chiefs, the people to devour:
These, traitor, are thy talents; safer far
Than to contend in fields, and toils of war. 345
Nor could'st thou thus have dared the common
hate,

Were not their souls as abject as their state.
But, by this sceptre, solemnly I swear,
(Which never more green leaf or growing branch
shall bear;

Torn from the tree, and given by Jove to those 350
Who laws dispense, and mighty wrongs oppose)
That when the Grecians want my wonted aid,
No gift shall bribe it, and no prayer persuade.
When Hector comes, the homicide, to yield
His conquering arms, with corpse to strow the
field, 355

Then shalt thou mourn thy pride; and late confess
My wrong repented, when 'tis past redress.
He said: and with disdain, in open view,
Against the ground his golden sceptre threw;
Then sate: with boiling rage Atreides burn'd, 360
And foam betwixt his gnashing grinders churn'd.

But from his seat the Pylian prince arose,
With reasoning mild, their madness to compose:
Words, sweet as honey, from his mouth distill'd;
Two centuries already he fulfill'd, 365
And now began the third; unbroken yet:
Once famed for courage; still in council great.

What worse, he said, can Argos undergo,
What can more gratify the Phrygian foe,
Than these distemper'd heats, if both the lights 370
Of Greece their private interest disunites?
Believe a friend, with thrice your years increased,
And let these youthful passions be repress'd:
I flourish'd long before your birth; and then
Lived equal with a race of braver men 375
Than these dim eyes shall e'er behold again.

Ceneus and Dryas, and, excelling them,
Great Theseus, and the force of greater Polypheme.
With these I went, a brother of the war,
Their dangers to divide; their fame to share. 380
Nor idle stood with unassisting hands,
Whensalvage beasts, and men's more salvage bands,
Their virtuous toil subdued: yet those I sway'd,
With powerful speech: I spoke, and they obey'd. 385
If such as those my counsels could reclaim,
Think not, young warriors, your diminish'd name
Shall lose of lustre, by subjecting rage
To the cool dictates of experienced age.
Thou, king of men, stretch not thy sovereign sway
Beyond the bounds free subjects can obey: 390
But let Pelides in his prize rejoice,
Achieved in arms, allow'd by public voice.

Nor thou, brave champion, with his power contend,
Before whose throne ev'n kings their lower'd
sceptres bend.

The head of action he, and thou the hand; 395
Matchless thy force, but mightier his command:
Thou first, O king, release the rights of sway;
Power, self-restrain'd, the people best obey.
Sanctions of law from thee derive their source;
Command thyself, whom no commands can force. 400
The son of Thetis, rampire of our host,
Is worth our care to keep; nor shall my prayers
be lost.

Thus Nestor said, and ceased: Atreides broke
His silence next; but ponder'd ere he spoke:
Wise are thy words, and glad I would obey, 405
But this proud man affects imperial sway.
Controlling kings, and trampling on our state,
His will is law; and what he wills is fate.
The gods have given him strength: but whence
the style

Of lawless power assumed, or licence to revile?

Achilles cut him short; and thus replied:
My worth, allow'd in words, is in effect denied.
For who but a poltroon, possess'd with fear,
Such haughty insolence can tamely bear?
Command thy slaves: my freeborn soul disdains
A tyrant's curb; and restive breaks the reins. 415
Take this along; that no dispute shall rise
(Though mine the woman) for my ravish'd prize:
But, she excepted, as unworthy strife,
Dare not, I charge thee dare not, on thy life, 420
Touch aught of mine beside, by lot my due,
But stand aloof, and think profane to view:
This faction, else, not hitherto withstood,
These hostile fields shall fatten with thy blood.

He said; and rose the first: the council broke;
And all their grave consults dissolved in smoke.

The royal youth retired, on vengeance bent,
Patroclus follow'd silent to his tent.

Meantime, the king with gifts a vessel stores;
Supplies the banks with twenty chosen oars: 430
And next, to reconcile the shooter god,
Within her hollow sides the sacrifice he stow'd:
Chryseis last was set on board; whose hand
Ulysses took, intrusted with command:
They plough the liquid seas, and leave the lessen-
ing land. 435

Atreides then, his outward zeal to boast,
Bade purify the sin-polluted host.
With perfect hecatombs the god they graced;
Whose offer'd entrails in the main were cast.
Black bulls, and bearded goats on altars he; 440
And clouds of savoury stench involve the sky.
These poms the royal hypocrite design'd
For show; but harbour'd vengeance in his mind:
Till holy malice, longing for a vent,
At length discover'd his conceal'd intent. 445
Talthybius, and Eurybates the just,
Heralds of arms, and ministers of trust,
He call'd, and thus bespoke: Haste hence your
way;

And from the goddess-born demand his prey.
If yielded, bring the captive; if denied, 450
The king (so tell him) shall chastise his pride:
And with arm'd multitudes in person come
To vindicate his power, and justify his doom.

This hard command unwilling they obey,
And o'er the barren shore pursue their way, 455
Where quarter'd in their camp the fierce Thessa-
lians lay.

Their sovereign seated on his chair they find ;
His pensive cheek upon his hand reclined,
And anxious thoughts revolving in his mind.
With gloomy looks he saw them entering in
Without salute : nor durst they first begin,
Fearful of rash offence and death foreseen.
He soon, the cause divining, clear'd his brow ;
And thus did liberty of speech allow :

Interpreters of gods and men, be bold :
Awful your character, and uncontroll'd :
Howe'er displeasing be the news you bring,
I blame not you, but your imperious king.
You come, I know, my captive to demand ;
Patroclus, give her to the heralds' hand.
But you authentic witnesses I bring,
Before the gods, and your ungrateful king,
Of this my manifest : that never more
This hand shall combat on the crooked shore :
No, let the Grecian powers, oppress'd in fight,
Unpitied perish in their tyrant's sight.
Blind of the future, and by rage misled,
He pulls his crimes upon his people's head :
Forced from the field in trenches to contend,
And his insulted camp from foes defend.
He said, and soon, obeying his intent,
Patroclus brought Briseis from her tent ;
Then to the intrusted messengers resign'd :
She wept, and often cast her eyes behind :
Forced from the man she loved : they led her thence,
Along the shore, a prisoner to their prince.

Sole on the barren sands the suffering chief
Roar'd out for anguish, and indulged his grief.
Cast on his kindred seas a stormy look,
And his upbraided mother thus bespoke :

Unhappy parent of a short-lived son,
Since Jove in pity by thy prayers was won
To grace my small remains of breath with fame,
Why loads he this imbitter'd life with shame ?
Suffering his king of men to force my slave.
Whom, well deserved in war, the Grecians gave ?
Set by old Ocean's side the goddess heard ;
Then from the sacred deep her head she rear'd ;
Rose like a morning-mist ; and thus begun
To soothe the sorrows of her plaintive son :
Why cries my care, and why conceals his smart ?
Let thy afflicted parent share her part.

Then, sighing from the bottom of his breast,
To the sea-goddess thus the goddess-born address'd :

Thou know'st my pain, which telling but recalls :
By force of arms we raised the Theban walls ;
The ransack'd city, taken by our toils,
We left, and hither brought the golden spoils ;
Equal we shared them ; but before the rest,
The proud prerogative had seized the best ;
Chryseis was the greedy tyrant's prize,
Chryseis, rosy-cheek'd, with charming eyes.
Her sire, Apollo's priest, arrived to buy,
With proffer'd gifts of price, his daughter's liberty.
Suppliant before the Grecian chiefs he stood,
Awful, and arm'd with ensigns of his god :
Bare was his hoary head ; one holy hand
Held forth his laurel crown, and one his sceptre of command.

His suit was common, but above the rest,
To both the brother princes was address'd.

With shouts of loud acclaim the Greeks agree
To take the gifts, to set the prisoner free.
Not so the tyrant, who with scorn the priest
Received, and with opprobrious words dismiss'd.
The good old man, forlorn of human aid,
For vengeance to his heavenly patron pray'd :
The godhead gave a favourable ear,
And granted all to him he held so dear ;
In an ill hour his piercing shafts he sped ;
And heaps on heaps of slaughter'd Greeks lay dead,

While round the camp he ranged : at length arose
A seer, who well divin'd ; and durst disclose
The source of all our ills : I took the word ;
And urged the sacred slave to be restored,
The god appeased : the swelling monarch storm'd :
And then the vengeance vow'd, he since perform'd.

The Greeks, 'tis true, their ruin to prevent,
Have to the royal priest his daughter sent ;
But from their haughty king his heralds came,
And seized, by his command, my captive dame,
By common suffrage given ; but, thou, be won,
If in thy power, to avenge thy injured son :
Ascend the skies ; and supplicating move
Thy just complaint to cloud-compelling Jove.

If thou by either word or deed hast wrought
A kind remembrance in his grateful thought,
Urge him by that : for often hast thou said
Thy power was once not useless in his aid,
When he, who high above the highest reigns,
Surprised by traitor gods, was bound in chains.
When Juno, Pallas, with ambition fired,
And his blue brother of the seas conspired,
Thou freed'st the sovereign from unworthy bands,
Thou brought'st Briseis with his hundred hands,
(So call'd in heaven but mortal men below

By his terrestrial name Ægeon know :
Twice stronger than his sire, who sat above
Assessor to the throne of thundering Jove)
The gods, dismay'd at his approach, withdrew,
Nor durst their unaccomplish'd crime pursue.
That action to his grateful mind recall
Embrace his knees, and at his footstool fall :
That now, if ever, he will aid our foes ;
Let Troy's triumphant troops the camp inclose :
Ours, beaten to the shore, the siege forsake ;
And what their king deserves, with him partake ;
That the proud tyrant, at his proper cost,
May learn the value of the man he lost.

To whom the Mother-goddess thus replied,
Sigh'd ere she spoke, and while she spoke she cried :

Ah wretched me ! by fates averse decreed
To bring thee forth with pain, with care to breed !
Did envious heaven not otherwise ordain,
Safe in thy hollow ships thou should'st remain ;
Nor ever tempt the fatal field again.

But now thy planet sheds his poisonous rays,
And short and full of sorrow are thy days.
For what remains, to heaven I will ascend,
And at the Thunderer's throne thy suit commend.
Till then, secure in ships, abstain from fight ;
Indulge thy grief in tears, and vent thy spite.
For yesterday the court of heaven with Jove
Removed : 'tis dead vacation now above.

Twelve days the gods their solemn revels keep,
And quaff with blameless Ethiops in the deep.
Return'd from thence, to heaven my flight I take
Knock at the brazen gates, and Providence awake.

Ver 488. *Roar'd out* One of the finest lines in the original, sadly rendered.—Dr. J. WATSON.

Embrace his knees, and suppliant to the sire,
Doubt not I will obtain the grant of thy desire.

She said : and, parting, left him on the place,
Swoll'n with disdain, resenting his disgrace :⁵⁹¹
Revengeful thoughts revolving in his mind,
He wept for anger, and for love he pined.

Meantime with prosperous gales Ulysses brought
The slave, and ship with sacrifices fraught,⁵⁹⁵
To Chrysa's port ; where, entering with the tide,
He dropp'd his anchors, and his oars he plied ;
Furl'd every sail, and, drawing down the mast,
His vessel moor'd, and made with haulers fast.
Descending on the plain, ashore they bring⁶⁰⁰
The hecatomb to please the shooter King.
The dame before an altar's holy fire
Ulysses led ; and thus bespoke her sire :

Reverenced be thou, and be thy god adored :
The king of men thy daughter has restored ;⁶⁰⁵
And sent by me with presents and with prayer ;
He recommends him to thy pious care ;
That Phœbus at thy suit his wrath may cease,
And give the penitent offenders peace.

He said, and gave her to her father's hands,⁶¹⁰
Who glad received her, free from servile bands.
This done, in order they, with sober grace,
Their gifts around the well-built altar place ;
Then wash'd, and took the cakes ; while Chryses
stood

With hands upheld, and thus invoked his god :⁶¹⁵

God of the silver bow, whose eyes survey
The sacred Cilla, thou, whose awful sway
Chrysa the bless'd, and Tenedos obey :
Now hear, as thou before my prayer hast heard,
Against the Grecians, and their prince, preferr'd :
Once thou hast honour'd, honour once again⁶²¹
Thy priest ; nor let his second vows be vain.
But from the afflicted host and humbled prince
Avert thy wrath, and cease thy pestilence.
Apollo heard, and, conquering his disdain,⁶²⁵
Unbent his bow, and Greece respired again.

Now when the solemn rites of prayer were past,
Their salted cakes on crackling flames they cast.
Then, turning back, the sacrifice they sped ;
The fatted oxen slew, and flead the dead ;⁶³⁰
Chopp'd off their nervous thighs, and next
prepared

To involve the lean in cauls, and mend with lard.
Sweet-breads and collops were with skewers
prick'd

About the sides ; imbibing what they deck'd.
The priest with holy hands was seen to tine⁶³⁵
The cloven wood, and pour the ruddy wine.
The youth approach'd the fire, and, as it burn'd,
On five sharp broachers rank'd, the roast they
turn'd ;

These morsels stay'd their stomachs ; then the rest
They cut in legs and fillets for the feast ;⁶⁴⁰
Which drawn and served, their hunger they
appease

With savoury meat, and set their minds at ease.

Now when the rage of eating was repell'd,
The boys with generous wine the goblets fill'd.
The first libations to the gods they pour :⁶⁴⁵
And then with songs indulge the genial hour.
Holy debauch ! till day to night they bring,
With hymns and pœns to the bowyer King.

Ver. 632. To involve] The words—lean, cauls, lard, collops, sweet-breads, and skewers, make a strange appearance in epic poetry. Dr. J. WARTON.

At sunset to their ship they make return,
And snore secure on decks, till rosy morn.⁶⁵⁰

The skies with dawning day were purpled
o'er,

Awaked, with labouring oars they leave the shore :
The Power, appeased, with winds sufficed the sail,
The belying canvas strutted with the gale ;
The waves indignant roar with surly pride,⁶⁵⁵
And press against the sides, and beaten off divide.
They cut the foamy way, with force impell'd
Superior, till the Trojan port they held :

Then, hauling on the strand, their galley moor,
And pitch their tents along the crooked shore.⁶⁶⁰

Meantime the goddess-born in secret pined ;
Nor visited the camp, nor in the council join'd,
But, keeping close, his gnawing heart he fed
With hopes of vengeance on the tyrant's head :
And wish'd for bloody wars and mortal wounds,⁶⁶⁵
And of the Greeks oppress'd in fight to hear the
dying sounds.

Now, when twelve days completo had run their
race,

The gods bethought them of the cares belonging
to their place.

Jove at their head ascending from the sea,
A shoal of puny Powers attend his way.⁶⁷⁰

Then Thetis, not unmindful of her son,
Emerging from the deep, to beg her boon,
Pursued their track, and waken'd from his rest,
Before the sovereign stood, a morning guest.
Him in the circle, but apart, she found :⁶⁷⁵
The rest at awful distance stood around.

She bow'd, and ere she durst her suit begin,
One hand embraced his knees, one propp'd his
chin.

Then thus : If I, celestial sire, in aught
Have served thy will, or gratified thy thought,⁶⁸⁰
One glimpse of glory to my issue give ;
Graced for the little time he has to live.
Dishonour'd by the king of men he stands :
His rightful prize is ravish'd from his hands.

But thou, O father, in my son's defence,
Assume thy power, assert thy providence.
Let Troy prevail, till Greece the affront has paid
With doubled honours, and redeem'd his aid.

She ceased, but the considering god was mute :
Till she, resolved to win, renew'd her suit ;⁶⁹⁰
Nor loosed her hold, but forced him to reply :
Or grant me my petition, or deny :

Jove cannot fear : then tell me to my face
That I, of all the gods, am least in grace.
This I can bear. The Cloud-compeller mourn'd,
And sighing first, this answer he return'd :⁶⁹⁵

Know'st thou what clamours will disturb my
reign,

What my stunn'd ears from Juno must sustain ?
In council she gives licence to her tongue,
Loquacious, brawling, ever in the wrong.⁷⁰⁰

And now she will my partial power upbraid,
If, alienate from Greece, I give the Trojans aid.
But thou depart, and shun her jealous sight,
The care be mine, to do Pelides right.

Go then, and on the faith of Jove rely,
When nodding to thy suit, he bows the sky.
This ratifies the irrevocable doom :

The sign ordain'd, that what I will shall come :
The stamp of heaven, and seal of fate. He said,
And shook the sacred honours of his head⁷¹⁰
With terror trembled heaven's subsiding hill :
And from his shaken curls ambrosial dew distil.

The goddess goes exulting from his sight,
And seeks the seas profound; and leaves the
realms of light.

He moves into his hall: the Powers resort, 715
Each from his house, to fill the sovereign's court;
Nor waiting summons, nor expecting stood,
But met with reverence, and received the god.
He mounts the throne; and Juno took her place:
But sullen discontent sate lowering on her face. 720
With jealous eyes at distance she had seen,
Whispering with Jove, the silver-footed Queen;
Then, impotent of tongue (her silence broke),
Thus turbulent in rattling tone she spoke:

Author of ills, and close contriver Jove, 725
Which of thy dames, what prostitute of love,
Has held thy ear so long, and begg'd so hard,
For some old service done, some new reward?
Apart you talk'd, for that's your special care,
The consort never must the council share. 730
One gracious word is for a wife too much:
Such is a marriage vow, and Jove's own faith is
such.

Then thus the Sire of gods, and men below:
What I have hidden, hope not thou to know. 735
Ev'n goddesses are women: and no wife
Has power to regulate her husband's life:
Counsel she may; and I will give thy ear
The knowledge first, of what is fit to hear.
What I transact with others, or alone, 739
Beware to learn; nor press too near the throne.

To whom the goddess with the charming eyes,
What hast thou said, O tyrant of the skies!
When did I search the secrets of thy reign,
Though privileged to know, but privileged in vain?
But well thou dost, to hide from common sight
Thy close intrigues, too bad to bear the light. 746
Nor doubt I, but the silver-footed dame,
Tripping from sea, on such an errand came,
To grace her issue, at the Grecians' cost,
And for one peevish man destroy an host. 750

To whom the Thunderer made this stern reply:
My household curse, my lawful plague, the spy
Of Jove's designs, his other squinting eye;
Why this vain prying, and for what avail?
Jove will be master still, and Juno fail. 755
Should thy suspicious thoughts divine aright,
Thou but becom'st more odious to my sight
For this attempt: uneasy life to me,
Still watch'd and importuned, but worse for thee.
Curb that impetuous tongue, before too late 759
The gods behold, and tremble at thy fate:
Pitying, but daring not, in thy defence,
To lift a hand against Omnipotence.

This heard, the imperious Queen sate mute
with fear,
Nor further durst incense the gloomy Thunderer.
Silence was in the court at this rebuke: 765
Nor could the gods abash'd sustain their sove-
reign's look.

The limping Smith observed the sadden'd feast,
And hopping here and there (himself a jest)
Put in his word, that neither might offend; 770
To Jove obsequious, yet his mother's friend.
What end in heaven will be of civil war,
If gods of pleasure will for mortals jar?
Such discord but disturbs our jovial feast;
One grain of bad embitters all the best. 775
Mother, though wise yourself, my counsel weigh;
'Tis much unsafe my sire to disobey.
Not only you provoke him to your cost,
But mirth is marr'd, and the good cheer is lost.
Tempt not his heavy hand; for he has power 780
To throw you headlong from his heavenly tower.
But one submissive word, which you let fall,
Will make him in good humour with us all.

He said no more; but crown'd a bowl, unbid: 785
The laughing nectar overlook'd the lid:
Then put it to her hand; and thus pursued:
This cursed quarrel be no more renew'd.
Be, as becomes a wife, obedient still;
Though grieved, yet subject to her husband's will.
I would not see you beaten; yet afraid 790
Of Jove's superior force, I dare not aid.
Too well I know him, since that hapless hour
When I and all the gods employ'd our power
To break your bonds: me by the heel he drew,
And o'er heaven's battlements with fury threw 795
All day I fell; my flight at morn begun,
And ended not but with the setting sun.
Pitch'd on my head, at length the Lemnian ground
Received my batter'd skull, the Sinthiaus heal'd
my wound.

At Vulcan's homely mirth his mother smiled,
And smiling took the cup the clown had fill'd. 801
The reconciler-bowl went round the board,
Which, emptied, the rude skinker still restored.
Loud fits of laughter seized the guests to see
The limping god so deft at his new ministry. 805
The feast continued till declining light:
They drank, they laugh'd, they loved, and then
'twas night.

Nor wanted tuneful harp, nor vocal quire;
The Muses sung; Apollo touch'd the lyre.
Drunken at last, and drowsy they depart, 810
Each to his house; adorn'd with labour'd art
Of the lame architect: the thundering god
Ev'n he withdrew to rest, and had his load.
His swimming head to needful sleep applied;
And Juno lay unheeded by his side. 815

Ver. 768. *The limping Smith*] Boileau used to hint, among his intimate friends, that he thought the reason why Homer sometimes introduced his gods and goddesses in scenes of ludicrousness, was to soften the general severity of his poem, and relieve the reader from the perpetual prospect of the slaughters and deaths with which the *Iliad* abounded. Dr. J. WATSON.

THE LAST PARTING OF
HECTOR AND ANDROMACHE.

FROM THE
SIXTH BOOK OF THE ILIAD.

THE ARGUMENT.

Hector returning from the field of battle, to visit Helen, his sister-in-law, and his brother Paris, who had fought unsuccessfully hand to hand with Menelaus, from thence goes to his own palace to see his wife, Andromache, and his infant son, Astyanax. The description of that interview is the subject of this translation.

THUS having said, brave Hector went to see
His virtuous wife, the fair Andromache.
He found her not at home; for she was gone,
Attended by her maid and infant son,
To climb the steep tower of Iliion :
From whence, with heavy heart, she might survey
The bloody business of the dreadful day.
Her mournful eyes she cast around the plain,
And sought the lord of her desires in vain.

But he, who thought his peopled palace bare,¹⁰
When she, his only comfort, was not there,
Stood in the gate, and ask'd of every one,
Which way she took, and whither she was gone :
If to the court, or, with his mother's train,
In long procession to Minerva's fane ?
The servants answer'd, Neither to the court,
Where Priam's sons and daughters did resort,
Nor to the temple was she gone, to move
With prayers the blue-eyed progeny of Jove ;
But more solicitous for him alone,
Than all their safety, to the tower was gone,
There to survey the labours of the field,
Where the Greeks conquer, and the Trojans
yield ;

Swiftly she pass'd, with fear and fury wild ;
The nurse went lagging after with the child.
This heard, the noble Hector made no stay :
The admiring throng divide to give him way ;
He pass'd through every street, by which he
came,

And at the gate he met the mournful dame.
His wife beheld him, and with eager pace
Flew to his arms, to meet a dear embrace :
His wife, who brought in dower Cilicia's crown,
And in herself a greater dower alone :
Aetion's heir, who on the woody plain
Of Hippoplacus did in Thebes reign.
Breathless she flew, with joy and passion wild :
The nurse came lagging after with the child.

The royal babe upon her breast was laid ;
Who, like the morning star, his beams display'd.
Scamandrius was his name, which Hector gave,⁴⁰
From that fair flood which Iliion's wall did lave :
But him Astyanax the Trojans call,

From his great father, who defends the wall.
Hector beheld him with a silent smile :
His tender wife stood weeping by the while :
Press'd in her own, his warlike hand she took,
Then sigh'd, and thus prophetically spoke :

Thy dauntless heart (which I foresee too late)
Too daring man, will urge thee to thy fate :
Nor dost thou pity, with a parent's mind,⁵⁰
This helpless orphan, whom thou leav'st behind ;

Nor me, the unhappy partner of thy bed ;
Who must in triumph by the Greeks be led :
They seek thy life, and, in unequal fight
With many, will oppress thy single might :
Better it were for miserable me
To die, before the fate which I foresee.
For ah ! what comfort can the world bequeath
To Hector's widow, after Hector's death ?

Eternal sorrow and perpetual tears⁶⁰
Began my youth, and will conclude my years :
I have no parents, friends, nor brothers left ;
By stern Achilles all of life bereft.
Then when the walls of Thebes he overthrew,
His fatal hand my royal father slew ;
He slew Aetion, but despoil'd him not ;
Nor in his hate the funeral rites forgot ;
Arm'd as he was he sent him whole below,
And revered thus the manes of his foe :
A tomb he raised ; the mountain nymphs around⁷⁰
Inclosed with planted elms the holy ground.

My seven brave brothers in one fatal day
To Death's dark mansions took the mournful way ;
Slain by the same Achilles, while they keep
The bellowing oxen and the bleating sheep.⁷⁵
My mother, who the royal sceptre sway'd,
Was captive to the cruel victor made,
And hither led ; but, hence redeem'd with gold,
Her native country did again behold,
And but beheld : for soon Diana's dart,⁸⁰
In an unhappy chace, transfix'd her heart.

But thou, my Hector, art thyself alone
My parents, brothers, and my lord in one.
Oh, kill not all my kindred o'er again,
Nor tempt the dangers of the dusty plain ;
But in this tower, for our defence, remain.
Thy wife and son are in thy ruin lost ;
This is a husband's and a father's post.
The Scæan gate commands the plains below ;
Here marshal all thy soldiers as they go ;
And hence with other hands repel the foe.⁹⁰
By yon wild fig-tree lies their chief ascent,
And thither all their powers are daily bent ;
The two Ajaces have I often seen,
And the wrong'd husband of the Spartan queen :⁹⁵
With him his greater brother ; and with these
Fierce Diomedes and bold Meriones :
Uncertain if by augury or chance,
But by this easy rise they all advance ;
Guard well that pass, secure of all beside.¹⁰⁰

To whom the noble Hector thus replied :
That and the rest are in my daily care ;
But, should I shun the dangers of the war,
With scorn the Trojans would reward my pains,
And their proud ladies with their sweeping trains.
The Grecian swords and lances I can bear ;¹⁰⁵
But loss of honour is my only fear.
Shall Hector, born to war, his birthright yield,
Belio his courage, and forsake the field ?
Early in rugged arms I took delight,¹¹⁰
And still have been the foremost in the fight :

Ver. 82. *But thou,*] In the interview between Hector and Andromache, both Pope and Dryden have omitted an epithet which they, perhaps, looked on as *otiosum epitheton*. I will cite the Greek passage —

'Αλλ' Ἐκτορ σὺ μοι ἰσθὶ πατρὸς, καὶ πότνια μήνην,
Ἥδ' ἀσπίδωντος, εὐ δὲ μοι θάλητος παρκαλίπτης.

The epithet *θάλητος* is here a term of affection and endearment, and heightens the pathos : It is not, as many Homeric epithets are, general, but is designed to mark strongly the wife's affection for her blooming and youthful husband.
JOHN WARTON.

With dangers dearly have I bought renown,
And am the champion of my father's crown.
And yet my mind forebodes, with sure pre-age,
That Troy shall perish by the Grecian rage. 115
The fatal day draws on, when I must fall,
And universal ruin cover all.
Not Troy itself, though built by hands divine,
Nor Priam, nor his people, nor his line,
My mother, nor my brothers of renown, 120
Whose valour yet defends the unhappy town;
Not these, nor all their fates which I foresee,
Are half of that concern I have for thee.
I see, I see thee, in that fatal hour,
Subjected to the victor's cruel power; 125
Led hence a slave to some insulting sword,
Forlorn, and trembling at a foreign lord;
A spectacle in Argos, at the loom,
Gracing with Trojan fights a Grecian room;
Or from deep wells the living stream to take, 130
And on thy weary shoulders bring it back.
While, groaning under this laborious life,
They insolently call thee Hector's wife;
Upbraid thy bondage with thy husband's name : 135
And from my glory propagate thy shame.
This when they say, thy sorrows will increase
With anxious thoughts of former happiness;
That he is dead who could thy wrongs redress.
But I, oppress'd with iron sleep before, 140
Shall hear thy unavailing cries no more.

He said—

Then, holding forth his arms, he took his boy,
The pledge of love and other hope of Troy.
The fearful infant turn'd his head away,
And on his nurse's neck reclining lay, 145
His unknown father shunning with affright,
And looking back on so uncouth a sight;
Daunted to see a face with steel o'er-spread,
And his high plume that nodded o'er his head.
His sire and mother smiled with silent joy;
And Hector hasten'd to relieve his boy; 150
Dismiss'd his burnish'd helm, that shone afar,
The pride of warriors, and the pomp of war :
The illustrious babe, thus reconciled, he took;
Hugg'd in his arms, and kiss'd, and thus he spoke :
Parent of gods and men, propitious Jove, 155
And you bright synod of the Powers above;
On this my son your gracious gifts bestow;
Grant him to live, and great in arms to grow,
To reign in Troy, to govern with renown,
To shield the people, and assert the crown : 160
That when hereafter he from war shall come,
And bring his Trojans peace and triumph home,
Some aged man, who lives this act to see,
And who in former times remember'd me,

Ver. 129. *Gracing with Trojan fights a Grecian room*; fine improvement on the simple original:

Καὶ κεν ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἰδύσθαι, πρὸς ἄλλης ἰστῆν ὕφαντος.

by the addition of a circumstance which considerably heightens the distress. So the sacred historian aggravates the misery of the prodigal son, by relating that he was sent into the fields to feed swine, animals held in detestation and abhorrence by the Jews. This little natural stroke Pope has transferred into his translation without acknowledgment. JOHN WATSON.

May say, The son in fortitude and fame 165
Outgoes the mark, and drowns his father's name :
That at these words his mother may rejoice,
And add her suffrage to the public voice.

Thus having said,

He first with suppliant hands the gods adored : 170
Then to the mother's arms the child restored .

With tears and smiles she took her son, and
press'd

The illustrious infant to her fragrant breast.

He, wiping her fair eyes, indulged her grief,
And eased her sorrows with this last relief : 175

My wife and mistress, drive thy fears away,

Nor give so bad an omen to the day;

Think not it lies in any Grecian's power,

To take my life before the fatal hour.

When that arrives, nor good nor bad can fly 180

The irrevocable doom of destiny.

Return, and, to divert thy thoughts at home,

There task thy maids, and exercise the loom,

Employ'd in works that womankind become.

The tools of war and feats of chivalry 185

Belong to men, and most of all to me.

At this, for new replies he did not stay,
But laced his crested helm, and strode away.

His lovely consort to her house return'd,

And looking often back in silence mourn'd : 190

Home when she came, her secret woe she vents,

And fills the palace with her loud laments;

These loud laments her echoing maids restore,

And Hector, yet alive, as dead deplore.

Ver. 194. *And Hector*] Such was the attempt of Dryden on the *Ilind*; considering what a translation we have since seen, we cannot regret that he did not finish it. We all know his very spirited, if not accurate, translation of the *Æneid*, and must think Swift's censure of it too violent and undeserved.

"On the left wing of the horse, Virgil appeared in shining armour, completely fitted to his body: he was mounted on a dapple-grey steed, the slowness of whose pace was an effect of the highest mettle and vigour. He cast his eye on the adverse wing, with desire to find an object worthy of his valour; when, behold, upon a sorrel gelding, of a monstrous size, appeared a foe, issuing from among the thickest of the enemy's squadrons; but his speed was less than his noise; for his horse, old and lean, spent the dregs of his strength in a high trot, which, though it made slow advances, yet caused a loud clashing of his armour, terrible to hear. The two cavaliers had now approached within the throw of a lance, when the stranger desired a parley, and lifting up the vizard of his helmet, a face hardly appeared from within, which, after a pause, was known for that of the renowned Dryden. The brave Antient suddenly started, as one possessed with surprise and disappointment together, for the helmet was nine times too large for the head, which appeared situate far in the hinder part, even like the lady in a lobster, or like a mouse under a canopy of state, or like a shrivelled beau from within the pent-house of a modern perriwig; and the voice was suited to the visage, sounding weak and remote. Dryden, in a long harangue, soothed up the good Antient, called him Father, and, by large deductions of genealogies, made it plainly appear that they were nearly related. Then he humbly proposed an exchange of armour, as a lasting mark of hospitality between them. Virgil consented, (for the goddess Diffidence came unseen, and cast a mist before his eyes) though his was of gold, and cost an hundred bevers, the other's but of rusty iron. However, this glittering armour became the Modern yet worse than his own. Then they agreed to exchange horses; but when it came to the trial, Dryden was afraid, and utterly unable to mount."—Tale of a Tub. Dr. J. WATSON.

THE ART OF POETRY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS translation of Monsieur Boileau's Art of Poetry was made in the year 1680, by Sir William Soame of Suffolk, Baronet; who being very intimately acquainted with Mr. Dryden, desired his revision of it. I saw the manuscript lie in Mr. Dryden's hands for above six months, who made very considerable alterations in it, particularly the beginning of the fourth Canto: and it being his opinion that it would be better to apply the poem to English writers, than keep to the French names, as it was first translated, Sir William desired he would take the pains to make that alteration; and accordingly that was entirely done by Mr. Dryden.

The poem was first published in the year 1683; Sir William was after sent ambassador to Constantinople, in the reign of king James, but died in the voyage.

J. T.

CANTO I.

RASH author, 'tis a vain presumptuous crime,
To undertake the sacred art of rhyme:
If at thy birth the stars that ruled thy sense
Shone not with a poetic influence;
In thy strait genius thou wilt still be bound,
Find Phœbus deaf, and Pegasus unsound.

You then that burn with the desire to try
The dangerous course of charming poetry;
Forbear in fruitless verse to lose your time,
Or take for genius the desire of rhyme;
Fear the allurements of a specious bait,
And well consider your own force and weight.

Nature abounds in wits of every kind,
And for each author can a talent find:
One may in verse describe an amorous flame,
Another sharpen a short epigram:
Waller a hero's mighty acts extol,
Spenser sing Rosalind in pastoral:
But authors that themselves too much esteem,
Lose their own genius, and mistake their theme;²⁰
Thus in times past Dubartas vainly writ,
Allaying sacred truth with trifling wit,
Impertinently, and without delight,
Described the Israelites' triumphant flight,
And following Moses o'er the sandy plain,
Perish'd with Pharaoh in the Arabian main.

Whate'er you write of pleasant or sublime,
Always let sense accompany your rhyme:
Falsely they seem each other to oppose;
Rhyme must be made with reason's laws to close:²⁰
And when to conquer her you bend your force,
The mind will triumph in the noble course;
To reason's yoke she quickly will incline,
Which, far from hurting, renders her divine:

But if neglected will as easily stray,
And master reason which she should obey.³⁵
Love reason then; and let whate'er you write
Borrow from her its beauty, force, and light.
Most writers, mounted on a resty muse,
Extravagant and senseless objects choose;⁴⁰
They think they err, if in their verse they fall
On any thought that's plain or natural:
Fly this excess; and let Italians be
Vain authors of false glittering poetry.
All ought to aim at sense; but most in vain⁴⁵
Strive the hard pass and slippery path to gain:
You drown, if to the right or left you stray;
Reason to go has often but one way.
Sometimes an author, fond of his own thought,
Pursues its object till it's over-wrought;⁵⁰
If he describes a house, he shows the face,
And after walks you round from place to place;
Here is a vista, there the doors unfold,
Balconies here are ballustr'd with gold;
Then counts the rounds and ovals in the halls,⁵⁵
"The festoons, friezes, and the astragals:"
Tired with his tedious pomp away I run,
And skip o'er twenty pages to be gone.
Of such descriptions the vain folly see,
And shun their barren superfluity.⁶⁰
All that is needless carefully avoid;
The mind once satisfied is quickly cloy'd:
He cannot write who knows not to give o'er;
To mend one fault he makes a hundred more:
A verse was weak, you turn it, much too strong,⁶⁵
And grow obscure, for fear you should be long.
Some are not gaudy, but are flat and dry;
Not to be low, another soars too high.
Would you of every one deserve the praise,
In writing vary your discourse and phrase;⁷⁰

A frozen style that neither ebbs nor flows,
 Instead of pleasing makes us gape and doze.
 Those tedious authors are esteem'd by none,
 Who tire us, humming the same heavy tone.
 Happy who in his verse can gently steer,
 From grave to light; from pleasant to severe:
 His works will be admired wherever found,
 And oft with buyers will be compass'd round.
 In all you write be neither low nor vile:
 The meanest theme may have a proper style. 80
 The dull burlesque appear'd with impudence,
 And pleased by novelty in spite of sense.
 All, except trivial points, grew out of date;
 Parnassus spoke the cant of Billingsgate:
 Boundless and mad, disorder'd rhyme was seen. 85
 Disguis'd Apollo changed to Harlequin.
 This plague, which first in country towns began,
 Cities and kingdoms quickly over-ran;
 The dullest scribblers some admirers found,
 And the Mock Tempest was a while renown'd: 90
 But this low stuff the town at last despised,
 And scorn'd the folly that they once had prized;
 Distinguish'd dull from natural and plain,
 And left the villages to Flecnoe's reign.
 Let not so mean a style your muse debase; 95
 But learn from Butler the buffooning grace:
 And let burlesque in ballads be employ'd;
 Yet noisy bombast carefully avoid,
 Nor think to raise, though on Pharsalia's plain,
 "Millions of mourning mountains of the slain:" 100
 Nor with Dubartas bridle up the floods,
 And periwig with wool the baldpate woods.
 Choose a just style; be grave without constraint,
 Great without pride, and lovely without paint:
 Write what your reader may be pleased to hear: 105
 And for the measure have a careful ear.
 On easy numbers fix your happy choice;
 Of jarring sounds avoid the odious noise:
 The fullest verse and the most labour'd sense
 Displease us, if the ear once take offence. 110
 Our ancient verse, as homely as the times,
 Was rude, unmeasured, overclog'd with rhymes;
 Number and cadence, that have since been shown,
 To those unpolish'd writers were unknown.
 Fairfax was he, who, in that darker age, 115
 By his just rules restrain'd poetic rage;
 Spenser did next in Pastorals excel,
 And taught the noble art of writing well:
 To stricter rules the stanza did restrain,
 And found for poetry a richer vein. 120
 Then Davenant came; who, with a new-found art,
 Changed all, spoil'd all, and had his way apart:
 His haughty muse all others did despise,
 And thought in triumph to bear off the prize,
 'Till the sharp-sighted critics of the times, 125
 In their Mock-Gondibert, exposed his rhymes;
 The laurels he pretended did refuse,
 And dash'd the hopes of his aspiring muse.
 This headstrong writer, falling from on high,
 Made following authors take less liberty. 130
 Waller came last, but was the first whose art
 Just weight and measure did to verse impart;
 That of a well-placed word could teach the force,
 And show'd for poetry a nobler course:
 His happy genius did our tongue refine, 135
 And easy words with pleasing numbers join:
 His verses to good method did apply,
 And changed hard discord to soft harmony.
 All own'd his laws; which, long approved and tried,
 To present authors now may be a guide. 140

Tread boldly in his steps, secure from fear,
 And be, like him, in your expressions clear.
 If in your verse you drag, and sense delay,
 My patience tires, my fancy goes astray;
 And from your vain discourse I turn my mind, 145
 Nor search an author troublesome to find.
 There is a kind of writer pleased with sound,
 Whose fustian head with clouds is compass'd round;
 No reason can disperse them with its light:
 Learn then to think ere you pretend to write. 150
 As your idea's clear, or else obscure,
 The expression follows perfect or impure:
 What we conceive with ease we can express:
 Words to the notions flow with readiness.
 Observe the language well in all you write, 155
 And swerve not from it in your loftiest flight.
 The smoothest verse and the exactest sense
 Displease us, if ill English give offence:
 A barbarous phrase no reader can approve;
 Nor bombast, noise, or affectation love. 160
 In short, without pure language, what you write
 Can never yield us profit or delight.
 Take time for thinking; never work in haste;
 And value not yourself for writing fast.
 A rapid poem, with such fury writ, 165
 Shows want of judgment, not abounding wit.
 More pleased we are to see a river lead
 His gentle streams along a flowery mead,
 Than from high banks to hear loud torrents roar,
 With foamy waters on a muddy shore. 170
 Gently make haste, of labour not afraid;
 A hundred times consider what you've said:
 Polish, repolish, every colour lay,
 And sometimes add, but oftener take away.
 'Tis not enough when swarming faults are writ, 175
 That here and there are scatter'd sparks of wit:
 Each object must be fix'd in the due place,
 And differing parts have corresponding grace:
 Till by a curious art disposed, we find
 One perfect whole, of all the pieces join'd. 180
 Keep to your subject close in all you say;
 Nor for a sounding sentence ever stray.
 The public censure for your writings fear,
 And to yourself be critic most severe.
 Fantastic wits their darling follies love: 185
 But find your faithful friends that will reprove,
 That on your works may look with careful eyes,
 And of your faults be zealous enemies:
 Lay by an author's pride and vanity, 190
 And from a friend a flatterer descry,
 Who seems to like, but means not what he says:
 Embrace true counsel, but suspect false praise.
 A sycophant will everything admire:
 Each verse, each sentence sets his soul on fire: 195
 All is divine! there's not a word amiss!
 He shakes with joy, and weeps with tenderness;
 He overpowers you with his mighty praise.
 Truth never moves in those impetuous ways:
 A faithful friend is careful of your fame,
 And freely will your heedless errors blame; 200
 He cannot pardon a neglected line,
 But verse to rule and order will confine.
 Reprove of words the too affected sound:
 Here the sense flags, and your expression's round,
 Your fancy tires, and your discourse grows vain,
 Your terms improper, make them just and plain.
 Thus 'tis a faithful friend will freedom use;
 But authors, partial to their darling muse,
 Think to protect it they have just pretence,
 And at your friendly counsel take offence. 205

Said you of this, that the expression 's flat?
 Your servant, Sir, you must excuse me that,
 He answers you. This word has here no grace,
 Pray leave it out: That, Sir, 's the properest place.
 This turn I like not: 'Tis approved by all.
 Thus, resolute not from one fault to fall,
 If there's a syllable of which you doubt,
 'Tis a sure reason not to blot it out.
 Yet still he says you may his faults confute,
 And over him your power is absolute:
 But of his feign'd humility take heed;
 'Tis a bait laid to make you hear him read.
 And when he leaves you happy in his muse,
 Restless he runs some other to abuse,
 And often finds; for, in our scribbling times
 No fool can want a sot to praise his rhymes;
 The flattest work has ever, in the court,
 Met with some zealous ass for its support:
 And in all times a forward scribbling fop
 Has found some greater fool to cry him up.

CANTO II.

PASTORAL.

As a fair nymph, when rising from her bed,
 With sparkling diamonds dresses not her head,
 But without gold, or pearl, or costly scents,
 Gathers from neighbouring fields her ornaments;
 Such, lovely in its dress, but plain withal,
 Ought to appear a perfect Pastoral:
 Its humble method nothing has of fierce,
 But hates the rattling of a lofty verse:
 There native beauty pleases, and excites,
 And never with harsh sounds the ear affrights.
 But in this style a poet, often spent,
 In rage throws by his rural instrument,
 And vainly, when disorder'd thoughts abound,
 Amidst the Eclogue makes the trumpet sound:
 Pan flies alarm'd into the neighbouring woods,
 And frightened nymphs dive down into the floods.
 Opposed to this another, low in style,
 Makes shepherds speak a language base and vile:
 His writings, flat and heavy, without sound,
 Kissing the earth, and creeping on the ground;
 You'd swear that Randal, in his rustic strains,
 Again was quavering to the country swains,
 And changing, without care of sound or dress,
 Strephon and Phyllis into Tom and Bess.
 'Twixt these extremes 'tis hard to keep the right;
 For guides take Virgil, and read Theocrite.
 Be their just writings, by the gods inspired,
 Your constant pattern practised and admired.
 By them alone you'll easily comprehend
 How poets, without shame, may condescend
 To sing of gardens, fields, of flowers, and fruit,
 To stir up shepherds, and to tune the flute;
 Of love's rewards to tell the happy hour,
 Daphne a tree, Narcissus made a flower,
 And by what means the Eclogue yet has power
 To make the woods worthy a conqueror:
 This of their writings is the grace and flight:
 Their risings lofty, yet not out of sight.

ELEGY.

The Elegy, that loves a mournful style,
 With unbound hair weeps at a funeral pile;

It paints the lover's torments and delight,
 A mistress flatters, threatens, and invites:
 But well these raptures if you'll make us see,
 You must know love as well as poetry.
 I hate those lukewarm authors, whose forced fire
 In a cold style describes a hot desire,
 That sigh by rule, and raging in cold blood
 Their sluggish muse whip to an amorous mood:
 Their feign'd transports appear but flat and vain;
 They always sigh, and always hug their chain,
 Adore their prison, and their sufferings bless,
 Make sense and reason quarrel as they please.
 'Twas not of old in this affected tone,
 That smooth Tibullus made his amorous moan;
 Nor Ovid, when, instructed from above,
 By nature's rules he taught the art of love.
 The heart in Elegies forms the discourse.

ODE.

The Ode is bolder, and has greater force.
 Mounting to heaven in her ambitious flight,
 Amongst the gods and heroes takes delight;
 Of Pisa's wrestlers tells the sinewy force,
 And sings the dusty conqueror's glorious course:
 To Simois' streams does fierce Achilles bring,
 And makes the Ganges bow to Britain's king.
 Sometimes she flies like an industrious bee,
 And robs the flowers by nature's chemistry,
 Describes the shepherd's dances, feasts, and bliss,
 And boasts from Phyllis to surprise a kiss,
 When gently she resists with feign'd remorse,
 That what she grants may seem to be by force:
 Her generous style at random oft will part,
 And by a brave disorder shows her art.
 Unlike those fearful poets, whose cold rhyme
 In all their raptures keeps exactest time,
 That sing the illustrious hero's mighty praise
 (Lean writers!) by the terms of weeks and days;
 And dare not from least circumstances part,
 But take all towns by strictest rules of art:
 Apollo drives those fops from his abode;
 And some have said, that once the humorous god,
 Resolving all such scribblers to confound,
 For the short Sonnet order'd this strict bound:
 Set rules for the just measure, and the time,
 The easy running and alternate rhyme;
 But above all, those licenses denied
 Which in these writings the lame sense supplied;
 Forbad an useless line should find a place,
 Or a repeated word appear with grace.
 A faultless Sonnet, finish'd thus, would be
 Worth tedious volumes of loose poetry.
 A hundred scribbling authors, without ground,
 Believe they have this only phoenix found:
 When yet the exactest scarce have two or three,
 Among whole tomes, from faults and censure free
 The rest but little read, regarded less,
 Are shovell'd to the pastry from the press.
 Closing the sense within the measured time.
 'Tis hard to fit the reason to the rhyme

EPIGRAM.

The Epigram, with little art composed,
 Is one good sentence in a distich closed.
 These points, that by Italians first were prized,
 Our ancient authors knew not, or despised:
 The vulgar, dazzled with their glaring light,
 To their false pleasures quickly they invite:

But public favour so increased their pride,
 They overwhelm'd Parnassus with their tide.
 The Madrigal at first was overcome,
 And the proud Sonnet fell by the same doom;
 With these grave Tragedy adorn'd her flights,
 And mournful Elegy her funeral rites:
 A hero never fail'd them on the stage,
 Without his point a lover durst not rage;
 The amorous shepherds took more care to prove
 True to their point, than faithful to their love.
 Each word like Janus had a double face:
 And prose, as well as verse, allow'd it place:
 The lawyer with conceits adorn'd his speech,
 The parson without quibbling could not preach.
 At last affronted reason look'd about,
 And from all serious matters shut them out:
 Declared that none should use them without shame,
 Except a scattering in the Epigram;
 Provided that by art, and in due time
 They turn'd upon the thought, and not the rhyme.
 Thus in all parts disorders did abate:
 Yet quibblers in the court had leave to prate:
 Insipid jesters, and unpleasant fools,
 A corporation of dull punning drolls.
 'Tis not, but that sometimes a dexterous muse
 May with advantage a turn'd sense abuse,
 And on a word may trifle with address;
 But above all avoid the fond excess;
 And think not when your verse and sense are lame,
 With a dull point to tag your Epigram.
 Each poem his perfection has apart;
 The British round in plainness shows his art.
 The Ballad, though the pride of ancient time,
 Has often nothing but his humorous rhyme;
 The Madrigal may softer passions move,
 And breathe the tender ecstasies of love.
 Desire to show itself, and not to wrong,
 Arm'd Virtue first with Satire in its tongue.

SATIRE.

Lucilius was the man who, bravely bold,
 To Roman vices did this mirror hold,
 Protected humble goodness from reproach,
 Show'd worth on foot, and rascals in the coach.
 Horace his pleasing wit to this did add,
 And none uncensured could be fool or mad:
 Unhappy was that wretch, whose name might be
 Squared to the rules of their sharp poetry.
 Persius obscure, but full of sense and wit,
 Affected brevity in all he writ:
 And Juvenal, learned as those times could be,
 Too far did stretch his sharp hyperbole;
 Though horrid truths through all his labours shine,
 In what he writes there's something of divine,
 Whether he blames the Caprean debauch,
 Or of Sejanus' fall tells the approach,
 Or that he makes the trembling senate come
 To the stern tyrant to receive their doom;
 Or Roman vice in coarsest habits shows,
 And paints an empress reeking from the stews:
 In all he writes appears a noble fire;
 To follow such a master then desire.
 Chaucer alone, fix'd on this solid base,
 In his old style conserves a modern grace:
 Too happy, if the freedom of his rhymes
 Offended not the method of our times.
 The Latin writers decency neglect;
 But modern authors challenge our respect,
 And at inmodest writings take offence,
 If clean expression cover not the sense.

I love sharp Satire, from obscenity free,
 Not impudence that preaches modesty:
 Our English, who in malice never fail,
 Hence in lampoons and libels learn to rail.
 Pleasant detraction, that by singing goes
 From mouth to mouth, and as it marches grows
 Our freedom in our poetry we see,
 That child of joy begot by liberty.
 But, vain blasphemer, tremble when you choose
 God for the subject of your impious muse:
 At last those jests, which libertines invent,
 Bring the lewd author to just punishment.
 Ev'n in a song there must be art and sense:
 Yet sometimes we have seen that wine, or chance
 Have warm'd cold brains, and given dull writers
 mettle,
 And furnish'd out a scene for Mr. Settle.
 But for one lucky hit, that made thee please,
 Let not thy folly grow to a disease,
 Nor think thyself a wit; for in our age
 If a warm fancy does some fop engage,
 He neither eats nor sleeps till he has writ,
 But plagues the world with his adulterate wit.
 Nay 'tis a wonder, if, in his dire rage,
 He prints not his dull follies for the stage;
 And in the front of all his senseless plays,
 Makes David Logan crown his head with bays.

CANTO III.

TRAGEDY.

THERE's not a monster bred beneath the sky,
 But, well-disposed by art, may please the eye:
 A curious workman, by his skill divine,
 From an ill object makes a good design.
 Thus to delight us, Tragedy, in tears
 For *Edipus*, provokes our hopes and fears:
 For parricide *Orestes* ask relief;
 And to increase our pleasure causes grief.
 You then that in this noble art would rise,
 Come, and in lofty verse dispute the prize.
 Would you upon the stage acquire renown,
 And for your judges summon all the town?
 Would you your works for ever should remain,
 And after ages pass'd be sought again?
 In all you write, observe with care and art
 To move the passions, and incline the heart.
 If in a labour'd act, the pleasing rage
 Cannot our hopes and fears by turns engage,
 Nor in our mind a feeling pity raise;
 In vain with learned scenes you fill your plays:
 Your cold discourse can never move the mind
 Of a stern critic, naturally unkind;
 Who, justly tired with your pedantic flight,
 Or falls asleep, or censures all you write.
 The secret is, attention first to gain;
 To move our minds, and then to entertain:
 That from the very opening of the scenes,
 The first may show us what the author means.
 I'm tired to see an actor on the stage,
 That knows not whether he's to laugh or rage;
 Who, an intrigue unravelling in vain,
 Instead of pleasing keeps my mind in pain.
 I'd rather much the nauseous dance should say
 Downright, my name is *Hector* in the play.

Than with a mass of miracles, ill-join'd,
 Confound my ears and not instruct my mind.
 The subject's never soon enough express'd ; 465
 Your place of action must be fix'd, and rest.
 A Spanish poet may, with good event,
 In one day's space whole ages represent ;
 There oft the hero of a wandering stage
 Begins a child, and ends the play of age : 470
 But we that are by reason's rules confined,
 Will, that with art the poem be design'd,
 That unity of action, time, and place,
 Keep the stage full, and all our labours grace
 Write not what cannot be with ease conceived ; 475
 Some truths may be too strong to be believed.
 A foolish wonder cannot entertain :
 My mind 's not moved if your discourse be vain.
 You may relate what would offend the eye :
 Seeing, indeed, would better satisfy ; 480
 But there are objects that a curious art
 Hides from the eyes, yet offers to the heart.
 The mind is most agreeably surpris'd,
 When a well-woven subject, long disguised,
 You on a sudden artfully unfold, 485
 And give the whole another face and mould.
 At first the Tragedy was void of art ;
 A song ; where each man danced and sung his
 part,
 And, of god Bacchus roaring out the praise,
 Sought a good vintage for their jolly days : 490
 Then wine and joy were seen in each man's eyes,
 And a fat goat was the best singer's prize.
 Thespis was first, who, all besmeard with lee,
 Began this pleasure for posterity ;
 And with his carted actors, and a song, 495
 Amused the people as he pass'd along.
 Next, Æschylus the different persons placed,
 And with a better mask his players graced :
 Upon a theatre his verse express'd,
 And show'd his hero with a buskin dress'd. 500
 Then Sophocles, the genius of his age,
 Increased the pomp and beauty of the stage,
 Engaged the chorus song in every part,
 And polish'd rugged verse by rules of art :

Ver. 467. *A Spanish poet may, &c.* This remark on the Spanish drama may be illustrated by a citation from an entertaining work on the origin of Spanish Poetry ; where the pleasing elegance of nature is said to have been disfigured by a combination of pedants, in the seventeenth century ; "who losing sight of every beautiful idea, condemning at the same time the rules of art, made way for their insipid vagaries. These unmerciful despoilers may be classed under three heads in Spain : The first violated all the laws of the drama, and introduced innumerable defects on the stage, which have never been eradicated. Of these Christoval de Virues, Lope de Vega, and Montalban, were the principal leaders ; and were followed by Calderon, Salazar, Candamo, Zamora, and others ; who, to the most glaring improprieties, superadded a ridiculous bombast and affectation of language, which became superlatively intolerable and absurd. The second class consisted of those, who, in imitation of the Italians and their unnatural *conceits*, introduced such an extravagant profusion of false sentiment, equivocal expression, and swollen periods, as recalled to mind those ancient tunes, when such men had been so severely handled by Horace ; and not content with doing so much injury to the drama, they further extended it to lyric compositions. The third class was distinguished by the pedantic appellation of *cultos*, or 'the refined,' which comprehended a set of puritans, who, out of false zeal for the chastity of the muses, endeavoured to introduce a greater purity of diction, but, by their awkward and ignorant presumption, substituted obscure and unknown expressions to a new and turgid dialect." &c. Letters from an English Traveller in Spain, in 1778, on the Origin and Progress of poetry in that Kingdom. 8vo. Lond. 1781. p. 203, et seq. Todd.

He in the Greek did those perfections gain,
 Which the weak Latin never could attain.
 Our pious fathers, in their priest-ridden age,
 As impious and profane, abhor'd the stage ;
 A troop of silly pilgrims, as 'tis said,
 Foolishly zealous, scandalously play'd, 510
 Instead of heroes, and of love's complaints,
 The angels, God, the Virgin, and the saints.
 At last, right reason did his laws reveal,
 And show'd the folly of their ill-placed zeal,
 Silenced those nonconformists of the age, 515
 And raised the lawful heroes of the stage :
 Only the Athenian mask was laid aside,
 And chorus by the music was supplied.
 Ingenious love, inventive in new arts,
 Mingled in plays, and quickly touch'd our
 hearts : 520
 This passion never could resistance find,
 But knows the shortest passage to the mind.
 Paint then, I'm pleased my hero be in love ;
 But let him not like a tame shepherd move ;
 Let not Achilles be like Thyrsis seen, 525
 Or for a Cyrus show an Artamen ;
 That struggling oft his passions we may find,
 The frailty, not the virtue of his mind.
 Of romance heroes shun the low design ;
 Yet to great hearts some human frailties join : 530
 Achilles must with Homer's heat engage ;
 For an affront I'm pleased to see him rage.
 Those little failings in your hero's heart
 Show that of man and nature he has part :
 To leave known rules you cannot be allow'd ; 535
 Make Agamemnon covetous and proud,
 Æneas in religious rites austere ;
 Keep to each man his proper character.
 Of countries and of times the humours know ;
 From different climates different customs grow. 540
 And strive to shun their fault who vainly dress
 An antique hero like some modern ass ;
 Who make old Romans like our English move,
 Show Cato sparkish, or make Brutus love.
 In a romance those errors are excused : 545
 There 'tis enough that, reading, we're amused ;
 Rules too severe would there be useless found ;
 But the strict scene must have a juster bound :
 Exact decorum we must always find.
 If then you form some hero in your mind, 550
 Be sure your image with itself agree ;
 For what he first appears, he still must be.
 Affected wits will naturally incline
 To paint their figures by their own design :
 Your bully poets, bully heroes write : 555
 Chapman in Bussy D'Ambois took delight,
 And thought perfection was to huff and fight.
 Wise nature by variety does please ;
 Clothe the differing passions in a differing dress :
 Bold anger in rough haughty words appears : 560
 Sorrow is humble, and dissolves in tears.
 Make not your Hecuba with fury rage,
 And show a ranting grief upon the stage ;
 Or tell in vain how the rough Tanais bore
 His sevenfold waters to the Euxine shore : 565
 These swell'n expressions, this affected noise,
 Shows like some pedant that declaims to boys.
 In sorrow you must softer methods keep ;
 And to excite our tears yourself must weep.
 Those noisy words, with which ill plays abound, 570
 Come not from hearts that are in sadness drown'd
 The theatre for a young poet's rhymes
 Is a bold venture in our knowing times :

An author cannot easily purchase fame;
 Critics are always apt to hiss, and blame:
 You may be judged by every ass in town,
 The privilege is bought for half-a-crown.
 To please, you must a hundred changes try;
 Sometimes be humble, then must soar on high:
 In noble thoughts must everywhere abound,
 Be easy, pleasant, solid, and profound:
 To these you must surprising touches join,
 And show us a new wonder in each line;
 That all, in a just method well-design'd,
 My leave a strong impression in the mind.
 These are the arts that Tragedy maintain:

THE EPIC.

But the Heroic claims a loftier strain.
 In the narration of some great design,
 Invention, art, and fable, all must join:
 Here fiction must employ its utmost grace;
 All must assume a body, mind, and face:
 Each virtue a divinity is seen;
 Prudence is Pallas, beauty Paphos' queen.
 'Tis not a cloud from whence swift lightnings fly;
 But Jupiter, that thunders from the sky:
 Nor a rough storm that gives the sailor pain;
 But angry Neptune ploughing up the main:
 Echo's no more an empty airy sound;
 But a fair nymph that weeps her lover drown'd.
 Thus, in the endless treasure of his mind,
 The poet does a thousand figures find:
 Around the work his ornaments he pours,
 And strows with lavish hand his opening flowers.
 'Tis not a wonder if a tempest bore
 The Trojan fleet against the Libyan shore;
 From faithless fortune this is no surprise,
 For every day 'tis common to our eyes;
 But angry Juno, that she might destroy
 And overwhelm the rest of ruin'd Troy;
 That Æolus, with the fierce goddess join'd,
 Open'd the hollow prisons of the wind;
 Till angry Neptune, looking o'er the main,
 Rebukes the tempest, calms the waves again,
 Their vessels from the dangerous quicksands
 steers;
 These are the springs that move our hopes and
 fears;
 Without these ornaments before our eyes,
 The unsinew'd poem languishes and dies:
 Your poet in his art will always fail,
 And tell you but a dull insipid tale.
 In vain have our mistaken authors tried
 To lay these ancient ornaments aside,
 Thinking our God, and prophets that he sent,
 Might act like those the poets did invent,
 To fright poor readers in each line with hell,
 And talk of Satan, Ashtaroth, and Bel;
 The mysteries which Christians must believe,
 Disdain such shifting pageants to receive:
 The gospel offers nothing to our thoughts
 But penitence, or punishment for faults;
 And mingling falsehoods with those mysteries,
 Would make our sacred truths appear like lies.
 Besides, what pleasure can it be to hear
 The howlings of repining Lucifer,
 Whose rage at your imagined hero flies,
 And oft with God himself disputes the prize?
 Tasso you'll say has done it with applause:
 It is not here I mean to judge his cause:

Yet though our age has so extoll'd his name,
 His works had never gain'd immortal fame,
 If holy Godfrey in his ecstasies
 Had only conquer'd Satan on his knees;
 If Tancred and Armida's pleasing form
 Did not his melancholy theme adorn.
 'Tis not, that Christian poems ought to be
 Fill'd with the fictions of idolatry;
 But in a common subject to reject
 The gods, and heathen ornaments neglect
 To banish Tritons who the seas invade,
 To take Pan's whistle, or the Fates degrade,
 To hinder Charon in his leaky boat,
 To pass the shepherd with the man of note,
 Is with vain scruples to disturb your mind,
 And search perfection you can never find:
 As well they may forbid us to present
 Prudence or Justice for an ornament,
 To paint old Janus with his front of brass,
 And take from Time his scythe, his wings and glass;
 And everywhere, as 'twere idolatry,
 Banish descriptions from our poetry.
 Leave them their pious follies to pursue;
 But let our reason such vain fears subdue:
 And let us not, amongst our vanities,
 Of the true God create a God of lies.
 In fable we a thousand pleasures see,
 And the smooth names seem made for poetry;
 As Hector, Alexander, Helen, Phyllis,
 Ulysses, Agamemnon, and Achilles:
 In such a crowd, the poet were to blame
 To choose king Chilperic for his hero's name.
 Sometimes the name, being well or ill applied,
 Will the whole fortune of your work decide.
 Would you your reader never should be tired?
 Choose some great hero, fit to be admir'd,
 In courage signal, and in virtue bright,
 Let e'en his very failings give delight;
 Let his great actions our attention bind,
 Like Caesar, or like Scipio, frame his mind,
 And not like Ædipus his perjured race;
 A common conqueror is a theme too base.
 Choose not your tale of accidents too full;
 Too much variety may make it dull:
 Achilles' rage alone, when wrought with skill,
 Abundantly does a whole Iliad fill.
 Be your narrations lively, short, and smart;
 In your descriptions show your noblest art;
 There 'tis your poetry may be employ'd;
 Yet you must trivial accidents avoid.
 Nor imitate that fool, who, to describe
 The wondrous marches of the chosen tribe,
 Placed on the sides, to see their armies pass,
 The fishes staring through the liquid glass;
 Described a child, who, with his little hand,
 Pick'd up the shining pebbles from the sand.
 Such objects are too mean to stay our sight;
 Allow your work a just and nobler flight.
 Be your beginning plain; and take good heed
 Too soon you mount not on the airy steed;
 Nor tell your reader in a thundering verse,
 "I sing the conqueror of the universe."
 What can an author after this produce?
 The labouring mountain must bring forth a mouse.
 Much better are we pleas'd with his address,
 Who, without making such vast promises,
 Says, in an easier style and plainer sense,
 "I sing the combats of that pious prince,
 Who from the Phrygian coast his armies bore,
 And landed first on the Lavinian shore."

His opening muse sets not the world on fire,
 And yet performs more than we can require:
 Quickly you 'll hear him celebrate the fame 710
 And future glory of the Roman name;
 Of Styx and Acheron describe the floods,
 And Cæsar's wandering in the Elysian woods:
 With figures numberless his story grace,
 And everything in beauteous colours trace. 715
 At once you may be pleasing and sublime:
 I hate a heavy melancholy rhyme:
 I'd rather read Orlando's comic tale,
 Than a dull author always stiff and stale,
 Who thinks himself dishonour'd in his style, 720
 If on his works the Graces do but smile.
 'Tis said, that Homer, matchless in his art,
 Stole Venus' girdle to engage the heart:
 His works indeed vast treasures do unfold,
 And whatsoever he touches turns to gold: 725
 All in his hands new beauty does acquire;
 He always pleases, and can never tire.
 A happy warmth he everywhere may boast;
 Nor is he in too long digressions lost:
 His verses without rule a method find, 730
 And of themselves appear in order join'd:
 All without trouble answers his intent;
 Each syllable is tending to the event.
 Let his example your endeavours raise:
 To love his writings is a kind of praise. 735
 A poem, where we all perfections find,
 Is not the work of a fantastic mind:
 There must be care, and time, and skill, and
 pains;
 Not the first heat of unexperienced brains.
 Yet sometimes artless poets, when the rage 740
 Of a warm fancy does their minds engage,
 Puff'd with vain pride, presume they understand,
 And boldly take the trumpet in their hand;
 Their fustian muse each accident confounds;
 Nor can she fly, but rise by leaps and bounds, 745
 Till, their small stock of learning quickly spent,
 Their poem dies for want of nourishment.
 In vain mankind the hot-brain'd fool decries,
 No branding censures can unveil his eyes;
 With impudence the laurel they invade, 750
 Resolved to like the monsters they have made.
 Virgil, compared to them, is flat and dry;
 And Homer understood not poetry:
 Against their merit if this age rebel,
 To future times for justice they appeal. 755
 But waiting till mankind shall do them right,
 And bring their works triumphantly to light;
 Neglected heaps we in bye-corners lay,
 Where they become to worms and moths a
 prey;
 Forgotten, in dust and cobwebs let them rest, 760
 Whilst we return from whence we first digress'd.
 The great success which tragic writers found,
 In Athens first the comedy renown'd,
 The abusive Grecian there, by pleasing ways,
 Dispersed his natural malice in his plays: 765
 Wisdom and virtue, honour, wit, and sense,
 Were subject to buffooning insolence:
 Poets were publicly approved, and sought,
 That vice extoll'd, and virtue set at nought;
 A Socrates himself, in that loose age, 770
 Was made the pastime of a scoffing stage.
 At last the public took in hand the cause,
 And cured this madness by the power of laws;
 Forbad at any time, or any place,
 To name the person, or describe the face. 775

The stage its ancient fury thus let fall,
 And comedy diverted without gall:
 By mild reproofs recover'd minds diseased,
 And sparing persons innocently pleased.
 Each one was nicely shown in this new glass, 780
 And smiled to think he was not meant the ass:
 A miser oft would laugh at first, to find
 A faithful draught of his own sordid mind;
 And fops were with such care and cunning writ,
 They liked the piece for which themselves did sit. 785
 You then that would the comic laurels wear,
 To study nature be your only care:
 Whoe'er knows man and by a curious art
 Discerns the hidden secrets of the heart;
 He who observes, and naturally can paint 790
 The jealous fool, the fawning sycophant,
 A sober wit, an enterprising ass,
 A humorous Otter, or a Hudibras;
 May safely in those noble lists engage,
 And make them act and speak upon the stage. 795
 Strive to be natural in all you write,
 And paint with colours that may please the sight.
 Nature in various figures does abound;
 And in each mind are different humours found:
 A glance, a touch, discovers to the wise; 800
 But every man has not discerning eyes.
 All-changing time does also change the mind;
 And different ages different pleasures find:
 Youth, hot and furious, cannot brook delay, 805
 By flattering vice is easily led away;
 Vain in discourse, inconstant in desire,
 In censure, rash; in pleasures, all on fire.
 The manly age does steadier thoughts enjoy;
 Power and ambition do his soul employ:
 Against the turns of fate he sets his mind; 810
 And by the past the future hopes to find.
 Decrepit age, still adding to his stores,
 For others heaps the treasure he adores;
 In all his actions keeps a frozen pace;
 Past times extols, the present to debase: 815
 Incapable of pleasures youth abuse,
 In others blames what age does him refuse.
 Your actors must by reason be contrull'd;
 Let young men speak like young, old men like old:
 Observe the town, and study well the court; 820
 For thither various characters resort:
 Thus 'twas great Jonson purchased his renown,
 And in his art had borne away the crown;
 If, less desirous of the people's praise,
 He had not with low farce debased his plays; 825
 Mixing dull buffoonry with wit refined,
 And Harlequin with noble Terence join'd.
 When in the Fox I see the tortoise hiss'd,
 I lose the author of the Alchemist. 830
 The comic wit, born with a smiling air,
 Must tragic grief and pompous verse forbear;
 Yet may he not, as on a market-place,
 With bawdy jests amuse the populace:
 With well-bred conversation you must please, 835
 And your intrigue unravell'd be with ease.
 Your action still should reason's rules obey,
 Nor in an empty scene may lose its way.
 Your humble style must sometimes gently rise;
 And your discourse sententious be, and wise: 840
 The passions must to nature be confined;
 And scenes to scenes with artful weaving join'd.
 Your wit must not unseasonably play;
 It follow business, never lead the way.
 Observe how Terence does this error shun;
 A careful father chides his amorous son: 845

Then see that son, whom no advice can move,
 Forget those orders, and pursue his love :
 'Tis not a well-drawn picture we discover :
 'Tis a true son, a father, and a lover.
 I like an author that reforms the age, 850
 And keeps the right decorum of the stage ;
 That always pleases by ju-t reason's rule :
 But for a tedious droll, a quibbling fool,
 Who with low nauseous bawdry fills his plays ; 855
 Let him be gone, and on two trestles raise
 Some Smithfield stage, where he may act his
 pranks,
 And make Jack-Puddings speak to mountebanks.

CANTO IV.

In Florence dwelt a doctor of renown,
 The scourge of God, and terror of the town,
 Who all the cant of physic had by heart, 860
 And never murder'd but by rules of art.
 The public mischief was his private gain ;
 Children their slaughter'd parents sought in vain :
 A brother here his poison'd brother wept ;
 Some bloodless died, and some by opium slept. 865
 Colds, at his presence, would to frenzies turn ;
 And agues, like malignant fevers, burn.
 Hated, at last, his practice gives him o'er ;
 One friend, unkill'd by drugs, of all his store,
 In his new country-house affords him place ; 870
 'Twas a rich abbot, and a building ass :
 Here first the doctor's talent came in play,
 He seems inspired, and talks like Wren or May :
 Of this new portico condemns the face,
 And turns the entrance to a better place ; 875
 Designs the staircase at the other end.
 His friend approves, does for his mason send :
 He comes ; the doctor's arguments prevail.
 In short, to finish this our humorous tale,
 He Galen's dangerous science does reject, 880
 And from ill doctor turns good architect.

In this example we may have our part :
 Rather be mason, 'tis a useful art !
 Than a dull poet ; for that trade accursed
 Admits no mean betwixt the best and worst. 885
 In other sciences, without disgrace,
 A candidate may fill a second place ;
 But poetry no medium can admit,
 No reader suffers an indifferent wit :
 The ruin'd stationers against him bawl, 890
 And Herringman degrades him from his stall.
 Burlesque, at least, our laughter may excite ;
 But a cold writer never can delight.
 The Counter-Scuffle has more wit and art,
 Than the stiff formal style of Gondibert. 895
 Be not affected with that empty praise
 Which your vain flatterers will sometimes raise,
 And when you read, with ecstacy will say,
 "The finish'd piece ! the admirable play !" 900
 Which, when exposed to censure and to light,
 Cannot endure a critics' piercing sight.
 A hundred authors' fates have been foretold,
 And Shadwell's works are printed, but not sold.
 Hear all the world ; consider every thought ; 905
 A fool by chance may stumble on a fault :
 Yet, when Apollo does your muse inspire,
 Be not impatient to expose your fire ;

Nor imitate the Settles of our times,
 Those tuneless readers of their own dull rhymes,
 Who seize on all the acquaintance they can meet,
 And stop the passengers that walk the street : 911
 There is no sanctuary you can choose
 For a defence from their pursuing muse.
 I've said before, be patient when they blame ;
 To alter for the better is no shame. 915
 Yet yield not to a fool's impertinence :
 Sometimes conceited sceptics void of sense,
 By their false taste, condemn some finish'd part,
 And blame the noblest flights of wit and art. 920
 In vain their fond opinions you deride,
 With their loved follies they are satisfied ;
 And their weak judgment, void of sense and light,
 Thinks nothing can escape their feeble sight :
 Their dangerous counsels do not cure, but wound ;
 To shun the storm they run your verse aground,
 And thinking to escape a rock, are drown'd. 925
 Choose a sure judge to censure what you write,
 Whose reason leads, and knowledge gives you
 light,

Whose steady hand will prove your faithful guide,
 And touch the darling follies you would hide : 930
 He, in your doubts, will carefully advise,
 And clear the mist before your feeble eyes.
 'Tis he will tell you, to what noble height
 A generous muse may sometimes take her flight ;
 When, too much fetter'd with the rules of art, 935
 May from her stricter bounds and limits part
 But such a perfect judge is hard to see,
 And every rhymers knows not poetry ;
 Nay, some there are for writing verse extoll'd,
 Who know not Lucan's dross from Virgil's gold.

Would you in this great art acquire renown ? 941
 Authors, observe the rules I here lay down.
 In prudent lessons every where abound ;
 With pleasant join the useful and the sound : 945
 A sober reader a vain tale will slight ;
 He seeks as well instruction as delight.
 Let all your thoughts to virtue be confined,
 Still offering nobler figures to our mind.
 I like not those loose writers, who employ 950
 Their guilty muse, good manners to destroy ;
 Who with false colours still deceive our eyes,
 And show us vice dress'd in a fair disguise.
 Yet do I not their sullen muse approve,
 Who from all modest writings banish love ;
 That strip the play-house of its chief intrigue, 955
 And make a murderer of Roderigue :
 The lightest love, if decently express'd,
 Will raise no vicious motions in our breast :
 Dido in vain may weep, and ask relief ;
 I blame her folly, whilst I share her grief. 960
 A virtuous author, in his charming art,
 To please the sense needs not corrupt the heart :
 His heat will never cause a guilty fire ;
 To follow virtue then be your desire.
 In vain your art and vigour are express'd ; 965
 The obscene expression shows the infected breast.
 But, above all, base jealousies avoid,
 In which detracting poets are employ'd.
 A noble wit dares liberally commend ;
 And scorns to grudge at his deserving friend. 970
 Base rivals, who true wit and merit hate,
 Caballing still against it with the great,
 Maliciously aspire to gain renown,
 By standing up, and pulling others down. 975
 Never debase yourself by treacherous ways,
 Nor by such abject methods seek for praise

Let not your only business be to write;
 Be virtuous, just, and in your friends delight.
 'Tis not enough your poems be admir'd;
 But strive your conversation be desired: 980
 Write for immortal fame; nor ever choose
 Gold for the object of a generous muse.
 I know a noble wit may, without crime,
 Receive a lawful tribute for his time:
 Yet I abhor those writers, who despise 985
 Their honour; and alone their profits prize;
 Who their Apollo basely will degrade,
 And of a noble science make a trade.
 Before kind reason did her light display,
 And government taught morals to obey, 990
 Men, like wild beasts, did nature's laws pursue,
 They fed on herbs, and drink from rivers drew:
 Their brutal force, on lust and rapine bent,
 Committed murder without punishment:
 Reason at last, by her all-conquering arts, 995
 Reduced these savages, and tuned their hearts;
 Mankind from bogs, and woods, and caverns calls,
 And towns and cities fortifies with walls:
 Thus fear of justice made proud rapine cease,
 And shelter'd innocence by laws and peace. 1000
 These benefits from poets we received,
 From whence are raised those fictions since be-
 lieved,
 That Orpheus, by his soft harmonious strains,
 Tamed the fierce tigers of the Thracian plains;
 Amphion's notes, by their melodious powers, 1005
 Drew rocks and woods, and raised the Theban
 towers:
 These miracles from numbers did arise:
 Since which, in verse heaven taught his mysteries,
 And by a priest, possess'd with rage divine,
 Apollo spoke from his prophetic shrine. 1010
 Soon after Homer the old heroes praised,
 And noble minds by great examples raised;
 Then Hesiod did his Grecian swains incline
 To till the fields, and prune the bounteous vine.
 Thus useful rules were, by the poets' aid, 1015
 In easy numbers to rude men convey'd,
 And pleasingly their precepts did impart;
 First charm'd the ear, and then engaged the heart:
 The Muses thus their reputation raised,
 And with just gratitude in Greece were praised. 1020
 With pleasure mortals did their wonders see,
 And sacrificed to their divinity;
 But want, at last, base flattery entertain'd,
 And old Parnassus with this vice was stain'd:
 Desire of gain dazzling the poets' eyes, 1025
 Their works were fill'd with fulsome flatteries.
 Thus needy wits a vile revenue made,
 And verse became a mercenary trade.
 Debase not with so mean a vice thy art:
 If gold must be the idol of thy heart, 1030
 Fly, fly the unfruitful Heliconian strand:
 Those streams are not enrich'd with golden sand:
 Great wits, as well as warriors, only gain
 Laurels and honours for their toil and pain.

But what? an author cannot live on fame, 1035
 Or pay a reckoning with a lofty name:
 A poet to whom fortune is unkind,
 Who when he goes to bed has hardly dined,
 Takes little pleasure in Parnassus' dreams, 1040
 Or relishes the Heliconian streams.
 Horace had ease and plenty when he writ,
 And free from cares for money or for meat,
 Did not expect his dinner from his wit.
 'Tis true; but verse is cherish'd by the great, 1045
 And now none famish who deserve to eat:
 What can we fear, when virtue, arts, and sense,
 Receive the stars' propitious influence?
 When a sharp-sighted prince, by early grants,
 Rewards your merits, and prevents your wants? 1050
 Sing then his glory, celebrate his fame;
 Your noblest theme is his immortal name.
 Let mighty Spenser raise his reverend head,
 Cowley and Denham start up from the dead;
 Waller his age renew, and offerings bring;
 Our monarch's praise let bright-eyed virgins sing;
 Let Dryden with new rules our stage refine, 1055
 And his great models form by this design:
 But where's a second Virgil, to rehearse
 Our hero's glories in his epic verse?
 What Orpheus sing his triumphs o'er the main, 1060
 And make the hills and forests move again;
 Show his bold fleet on the Batavian shore,
 And Holland trembling as his cannons roar;
 Paint Europe's balance in his steady hand,
 Whilst the two worlds in expectation stand. 1065
 Of peace or war, that wait on his command?
 But as I speak, new glories strike my eyes,
 Glories, which Heaven itself does give, and prize,
 Blessings of peace: that with their milder rays
 Adorn his reign, and bring Saturnian days. 1070
 Now let rebellion, discord, vice, and rage,
 That have in patriots' forms debauch'd our age,
 Vanish with all the ministers of hell:
 His rays their poisonous vapours shall dispel:
 'Tis he alone our safety did create, 1075
 His own firm soul secured the nations' fate,
 Opposed to all the Bouteffus of the state.
 Authors for him your great endeavours raise;
 The loftiest numbers will but reach his praise. 1080
 For me, whose verse in satire has been bred,
 And never durst heroic measures tread;
 Yet you shall see me, in that famous field,
 With eyes and voice, my best assistance yield;
 Offer you lessons, that my infant muse
 Learnt, when she Horace for her guide did 1085
 choose:
 Second your zeal with wishes, heart, and eyes,
 And atar off hold up the glorious prize.
 But pardon too, if zealous for the right,
 A strict observer of each noble flight, 1090
 From the fine gold I separate the alloy,
 And show how hasty writers sometimes stray:
 Apt to blame, than knowing how to mend;
 A sharp, but yet a necessary friend.

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